THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA

(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA

(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

By

H. C. RAY, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

With a Foreword

By

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VOL II



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TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY FATHER

PRASANNA KUMAR RAY

PREFACE

I must express my regret that circumstances entirely beyond my control have delayed the issue of this second volume for so long a period. Part of the book was already in print as far back as 1931. But the preoccupation of the University Press in printing certain under-graduate text-books, the difficulty of getting the maps ready and grave family bereavements are some of the reasons which delayed the publication of the volume. I have however utilized the time at my disposal by bringing up to date certain portions in the light of fresh material.

With this volume ends the analysis of the political history of the various dynasties that ruled in Northern India during the three or four centuries preceding the establishment of the imperialism of Delhi under the Turks. The beginnings of some of these dynasties however have been traced as far back as the middle of the sixth century A.D. while there were others which retained their vigour till the fourteenth century. The ruling tribes of some areas again were never thoroughly subjugated by the empire builders of Delhi while those of one area at least remained permanently outside their sphere of influence. The power of these dynasties during the period under survey, spread over a vast area extending from the Kishen Ganga in the north to the Godavari in the south and from the borders of Persia in the west to the Patkai hills in the east.

Though this volume is a continuation of the work undertaken in the first, it has got an individuality of its own. It deals entirely with Rajput dynasties most of which sprang up in the latter days of the Imperial Pratihāras. I hope it will be

of some use to the sudents of Hindu history in general and to those interested in Rajput history and the beginnings of Islam in India in particular.

Lack of space and a natural bias for facts have led me to keep my ' generalizations and idealizations ' strictly under control. In this volume also I have accepted the humbler role of a builder of foundations rather than that of an architect, planning and raising an imposing superstructure and magnificent façade of History. I agree with the view that Indian history is at present in a much too primitive condition to attempt safely anything so ambitious. I have therefore consciously followed a method which has perhaps made this work less interesting to a certain class of students of Indian history.

As the press and the publishers here ordinarily accept no responsibility in the matter of Indexes of its publications, this heavy and mechanical work again fell on my shoulders. But thanks to the ungrudging assistance of my pupil, Mr. Matindramohan Sen, M.A., this task was very much lightened for me. I have added two new features to this volume. Firstly, I have accepted the suggestion of Prof. Jules Bloch (University of Paris) and prepared an index of ancient and mediaeval geographical names in the twenty maps contained in the two volumes. As the maps are drawn on different scales, I have often given in this index different latitudes and longitudes for the same place ; this I admit is rather cumbrous but may be found to be more helpful to the general reader. Secondly, in addition to the Synchronistic Table, I have added a list of dynasties and the territories controlled by them chronologically arranged. As to the spelling of Sanskrit, Persian and modern names, I have followed the same system as in Volume I ; the only exception is Brāhman for Brahman. I have again tried to correct any want of uniformity in spelling by providing in the indexes alternative forms of spelling of names.

The ton coloured maps of the first volume, imperfect as they were, met with the approval of Indian and foreign scholars. I

have tried to effect some improvement in the ten tricolour maps of this volume. But lithography in Calcutta, so far as map-making of a technical nature is concerned, seems to be in a rather crude stage, and though I have tried to make the maps useful to students of Indian Historical Geography, I am not fully satisfied with their production. To Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury (Calcutta University), Mr. S. Dutt (St. Paul's College and Calcutta University), Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti (Bethune College) and Mr. Matindramohan Sen, I am thankful for a few suggestions and help in correcting proofs of the maps.

To the Archaeological Survey of India I am indebted for a photograph of a portion of the Quwwat-ul-Islām Mosque at Delhi. In the twelfth century, Delhi was the great frontier outpost of the Cāhamāna empire. The site of the mosque and its neighbourhood contained fortifications and various buildings and places of worship of the Hindu dynasty. When I was in Delhi in December 1933, I noticed a portion of the ruins of the mosque which still shows clearly, in addition to a group of human forms, a beautiful female figure in *tribhanga* pose on one of the sculptured pillars of a Hindu temple. As the period under survey saw the foundation of Turko-Afghan imperialism on the bed-rock of old Indian civilization, the photograph in a way acts as a symbol for the whole work. I have therefore reproduced it on the jacket and cover of the volume.

My task of seeing the volume through the press was much facilitated by the courtesy and consideration of the officers of the Calcutta University Library, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Imperial Library and the University Press. In particular I am thankful to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti (Registrar, Calcutta University), Mr. Johan Van Manen, C.I.E., and Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hossain (General and Jt. Philological Secretaries, Asiatic Society of Bengal), and Mr. A. C. Ghatak (Superintendent, University Press) for help at various stages in the publication of the volume.

I have dedicated this volume to the memory of my father. I owe much of whatever success I have attained as a student of history to his advice and inspiration.

I conclude with the hope that my readers will find this volume, like its predecessor, of some use at least as " a preparatory clearing ground for more ambitious work."

DEPARTMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY
&
SANSKRIT,
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.
18th November, 1935.

HEM CHANDRA RAY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS

AAK	*Ā'īn-ī-Akbarī* Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett.
ABOI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Poona (India).
AGI	*The Ancient Geography of India* by Alexander Cunningham, 2nd edition. Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.
AO	*Antiquities of Orissa* by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1875 and 1880.
AR	Tod's *Annals* and *Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Edited by William Crooke.
ARB	*Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*.
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India*. Annual Report.
ASI, WC	*Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*.
ASR	*Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham.
ASWI	*Archaeological Survey of Western India*.
BEFEO	*Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*.
BG	*Bombay Gazetteer*.
BHG	*History of Gujarat* by Sir Edward Clive Bayley, London, 1886.
BI	*Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar*; published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar.
BR	*Buddhist Record of the Western World* by S. Beal.
Caliphate	*The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* by William Muir.

CBMC	*Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge*, by Bendall, Cambridge, 1883.
CCIM	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India.*
CI	Central India (Province).
CIC	*Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras and Kṣatrapas)* by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
CMI	*Coins of Mediaeval India* by Cunningham.
CP	Central Provinces of India.
CPMDN	*Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, by H. P. Sastri, with a Historical Introduction by Prof. C. Bendall, 1905, Calcutta.
CSBM	*Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum* by C. Bendall, London, 1902.
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period)* by H. C. Ray, Calcutta University ; Vol. I, 1931; Vol. II, 1935.
DLI	*Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar* by Hiralal, Nagpur, 1916.
EHI	*Early History of India*, 4th edition, by V. A. Smith.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
EIA	*Essays on Indian Antiquities* by James Prinsep. Ed. by Edward Thomas, London, 1858.
Elliot	*The History of India as told by its own Historian* by Sir H. M. Elliot.
GDI	*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by N. Dey, Luzac, 1927.

GI	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Gupta Inscriptions* by John Faithful Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
GOS	*Gaekwad Oriental Series.*
HA	*History of Assam* by Sir Edward Gait, 2nd Ed., 1926, Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co.
HR	*History of Rajputana* by Ojha (Rai Bahadur Pandit G. H.), Ajmer.
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IB	*Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III. Edited with Translations and Notes by N. G. Majumdar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929.
IGI	*Imperial Gazetteer of India.*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
IHT	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1922.
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JAOS	*Journal of American Oriental Society.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBTS	*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.*
JL	*Journal of the Department of Letters,* University of Calcutta.
Journey	*A Journey in Nepal and Northern India* by C. Bendall, Cambridge University Press, 1886.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London.
KFB	*Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* of Balādhurī. Trans. by Hitti and Murgotten.
KH	*Kitāb al-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī.

KY	*Kitāb-i-Yamīnī* of 'Utbī. Translated by Reynolds from the Persian version, London.
KZA	*Kitāb Zain ul-Akhbār* of Abū Sa'īd 'Abd ul-Ḥayy b. ad-Ḍabhāk b. Muḥammad Gardīzī (c. 440 A.H.). Ed. by Muḥammad Naẓīm, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
LEC	*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* by Le Strange, Cambridge University Press.
Life	*Life of Hiuen Tsiang* by S. Beal.
M	*Mahārājādhirāja.*
MA	*Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān.
MASB	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
MASI	*Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.*
MER	*Madras Epigraphist's Report* by Dr. E. Hultzsch, Nos. 814, 815, Public. 6th August, 1896.
MG	*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin* by M. Habib, 1927.
MM	Mukhaliṅgeśvara Temple at Mukhaliṅgam, Ganjam district (Madras).
NA	*Notes on Afghanistan* by Raverty.
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NKGWG	*Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
OH	*Oxford History of India* by V. A. Smith.
OM	*Orissa in the Making* by B. C. Mozumdar, 1925.
P	*Parameśvara.*
PASB	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
Pb	*Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*
PB	*Pṛthvirājavijaya.*
PC	*Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Āchārya. Trans. by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.
PI	*Preaching of Islam* by T. W. Arnold.

PTOC	*Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference* (India).
QJAHS	*Quarterly Journal of Andhra Historical Society.*
Ras	Forbes' *Ras Mala.* Edited by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924.
RGD	*Records of the Gupta Dynasty* by Edward Thomas, London, 1876.
RMR	*Rajputana Museum Report.*
Śāhis von Kabul	*Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doctor-Jubiläum*, Stuttgart, 1893. *Zur Geschichte der Śāhis von Kabul* by Marc Aurel Stein.
SC	*Sasanian Coins* by F. D. J. Paruck, Bombay, 1924.
TA	*Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Bibliotheca Indica. Trans. by B. Dey.
TF	*Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta.*
TFSB	*Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* of Baranī.
TFSS	*Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī* of Shams-i-Sīrāj 'Afīf
TH	*Ta'rīkh-ul-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī.
TK	*Tuḥfat ul-Kirām* of 'Ali Shīr Qānī'.
TKA	*Al-Ta'rīkh ul-Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr.
TM	*Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī.*
TN	*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Maulānā Minhāj ud-Dīn. Translated by Raverty.
TRAS	*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
UP	The United Provinces of India.
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Also known as 'Vienna Oriental Journal.'
YC	*On Yuan Chwang*, by Thomas Watters, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

DYNASTIC HISTORY
OF NORTHERN INDIA

CHAPTER XI

CANDRĀTREYAS (CANDELLAS) OF JEJĀ-BHUKTI (BUNDELKHAND)

There is little doubt that the rise of the Candella power in the south of the Jumna was one of the important contributory causes that hastened the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire in Northern India. When however we try to trace the first beginnings and growth of the Candella kingdom we meet with considerable difficulties. Tradition records the following account of their rise.

Hem-rāj, the *purohit* of Indrajit, the Gaharwar rājā of Benares, had a daughter named Hemāvatī. She "was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rāti Tālāb, she was seen and embraced by *Candramā* (the Moon); as he was preparing to return to the skies, Hemāvatī cursed him. 'Why do you curse me?' said Candramā, 'your son will be lord of the earth, and from him will spring a thousand branches.' Hemāvatī enquired: 'How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband?' 'Fear not,' replied Candramā, 'your son will be born on the bank of the Karṇavatī river; then take him to Khajurāya, and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba (Mahotsavanagara) he will reign, and will become a great king...........On the hill of Kālañjara he will build a fort'..."[1] A copy of the *Mahobā-Khaṇḍ* consulted by Cunningham, gave the date of the coronation of this child, who was named Candra-varmā, as *Saṁvat*

[1] *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 445-46.

225.[1] The traditions preserved by the family of the Qānungo of Mahoba inform us that Candra-varmā overthrew the Parihārs in Bundelkhand.[2] The genealogies preserved in the official charters of the Candella princes, however, are ignorant of the existence of this prince. Thus the Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011) gives the following account of the origin of the dynasty[3] :—

Viśvasṛk Purāṇapuruṣa (The creator of the universe, that ancient being).
|
Sages Mārīci, Atri, etc.
|
Muni Candrātreya...acquired fierce might by ceaseless austerities
|
From him princes (*bhūbhujām*) who had the power to destroy or protect the whole earth.
|
In this family *Nṛpa* Nannuka
|
Vākpati
|
Jayaśakti — Vijayaśakti
|
Rāhila
|
Harṣa = Kañcukā
|
Yaśovarman
|
Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011=A.D. 954)

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *JASB*, 1881, Vol. L, p. 3. The date of this event is given as *Saṁvat* 677.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 122 ff. This is the earliest record of the line, as far known, which supplies any information about the origin of the family. There are slight variations in other records. Thus in the Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala (V. S. 1058) we have : Atri : From his eye the Moon ; His son the sage Candrātreya :—In the family of the *Candrātreya-vaṁśajah* princes, Nannuka ; see *ibid*, pp. 137 ff. The copper plates usually begin with the praise of *Candrātreya-narendrāṇāṁ vaṁśa* and then give the name of the grandfather of the donor of the grant ; see *IA* XVI, pp. 207 ff. Sometimes the inscription begins with the praise of only the Moon, the progenitor of the *Candrātreya-narendrāṇāṁ vaṁśa* ; see *EI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 9 ff. A fragmentary Mahoba inscription, however, begins with the genealogy with " From the beloved of the night there sprang a race beloved by all." The preserved portion does not contain the word Candra or Candrātreya ; *ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 217 ff. Generally speaking, the earliest inscriptions refer to the dynasty as *Candrātreya-vaṁśa*. But the Dudahi stone inscriptions of Devalabdhi, a grandson of Yaśovarman, describe the family as *Candrell-ānvaya*, from which no doubt the later form Candella is derived. Kielhorn suspected

It should however be observed that both tradition and inscriptions agree in tracing the descent of the family to the Moon. The fact that the traditional founder of the dynasty is first taken to Khajraho [1] is also consistent with epigraphic and foreign evidence. For the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas come from that place, and the *Kāmil*, one of the oldest compilations of Arab history, connects the dynasty with Kajurāhah (كجوراهه).[2] Cunningham discovered another agreement between tradition and epigraphic evidence. By counting backwards from 954 A.D., the earliest known date of Dhaṅga, the 6th lineal descendant of Nannuka, and assigning a period of 20 to 25 years for each generation, he fixed upon the first quarter of the 9th century A.D., as the approximate date of Nannuka.[3] Then by referring *Saṁvat* 225, one of the traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella dynasty, to the Harṣa era, he found it in perfect agreement with the above date (225+606=831 A.D.).[4] There is yet another agreement between tradition and epigraphy if we accept the name Candra-varmā as a mere *biruda* of Nannuka. But the statement that the founder of the dynasty supplanted the Parihārs cannot be accepted. From about the time of Nannuka down to the beginning of the 10th century the Gurjara-Pratīhāras were at the height of their power, and it is unlikely that, during this period, the Candellas would succeed in driving them out of the land lying to the south of the Jumna. It is more

that the name *Candrātreya* was really a later Sanskritised form of the word *Candrella*. According to him this last word was formed from Candra by the addition of the Prakrit suffix *illa*. The form *Caṁdella* occurs in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kīrtivarman, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff. The form Candella is found in the Benares grant of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa *EI*, Vol. II, p. 306; while the form *Candela* occurs in the Madanpur inscription of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III, (V.) *Saṁvat* 1239; see *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 174. We reserve for discussion the question of the origin of the Candellas in Vol. III of the present work.

1 Sometimes spelt Khajuraho.

2 *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16.

3 *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 447.

4 The other traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella power are 204, 661, and 682. We can of course refer the first of these to the Harṣa era; but the three other dates, 661, 677, and 682 cannot be satisfactorily explained. See *JASB*, Vol. L, pp. 3-6.

likely that the Candella Nannuka was at first a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 815-33 A.D.) and ruled over a small principality round about Khajraho, the Kharjjuravāhaka of the inscriptions. This agrees with the tradition which places the original home of the Candellas at Maniyagarh in the Chhatarpur State (C. I.). In the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga, Nannuka is called *nṛpa* and is described as 'a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame,' and whose enemies carried 'his commands on their heads, like a garland.'[1] In another Khajraho inscription of the same king Nannuka is called a *mahīpati* 'whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna.'[2] This is the only information available about the first historical personage in the genealogy of the Candellas. The Indian *praśastikāras* at any rate do not err on the side of moderation and it is extremely impossible that they would have omitted such a tangible historical fact as the defeat of the Parihāras, if that incident really happened in the career of the founder of the dynasty, and attached to his memory such vague generalities which in Indian records mean practically nothing. It is also significant that Nannuka's name is omitted from all the other Candella inscriptions, which are not few. He would have certainly loomed as a more substantial figure in the family tradition if he had really laid the foundation of the sovereignty of the family by violently uprooting another dynasty. The evidence available therefore suggests that his position was that of a petty feudatory ruler. It would even be risky to assume that he 'enjoyed some share of sovereign power' from the mere fact that in the inscriptions of his distant descendants he is designated a *mahīpati* or a *nṛpa*. There is also no evidence to prove the alleged connection of the founder of the dynasty and the *purohita* of the Gāhaḍavālas. In fact

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 125, V. 10.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 141, Vs. 14-15.

epigraphic evidence is against the supposition that Nannuka could even be a contemporary of the early Gāhaḍavālas of Benares (11th century A. D.).[1]

The next person in the Candella genealogy is Vākpati, the son of Nannuka. His existence is also known from the two inscriptions referred to above. The first informs us that the illustrious Vākpati defeated his enemies in battle and made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mount (*Krīḍā-giri*).[2] According to the other record, the *Kṣitipa* Vākpati is said to have excelled by his wisdom and valour (even) the mythical kings Pṛthu and Kakustha.[3] From the fact that he is referred to as having made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mount we may perhaps be justified in concluding that Vākpati succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his small ancestral principality. But in my opinion the persons who really succeeded in establishing the foundation of the prosperity, though not the sovereignty of the family, were his sons Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.[4] Excepting in the two inscriptions mentioned above, these two brothers are generally described in records as the first ancestors of the Candellas. Verse 10 of a fragmentary inscription at Mahoba again tells us that Jejā (Jayaśakti) gave his name to *Jejā-bhukti*, just as Pṛthu did to *Pṛthivī*.[5] This Jejā-bhukti[6] is generally accepted as the 'old name of Bundelkhand and the original of the vernacular form Jajāhūtī or Jajāhotī, just

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 504 ff.

[2] *EI*, p. 125, Vs. 11-12.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 141, Vs. 16-17.

[4] There are variant forms of these two names in the inscriptions. For the former we have: Jejā (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 221, V. 10), and Jejjāka (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 122, line 6); for the latter, we have Vijaya (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 141, V. 18), Vijjā (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 122, line 6) and Vijā (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 221, V. 10).

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 221.

[6] There are variants of this name. A Madanpur stone inscription gives the form *Jejāka-bhukti* (Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, plate XXXII, No. 10, lines 2-3). The same form of the name is found in several other Madanpur records, with the addition of *deśa*, or *maṇḍala*. (See *ibid*, Vol. XXI, p. 174.) The Ratnapur stone inscription of the Kalacuri Jajalladeva, (Cedi) *Saṁvat*, 866, gives the form *Jejābhuktika*; see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 35, V. 21.

as modern Tirhut is derived from Tīra-bhukti.'[1] Cunningham, who first proposed this identification, further identified this name under its vernacular form with the *Chih-chi-t'o* of Yuan Chwang. But as the date of Jayaśakti cannot be earlier than about the beginning of the 9th century, and as there is nothing to discredit the epigraphic evidence that he gave his name to the *Bhukti*, we must give up this identification.[2] Watters may be right when he suggests that the *Chih-chi-t'o* of Yuan Chwang represents modern *Chitor* and not Jajhoti.[3] From the fact that his dominion is called only a *Bhukti* we may infer that Jayaśakti was at best a mere feudatory perhaps of the great Gurjara emperor Bhoja (*c.* 836-88 A.D.). In the inscriptions he is generally praised vaguely for victories over his enemies. Thus in a Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga we are told that "by the unmeasured prowess" of him and his younger brother "adversaries were destroyed, as woods are burnt by a blazing fire."[4] But in another Khajraho inscription of the same king, the younger brother Vijaya is said to have, 'like Rāma, on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India.'[5] It is not impossible that there may be some historical truth hidden in this reference. But if he really invaded peninsular India he must have done so as the feudatory of some more powerful sovereign. For though the brothers are repeatedly referred to in the inscriptions as having added 'radiance' to the family of the Candrātreya

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 218; *AGI*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1924, p. 551. The form *Jejāhūti* with its capital Kajurāha occurs in Birūnī's *Indica*, Trans. by Sachau, Trübner, Vol. I, p. 202. Ibn Batuta visited Kajarrā in A. D. 1335. This city must be the same as the Kajurāhah of Bīrūnī and Ibn ul-Athir. Cunningham in his footnote, on p. 551, gives the name of the city visited by Ibn Batuta in the 'original Persian (a slip for Arabic) characters' as Kajurā. But in the text edited by Defrémery and Sanguinetti (*Voyages d'ibn Batoutah*, Paris 1858, p. 39) it is clearly written as كجرا ; see also *Ibn Batuta*, by Gibb, Routledge, 1229, pp. 226 and 363.

[2] Untenability of this identification of Cunningham was first pointed out to me by Prof. R. C. Majumdar of the University of Dacca.

[3] *YC*, Vol. II, p. 251.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 126, V. 15.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 141-42, V. 20.

princes, it is significant that they are seldom given the epithets of sovereign rulers, and are on the contrary often simply called heroes (*vīra*).[1] We may therefore conclude with some probability that Vijayaśakti, who succeeded his elder brother as the head of the family, was still a subordinate chief, possibly of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Bhoja or his son Mahendrapāla (*c.* 893-907 A.D.). The position of Rāhila, Vijayaśakti's son and successor, does not appear to have been different from that of his father. He is mentioned only in two of the Candella inscriptions so far discovered; and in both of them he is merely praised in conventional phrases for his bravery and victories. Thus in the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga, the royal *praśasti-kāra* says: "Thinking of whom (Rāhila) the enemies enjoy little sleep at night. Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation of *vaṣaṭ*, (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger."[2] In another Khajraho epigraph of the same king Rāhila is given credit for favouring his friends and punishing his enemies.[3] It was not till the reigns of his son Harṣa and his grandson Yaśovarman that circumstances favoured the growth of a strong Candella state. The continuous struggle between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which had been raging since the days of Vatsa and Dhruva suddenly took a bad turn for the Gurjara-Pratīhāras sometime between 915-18 A.D.[4] The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Indra III

[1] *Ibid*, IV, p. 157, line 2; Vol. X, p. 47, line 2; Vol. XVI, p. 13, line 3, and p. 274, line 2.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 131, V. 17, also p. 126. This idea of comparing battles to sacrifices is probably taken from the *Mahābhārata*; see *Baṅgavāsī* (Calcutta) ed., *Udyogaparva*, Chap. 141, Vs. 29-51; see also JL, Vol. XIV, 1927, *Notes on War in Ancient India*, p. 1 ff.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 242, Vs. 22-23.

[4] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 579 ff.

captured Ujjayinī and overran Northern India. The imperial city of Kanauj itself was completely devastated. There is some evidence to show that the Deccani kings held some portion of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doāb* even as late as 930 A.D. This severe blow and the strangle-hold on the very heart of the imperial power must have greatly weakened the control of the central government on its provinces. It is true that the Pratīhāra emperor was assisted by a number of his feudatories to recover some of his dominions. A fragmentary Candella inscription at Khajraho, for instance, says that either Harṣa or his son Yaśovarman placed Kṣitipāladeva again on the throne[1] (*Punar-yena-śrī-Kṣitipāladeva-nṛpatiḥ siṁhāsane sthā[pitaḥ]*). In their official records, also, till the year 954 A.D., in the reign of Dhaṅga, the Candellas actually acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. But there is enough evidence to show that their obedience to the Kanauj power was fast growing nominal. Harṣa, who was possibly reigning when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion took place, does not appear to have indulged in any open acts of hostility to the imperial power. In a fragmentary stone inscription discovered at Khajraho, he is said to have "conquered many proud enemies" (*dṛptārivṛndaḥ*).[2] The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1011 tells us that "that most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law (*dharma*) and anxious to worship the feet of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of Madhu....(He) married a suitable lady of equal caste (*savarṇā*), named Kañcukā, sprung from the Cāhamāna family."[3] In the Nanyaura plate of the same king, (V.S. 1055) Harṣa is said to have inspired terror by his terrific array of troops, and made tributary to himself other sovereigns.[4] Dhaṅga's Khajraho inscription of (V.)S. 1059 tells us that

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 122, line 10; see also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 581-89.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 121, line 7.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 126, Vs. 20-21.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202-08, lines 2-8.

Harṣa protected the whole earth after subduing his adversaries.[1] These references to Harṣa do not contain any historical facts, but in spite of their vague character they seem to indicate that his was a more substantial figure than any of his predecessors. If Kielhorn was right in his assumption that ' the relative *yena* in line 10 ' of the fragmentary Khajraho inscription mentioned above ' refers to Harṣadeva,' the latter's claim to have reinstalled Kṣitipāla, his overlord, on his throne must indicate a considerable degree of power and prestige. He further strengthened his position by forming a matrimonial alliance with the Cāhamānas, who were also gradually breaking away from the empire. Another matrimonial alliance of Harṣa seems to be revealed by the Benares grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī. If the *Citrakūṭa-bhūpāla* of this inscription to whom Kokkalla claims to have granted ' freedom from fear ' is identified with the Candella Harṣa, then it looks likely that the Candella princess Naṭṭā (*Naṭṭākhyadevī*), the queen of Kokkalla, was a relative of this Candella prince.[3] Without openly defying his overlord, Harṣa thus appears to have slowly consolidated his position at home and abroad. It was left to his son Yaśovarman, *alias* Lakṣmavarman, to engage in more ambitious projects for increasing the Candella territory by launching into schemes of foreign conquest and aggrandisement. I have already shown [4] that some time before 940 A.D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' attacks on the

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 142, Vs. 25-28. This inscription also mentions his wife Kañcukā, but it does not refer to her lineage; see *ibid.* pp. 142-43, V. 29.

[2] Kielhorn suggested that Harṣa 1st first defeated Kṣitipāladeva and subsequently reinstalled him on his throne. But in view of recent discoveries and the identification of Mahīpāla and Kṣitipāla, it would be better to accept the view that the vanquisher of the Kanauj monarch was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III and not the Candella chieftain; see *EI*, Vol. I. p. 122.

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 306, V. 7; also p. 301. The acceptance of the suggested identification would show that this *Citrakūṭa* must be differentiated from the hill of the same name in Rajputana and identified with the hill bearing the same name in Bundelkhand. Cunningham identified a hill ' situated on the left, or west, bank of the Paisuni river, about 5 miles to the S.W. of Karwi, and 50 miles to the S.E. of Banda,' with the Citrakūṭa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 10-13. See also *DHNI*, *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas.

[4] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588 ff.

Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire were renewed. The Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III, discovered recently in the Maihar state, shows that his claim to have captured Kālañjara sometime before 940 A.D., from the Gurjaras, may not be entirely baseless. That the Gurjaras referred to in the Karhad and Deoli plates in connection with Kālañjara, were the Gurjara-Pratīharas of Kanauj is proved by the Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva, which granted land in *Kālañjara-maṇḍala* of the Kanyakubja-*bhukti*.[1] The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga, dated in 1011 V.S. (A.D. 954) tells us that Yaśovarman easily conquered the mountain of Kālañjara, 'the dwelling-place of Śiva.'[2] As Yaśovarman therefore appears to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III, it is not unlikely that he may have captured the famous hill-fort, not from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, as was so long believed, but from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The sudden emergence of the Candellas as one of the first-class powers in the country south of the Jumna may therefore be due partially to their success against these ruthless marauders of the Deccan, the predecessors of the Marāthā horsemen of a later period. In the Khajraho inscription, referred to above, the poet gives the following graphic, if somewhat exaggerated, account of the victories and campaigns of Yaśovarman :

"Who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers (*krīḍālatā*), equalled the forces (*bala*) of the Khaśas (and)[3] carried off the treasure of the Kośalas, before whom perished the Kāśmīrī warriors (*naśyat-Kāśmīra-vīraḥ*) ; who weakened the Mithilas (*sithilita-Mithilaḥ*), (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas (*Kālavan Mālavānām*), who

[1] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 284; *JBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 247; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 18, line 6.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 122 ff., V. 31.

[3] The settlement of the Khaśas during this period extended in a wide semicircle from Kaṣṭavār in the south-east to the Vitastā valley in the west. The hill states of Rājapurī and Lohara were held by Khaśa families. Stein identified the Khaśas with the 'modern *Khakha* tribe, to which most of the petty hill chiefs and gentry in the Vitastā valley below Kaśmīr belong.' See Stein's Eng. Trans. of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 47-48, footnote on I, 317, and Vol. II, p. 430.

brought distress on the shameful Cedis (*Sīdat-sāvadya-Cediḥ*), who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees (*Kuru-taruṣu marut*), and a scorching fire to the Gurjaras (*Saṁjvaro Gurjarāṇām*)" (V. 23).

"Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi king whose forces were countless......" (V. 28).

"At the conquest of the regions, his soldiers gradually managed to ascend the slopes of the snowy mountains, where plentiful flowers had been gathered by Umā from every tree of paradise, where the troops of horses became unmanageable with fright at the gurgling sound of the torrents of the Ganges......" (V. 30).

"He easily conquered the Kālañjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impeded the progress of the sun at midday" (V. 31).

"The illustrious Lakṣavarman in his conquests of the regions made, equal to Indra, the daughter of Kalinda (Yamunā) and the offspring of Jahnu (Ganges) one after another his pleasure-lakes, encamping the forces of his army on either banks unmolested by any adversaries (and rendering) their waters muddy with the bathing of his furious mighty elephants" (V. 39).[1]

According to these verses, therefore, Yaśovarman dominated the whole region from the Himalayas to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal. As I have already pointed out, much of this is no doubt mere *praśasti*, and poetic exaggeration. Thus the expression *Kośalaḥ Kośalānām* seems rather to convey a desire on the poet's part to show his skill in punning than an historical sense. But there is no inherent impossibility in the assumption, that he really raided a large portion of northern India. His victory over the Cedi king, which is mentioned twice, looks like a genuine fact ; and it is likely that one of the earlier Kalacuri princes of Tripurī, possibly Lakṣmaṇarāja or his predecessor Yuvarāja I, was the *Cedirāja* whose 'countless forces,' were defeated by

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 126-28 and 132-34.

Yaśovarman after a fierce contest. The contemporary Gauḍa king was probably either Rājyapāla or his son Gopāla II. In Kashmir reigned at this period a series of comparatively unimportant princes beginning with Cakravarman (923-37 A.D.), and ending in Parvagupta (949-50 A.D.) while the Khaśa state of Lohara was ruled by one of the predecessors of Siṁharāja (*c.* 950 A.D.), possibly Candurāja. The territories of the Mālavas, Kośalas, and Kurus appear to have been still under the Gurjara rulers of Kanauj, while Mithilā at this period may have been recovered by the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.[1] If there is any basis of fact in these claims of successful invasions and victories it is clear that he soon became a standing menace to the imperial house at Kanauj. The expression *Saṁjvaro Gurjarāṇām* suggests that he may have even come into violent conflict with his former overlords. But the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1011 shows that though practically independent, the Candellas still retained in their official documents the fiction of their subservience to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[2]

The Khajraho inscription referred to above informs us that Yaśovarman erected a 'charming splendid home of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of the Daityas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow.' We are told that the image of Vaikuṇṭha which he set up in this temple was first obtained by 'the lord of Bhoṭa (*Bhoṭanātha*) from the Kailāsa, and from him Sāhi, the king of Kīra received it as a token of friendship ; from him afterwards Herambapāla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (Yaśovarman himself) received it from the *Hayapati* Devapāla,

[1] In the time of Mahendrapāla, the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dominions extended from Śrāvasti in U.P. right up to Paharpur in N. Bengal. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Dynasties of Bengal and Bihar*, pp. 569-70. The Asiatic Society's plate of Vināyakapāla, which was issued from Mahodaya. and grants land in Vārāṇasī-*Viṣaya*, in the Pratiṣṭhāna-*bhukti*, in V.S. 988, the Rakhetra stone-inscription of the same prince discovered in the Gwalior region dated in V.S. 999-1000, and the Partabgarh stone-inscription of Mahendrapāla (II) dated in V.S. 1003 seem to indicate that the Gurjara-Pratīhāras during the period *c.* 931-46, held a large portion of the irregular quadrilateral formed by Mandu, Gwalior, Kanauj and Benares.

[2] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 589.

the son of (Herambapāla)[1] The temple mentioned above has been identified by Cunningham with the Vaiṣṇava temple at Khajraho variously known as that of Rāmacandra, Lakṣmaṇa or Caturbhuja.[2] The credit for building this temple, together with that for excavating a big tank (*taḍāgārṇavam*), is given to Yaśovarman by verses 38 and 39 of another Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1059.[3]

Yaśovarman had a son named Dhaṅga by his queen Puppādevī.[4] The Dudahi stone inscriptions reveal the existence of probably another son of Yaśovarman. These records, six in number, were discovered in a temple of the village of Dudahi in the Lalitpur district of U. P. (Long. 78°27′E., Lat. 24°24′N.). We know from these inscriptions that the temple was erected by the illustrious Devalabdhi belonging to the *Candrellānvaya*, the son of the illustrious Kṛṣṇapa and Āsarvā and the grandson (*naptṛ*) of *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśovarman.[5] Cunningham's identification of this Yaśovarman with Candella Yaśovarman of Khajraho has been generally accepted by scholars.[6]

Yaśovarman was succeeded by Dhaṅga sometimes before V.S. 1011, the earliest known date of the latter's reign. The inscription which carries this date attempts to give us an idea of the extent of Dhaṅga's dominions. We are told that he "playfully acquired

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 129 and 134, Vs. 42-43. For the identification of Herambapāla and Devapāla, see *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, pp. 571 ff. *Bhoṭa* during this period indicated Tibet while the *Kīras* must be located somewhere near Kashmir. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV. 29) places them with the Kasmīras in the N.E.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 425-27. The temple is 85 ft. 4 inches in length and 44 ft. in breadth. The stone-inscription of Dhaṅga which refers to the building of this temple was originally discovered at the base of the Caturbhuja temple, and is now built into the wall inside its entrance porch. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 144.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 144.

[4] *Ibid*, V. 40. Is this name the Prākṛt form of *Puṣpa-devī* ?

[5] First edited by Cunningham with the photo-zincographs of five of them in *ASR*, Vol. X, pp. 94-95, and plate XXXII, Nos. 1, 2 and 4-6. They were then re-edited by Kielhorn in 1889 in the *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-237.

[6] The undated fragmentary Khajraho stone-inscription discovered near the temple of Vāmana may belong to Yaśovarman or his father Harṣa. See *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22; *JRAS*, 1904, p. 654, fn. 1.

by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālañjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālava (*Mālava-nadī*) ; from here also to the bank of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country (*deśa*) and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (*Gopāḥhidhāna-giri*)." [1] As contrasted with the vague claims of victories from Kashmir to Bengal and the Himalayas to Malwa in the case of his father, this comparatively modest specification of the boundaries has the appearance of being based on fact. Though his *praśastikāra* tells us that this wide dominion was acquired by Dhaṅga's strong arms alone, he was no doubt greatly aided by the campaigns of his father. The same inscription which mentions these boundaries of his dominions contains in the last line the following statement :—

"While the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated." [2] This statement undoubtedly shows that up to 954-55 A. D., the Candellas retained in their public documents a formal, if nominal, recognition of the imperial line at Kanauj. But it is significant that the names of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra rulers do not occur again in any Candella document after this date, indicating that after 954-55 Dhaṅga became a sovereign ruler *de facto* and *de jure*. The expression 'as far as Kālañjara' which occurs in the quotation cited above shows that up to the date of the inscription the capital of the Candellas was situated not in that hill-fort but in some other

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 129, V. 45. Kielhorn identified *Mālavanadī* with the river *Vetravatī* or Betwa and Bhāsvat with Bhailasvamin, the mod. Bhilsa. Gopagri is certainly *Gopādri*, identified with mod. Gwalior. Unfortunately no inscriptions of the Candellas have yet been discovered in Gwalior but it is likely that the family of the Kacchapaghāta *Mahārājādhirāja* Vajradāman, for whose reign we have the Gwalior image inscription, dated V.S. 1034 (*JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 393), may have been feudatories of the Candellas. The Dubkhund inscription (*EI*, Vol. II, p. 237) dated in V.S. 1145 indicates that the Kacchapaghāta Arjuna was a feudatory of Vidyādhara, the grandson of Dhaṅga.

2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 135 and p. 129, line 28. On the identification of Vināyakapāla see *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 573 ff., 590 ff.

city. That this city was Khajraho is probably indicated by an epigraph of Dhaṅga which is dated "in (V.)S. 1059 at Śrī-Kharjjuravāhaka in the realm of Dhaṅga"[1] This is further supported by the *Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr, which refers to Dhaṅga's grandson **as ruler** of Kajurāha.[2] It is also significant that the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas including those of Dhaṅga, came from Khajraho and not from Kālañjara[3] or Mahoba. It should be noted however that as early as (V.) S. 1055 Dhaṅga is given the epithet *Kālañjarādhipati*.[4] This may indicate that Kālañjara was regarded as a sort of second capital of the kingdom. But it is more probable that the epithet simply indicates the possession of one of the strongest hill-forts of India,[5] which in an age ignorant of artillery, made his position almost impregnable. The strategic importance of this hill was well-known in India at this time, and the Kalacuris, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas tried in succession to retain their hold on its fortifications. The possession of this fortress, as well as that of Gwalior must have consolidated the position of the Candellas in Central India and encouraged them to attempt the systematic conquest of portions of the Ganges valley. Yaśovarman is already said to have encamped his troops on the banks of the Ganges. The Nanyaura plate of Dhaṅga which was issued from Kāśikā (Benares), shows that this was no idle boast, and that in V.S. 1055 the Candellas were certainly on the Ganges.[6] The possession of Prayāga (Allahabad) by Dhaṅga is probably indicated by the fact that he is reported to have 'entered into beatitude' by abandoning his body in the waters of the Jāhnavī,

1 *Ibid*, p. 147, lines 32-33.

2 *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-116.

3 The inscriptions of Kālañjara (mod. Kalinjar) mostly belong to a later period, the time of Madanavarman (*c.* 1128-63 A.D.) and Paramardi (*c.* 1167-1203 A.D.).

4 *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 203, line 7.

5 Niẓāmud-Din says of this fort that 'it has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability;' *TA*, Trans., p. 14. Bīrūnī also refers to Kālanjar as one of the two 'most famous fortresses of India;' see his *Indica*, trans. by Sachau (Trübner), Vol. I, p. 202.

6 *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 203.

and the *Kālindī*.[1] It is not unlikely that from these bases Dhaṅga may have penetrated further eastward in the Ganges valley. A Khajraho epigraph tells us that the wives of 'the kings of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā, and Aṅga lingered in his prisons.'[2] Another verse of the same inscription says that 'he was so powerful that the rulers of Kośala, Kratha,[3] Siṁhala and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands.'[4] It is therefore possible that he may have even successfully raided some portions of peninsular India. In any case there is enough evidence to show that Dhaṅga had become one of the most powerful rulers of Central India during this period. One of the Candella inscriptions goes so far as to say that he, having defeated on the battlefield the *Kānyakubja-narendra*, obtained exalted sovereignty (or empire, *Sāmrājya*).[5] If true, this statement shows that the hegemony which the rulers of Kanauj so long enjoyed in Northern India was at last taken away from them by the Candellas during the reign of Dhaṅga. But as 'Utbī in 409 A.H. (1018 A.D.) describes the Kanauj ruler Rājyapāla as 'the chief of all princes of India,'[6] we must conclude that the halo of imperialism still lingered over the brow of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras for at least sometime after Dhaṅga's death. The accepted interpretation of another statement about Dhaṅga also appears to me to be doubtful. A fragmentary Candella inscription discovered at Mahoba thus describes his achievements: "......Dhaṅga, who caused the destruction of his enemies, and who by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Haṁvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 139, and p. 146, V. 55.

2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 145, V. 46.

3 *Kratha* was a country in the peninsular portion of India, possibly near modern Berar. In the *Mahābhārata* (Bomb. Ed., II, Chap. 14, V. 21). *Kratha-Kauśikān* are mentioned in connection with the *Bhojas* and *Pāṇḍyas*. Some identify *Kratha-Kauśika* with Vidarbha. See *GDI*, p. 104.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 145, V. 45.

5 *Ibid*, p. 197, V. 3; also foot-note 62 on p. 203.

6 *KY*. Trans. from the Persian version by Reynolds, p. 456. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 608.

earth......"[1] The word *Hamvīra* is apparently a corruption of the Arabic word Amīr (امیر, Commander, leader), derived from the root Amr (امر, command). The word *Amīr* in this sense is found in Islamic history in the title *Amīr ul-mu'minīn, i.e.,* 'lord of the faithful' which became a regular title of the Caliphs since the days of 'Umar.[2] The term gradually came to be applied to kings, and later on to any high official of the state. The coins of the Yamīnīs of Ghazni show that they were known by the title of *Amīr.*[3] Stein has shown that the *Hammīra* of Kalhana, who was a contemporary of Śāhi Trilocanapāla and the Kashmirian king Saṁgrāmarāja (1003-28 A.D.) must be identified with Mahmud of Ghazni. Thus Hammīra appears to be another Indian corruption of the Arabic word *Amīr.*[4] That this is the correct interpretation is proved by the Sanskrit legend on the reverse of some of the gold coins of Muhammad ibn Sām, which runs as follows :—*Śrīmad Hamīra Mahamad Sām.*[5] From this time onwards up to the reign of Balban the epithet *Śrī-Hamīra* (*Srī-Hamīra* or *Sri-Hammira*) occurs as the regular designation of the Ghūrī and Delhi Sulṭāns in their coins and inscriptions.[6] The epithet also occurs on the coins of some of their provincial satraps.[7] There is no doubt therefore that *Hammīra Hamīra*, or *Hamvīra* was to the Indians the accepted title for a Muhammadan prince at least during the period *c.* 1000-1300 A.D. But this word may have even a longer history. It is not unlikely that it came to acquire this meaning from the middle of the 9th century A.D., when the Arab chiefs of

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 218 and 221, V. 17.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 330 and 334.

[3] S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Coins*, Oxford, 1888, p. 18.

[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 53, 64, Stein's note on VII, 47-69 on pp. 270-71 in Vol. I, of his Trans. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 95 ff., 135.

[5] Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II, Oxford, 1907, p. 17. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings in Delhi*, p. 20, No. 18.

[6] Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-33; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-127; also fn. 1, on pp. 50-51, *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, p. 108, plate X.

[7] Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 100-03.

Sind became practically independent and assumed the title of *Amīr*.[1]

To return to our discussion of the epithet, "equalled even the powerful *Hamvīra*." The known dates of Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011-1059, *c*. 954-1002 A.D.) show that he was a contemporary of the Yamīnī Sulṭāns Sabuk-tigīn (A.D. 976-97), Ismā'īl (A.D. 997) and Maḥmūd (A.D. 998-1030). It has been usually assumed by scholars that the *Hamvīra* referred to above must be identified with Sabuk-tigīn. They further assume that the Kalinjar ruler who according to Firishta 'supplied troops and money' to the Śāhi ruler Jayapāla must have been the Candella ruler Dhaṅga.[2] I have elsewhere tried to show that there are reasons to suspect the veracity of Firishta on this point.[3] The silence of 'Utbī, Ibn ul-Athīr, and Niẓām ud-Dīn appears to me to be rather significant. I have already pointed out that the last known date of Dhaṅga is V. S. 1059, and the earliest known date of his successors is 410 A.H.,[4] so his death must have occurred sometime between *c*. 1002 and 1019 A.D.[5] As he lived for more

[1] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on Dynasties of Sind, pp. 91, fn. 3; *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 36.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 218-19; *IA*, 1908, p. 140, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 276; *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 507.

[3] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 83, 91-22, 597, etc.

[4] The date of his grandson Vidyādhara; see *infra*, pp. 688 ff.

[5] Kielhorn while editing the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V. S. 1059, renewed by Jayavarmadeva in V. S. 1173 remarked : "The date shows that Dhaṅga died between the Vikrama years 1055, the date of the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate grant mentioned above (*IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202-04) and 1059." (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 139.) This has been accepted by other scholars, see *IA*, 1908, p. 141. But the inscription in question records in lines 32-3, V. 63 : *Samvat 1059 Śrī-Kharjuravāhake Dhaṅga-deva-rājye deva-Śrī-Marakateśvarasya praśasti siddhā*. This clearly shows that Dhaṅga was alive in V.S. 1059. The fact that in line 29, V. 55 refers to the death of Dhaṅga only proves that the record in question was re-arranged and re-written when it was renewed after more than a hundred years by Jayavarmadeva in V. S. 1173. It is of course strange that the record 'should contain no allusions whatever to the successor of Dhaṅgadeva.' But this unusual character of the inscription remains unexplained even if we accept the theory of Kielhorn. To me it therefore seems that the epigraph does not give us any facts to fix the date of the death of Dhaṅga 'within very narrow limits of possible error.' It is clear that he did not die 'a little before 1002 A.D.' We only know that he died some time after A.D. 1002.

than a 'hundred autumns' (*Śaradāṁ śataṁ*)[1] it is not unlikely that he may have lived up to 1008 A.D., which date practically saw the downfall of the Śāhis. The defeat of Ānandapāla threw open the Ganges-Jumna valley to the inroads of the Yamīnī Amīrs. The shadow of the *Haṁvīra* fell beyond the waters of the Sutlej. The achievements of Maḥmūd only served to heighten the prestige of his arms. Under the circumstances, to compare Dhaṅga's prowess to that of the terrible *Haṁvīra* may have appeared to a late *praśastikāra*, writing at least a hundred years after that prince's death,[2] to be deserving of the highest reward. If Dhaṅga really fought and was defeated by the *Haṁvīra*, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors.

The above discussion shows that Dhaṅga's reign was a long and distinguished one, probably unmarred by defeats at the hands of the Turuṣkas. The temples of Khajraho, which are regarded as 'the finest group of Hindu temples in Northern India,' and are usually referred to the 10th and 11th centuries, bear evidence to the splendour of the victories of the Candellas in the domain of peace.[3] Some of these edifices certainly belong to the reign of Dhaṅga. The temple of Jinanātha, which contains an inscription of Dhaṅga's reign of the year 1011 recording a number of gifts by a Jain devotee, was probably built during that ruler's reign. The temple of Vaidyanātha, which contains an inscription of the year 1058 recording the building of a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha by one Kokkala of the *Gahapati* family, also appears to have been built during this reign.[4] Another Khajraho inscription records the building of 'a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu, *Marakateśvara*, with two *lingas*

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 146, V. 55.

[2] The Mahoba epigraph which contains this passage is unfortunately fragmentary. But in V. 28 it seems to refer to the son of Kīrtivarman (V. S. 1154). *EI*, Vol. I, p. 221.

[3] Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 419 ff.; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 49 ff., 140 ff.; *IA*, 1908, p. 63.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 147 ff.

one of emerald and the other of stone. This inscription is dated in the year 1059, and is now built into a wall of the temple of Visvanātha.[1]

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman supplies us with the name of one of his ministers, named Prabhāsa, who was born in the lineage of Aṅgiras and Gautama Akṣapāda, the reputed founder of the *Nyāya* philosophy. He was, we are told, 'highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics (*naya-prayoge gahane sudakṣaḥ*). After being '(duly) tried' (*sarv-opadhāśuddhi*) was appointed 'chief of all ministers' by Dhaṅga and king Gaṇḍa.[2]

Dhaṅga after living for more than a hundred years at last "abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges and the Yamunā, and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra, and muttering holy prayers." The following records and dates are known for his reign : [3]

(1) *Khajraho stone-inscription*.—The stone which bears this inscription is said to have been discovered in the ruins at the base of the Lakṣmaṇa-temple at Khajraho. It consists of 28 lines and contains 49 verses in fluent and correct Sanskrit. It opens with adoration to the holy Vāsudeva' and then invokes the god Vaikuṇṭha. Next follows the account of the rise of the Candrātreyas from the Sage Atri. The genealogy is traced from Nannuka to Dhaṅga The inscription is mainly concerned with the *praśasti* of Yaśovarman, who constructed a splendid home of Viṣṇu and set up in it an image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he received from the *Hayapati* Devapāla (Vs. 23-43). The last 6 verses give an account of Dhaṅga ; and then comes

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 137 ff.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 199, V. 21.

[3] *Rakṣitvā kṣitim ambur āśirasanām etām ananyāyatim,*
Jīvitvā śaradām śatam śamadhikam Śri-Dhaṅga-pṛthvīpatiḥ.
Rudram mudritalocanaḥ sa hṛdaye dhyāyañjapañjāhnavī-
Kālindyoh salile kalevara-parityāgād agānnirvṛtim. (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 146, V. 55.)

Such acts of suicide are not unknown in Indian History; see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 442 ; *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 347.

the date (V.) S. 1011 (A. D. 953-54) and the name of Viṇāyakapāla 'protecting the earth.' It ends with 'adoration to the holy Vāsudeva! adoration to the sun.' The inscription was composed by the *Kavi* Mādhava and written by 'the *Karaṇika Gauḍa* Jaddha who was *Saṁskṛta-bhāṣāvidvas*.[1]

(2) *Khajraho Jain Temple inscription*.—It is carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Jinanātha at Khajraho. It consists of 11 lines of Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse. The inscription begins with '*oṁ*' and then gives the date (V.) S. 1011 (A. D. 1055). It next records 'a number of gifts made (probably in favour of the temple where the inscription is) by one Pāhilla,' who was 'held in honour by Dhā(a?)ṁga-rāja' and was a devotee of the 'lord of the Jinas.' The gifts mainly consist of gardens (*vāṭikā*). Line 10 mentions the name of *Mahārāja-guru* Vāsavacandra.[2]

(3) *Nanyaura* (now *Bengal Asiatic Society*) *grant*.—It contains 15 lines incised on one side of a single copper plate, and was found with another plate of Devavarman (dated in V. S. 1107) in a field at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari-Jaitpur Tahsīl of the Hamirpur District, U. P. There are no holes in the plate for rings, nor any seal attached to the plate The grant opens with the sign *Oṁ svasti* and then traces the genealogy of the donor from king Harṣadeva. We are told that *Pb.-M.-P.* Harṣadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P. Yaśovarmana-deva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Kālañjarādhipati*-Dhaṅga-deva in the (V.) year 1055 (A. D. 998), when there was an eclipse of the moon, granted from Kāśikā (Benares) the village of Yu(Cu?)llī attached to (*pratibaddha*) *Uṣaravāha* to the

1 The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham in *ASR* (Vol. II, p. 426; Vol. XXI, p. 65), and a very small photolithograph of it was published, *ibid*. Vol. XXI, plate XVII. It was edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 123-135. The stone bearing this record is now built into the wall inside the entrance-porch of the temple of Lakṣmaṇa.

2 The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 433, and XXI, p. 67. He also published a photolithograph of it, Vol. XXI, plate XVI, No. J. It was first edited by R. L. Mitra in the *JASB*, Vol. XXXII, p. 279; re-edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 135-36.

Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, an emigrant from Tarkārikā, whose ancestors had been settled at Dūrvāharā. The inscription ends with '*Śrī* Dhaṅga.' [1]

(4) *Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala.*—The slab which bears this inscription is said to have been found at the temple of Vaidyanātha at Khajraho. The record contains 22 lines. It is a *praśasti* of a *Grahapati* family which originally came from Padmāvatī (mod. Narwar, Gwalior State). The inscription opens with '*Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya,*' and then invokes Śiva in several verses under the names Vaidyanātha, Śaṅkara, and Śarva. Then the genealogy of Kokkala is traced from Yaśobala or Atiyaśobala, of Padmāvatī. In lines 19-21 is recorded the erection of a temple of Vaidyanātha and a number of buildings for pious Brāhmans by Kokkala at Khajraho. The date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1008 (A. D. 1000-01) is given in the last line.[2]

(5) *Khajraho stone inscription.*—It was discovered in a temple at Khajraho. It consists of 33 lines. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, and then praises Śiva (Rudra, Digambara, Śūladhara, Maheśvara), Bhāratī, and Gaṇeśa. Next follows the usual story of the origin of the Candrātreyas. Then comes the regular genealogy of the family from Nannuka to Dhaṅga. In lines 48-51 we are told that the latter erected a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu. "He also distributed great quantities of gold and established in connection with the temple dwellings for pious Brāhmans to whom donations were made of land, grain, money, and cows." (Vs. 52-54.) The record was composed when the illustrious priest of the royal household Yaśodhara was acting in the office of *Dharmādhikāra*.[3]

1 The plate was first edited by V. A. Smith in the *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 84, and was re-edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-04. It is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.

2 Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*; see Vol. XXI, p. 66, and plate XIX. Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 147-52. It is now built into the wall of the entrance of the porch of the temple of Visvanātha.

3 This Yaśodhara is most probably to be identified with the donee of the Nanyaura plate, *op. cit.*, No. 3.

Lines 32-33 give the date as follows: "The (V.) year 1059 (A. D. 1001-02); at the glorious Kharjuravāhaka, in the *rājya* of the illustrious king Dhaṅga, this *praśasti* of the god *Marakateśvara* was completed." The record was composed by the poet Rāma, grandson of the *kavi* Nandana of the *Sāvara* (Śābara)-*vaṁśa* and a resident of Tarkārikā. It was written by the *Kāyastha* Yaśaḥpāla, and engraved by Siṁha. The temple was built by the *Sūtradhāra* Chicca.[1]

Dhaṅga was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍa sometime between 1001-02 A. D., Dhaṅga's last known date, and 1019 A. D., the first recorded date of his grandson Vidyādhara. So far we have not discovered any inscription of this prince. His name is only mentioned in some late records of the Candellas which were composed at least a hundred years after his death. The following statements regarding his reign can be collected from these epigraphs.

A fragmentary Candella inscription which appears to have been composed after the reign of Kīrtivarman (V. S. 1154) refers to Gaṇḍa as 'an unrivalled hero who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms.'[2] The Mau inscriptions of Madanavaraman (V. S. 1186-1220) tells us that Gaṇḍadeva was 'a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride.'[3] A rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (V. S. 1345) mentions the name of the *Ṭhakkura* Jājūka of the *Vāstavya Kāyastha-Vaṁśa* to whom was granted by Gaṇḍa, 'the invincible in battle,' the

[1] The inscription was first most carelessly edited by Sutherland in *JASB*, Vol. III, pp. 159-84. It was re-edited by Kielhorn in the *NKGWG*, 1886, pp. 441-62; finally edited by the same scholar, *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 137-47. The inscription was probably re-arranged and re-written in V. S. 1173, when it was renewed by Jayavarman. This explains the occurrence of the description of Dhaṅga's death in V. 55, while the date of his record is given in V. 63. The inscription is now built into the wall on the right side of the temple of Viśvanātha.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219, 221, and 222, V. 19.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 197 and 203, V. 4.

village of Dugauda, and who was appointed 'to superintend at all times all the affairs (of the state).'[1]

The above will show that, apart from the name of this officer of his time, the Candella records contain nothing but vague generalities about the administration of Gaṇḍa. This agrees with the fact pointed out elsewhere[2] that he is, perhaps, not to be identified with the powerful Indian prince Nandā whose 'immense army,' according to certain Muḥammadan chroniclers, inspired fear even in the mind of Maḥmūd, the Yamīnī king of Ghazni.[3] I have tried to prove that Nandā نندا is a mistake not for Gaṇḍa (كنده - كند or كنداه - كندا) but for Bīdā (بيدا) which is approximately the Arabic phonetic equivalent of *Vidyā*, the first part of the name of Vidyādhara, the son of Gaṇḍa.

It is not known when Gaṇḍa's reign came to an end but he must have been succeeded by his son Vidyādhara some time before 1019 A. D. For Ibn ul-Athīr tells us that in the year A. H. 409 (a mistake for A. H. 410) Maḥmūd of Ghazni marched against India to protect his territories from a threatened attack by Bīdā. This king, we are told, 'was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory ; he had the largest armies ; and his country was named Kajuraho' كجراهه. We are further told that some time before this date Bīdā, after a 'long quarrel,' had fought and killed 'Rājaypāl,' the ruler of Kanauj for 'his flight and the surrendering of his territories to the Musalmans.'[4] The

1 *Ibid*, pp. 333 and 336, Vs. 5-7.

2 *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 606.

3 See Dey's Trans. of the *TA* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 12; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 691.

4 *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16; see also edition by Tornberg published in 1863, Vol. IX, p. 218. This edition also gives the name as بيدا. But the editor notices a variant in some MSS. as Bandā بندا which may have been mistaken in the earlier Persian chronicles as Nandā. The published edition of *KZA* (ed. by Muhammad Nazim, Berlin, 1928, p. 76) gives the name as نندا. This was perhaps the original source of Niẓām ud-Dīn. The stages of corruption were probably therefore : (1) بيدا (2) بندا (3) نندا. On enquiry I find that even now in many parts of Bundelkhand the popular way of pronouncing *yā* sounds after dentals is simply by an *ā*. Thus they would pronounce *pratyākhyāna* as *patākhān*, and not *patiakhian*, as is done in many parts of U. P. That

truth of the last statement of Ibn ul-Athīr is demonstrated by the Dubkund inscription of the Kacchapaghāta Vikramasiṁha (V.S. 1145), which tells us that one of his predecessors named Arjuna, being anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara, had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla.[1] The statement is also supported by a Candella inscription from Mahoba which informs us that Vidyādhara "caused the destruction of the king of Kanauj."[2] These facts show that by the year 1019 A.D., Vidyādhara had come to be regarded as the most powerful ruler of India. The policy of Dhaṅga, who ceased to pay even a nominal homage to the throne of Kanauj, was thus successfully carried to its logical conclusion by his grandson when the latter forcibly uprooted the effete successor of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla.

It is difficult to trace the actual limits of Vidyādhara's dominions. The Dubkund inscription certainly indicates that the Kacchapaghāta rulers of that place were his vassals,[3] and his power probably extended in the west along the east bank of the river Chambal. Another Candella inscription tells us that 'Bhojadeva, together with *Kalacuri-candra* worshipped' (Vidyādhara) 'this master of warfare full of fear, like a pupil.'[4] Bhojadeva of this passage has been rightly identified with the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā of that name. It is also likely the prince referred to as *Kalacuri-candra* is to be identified with

the Muslims followed the popular pronunciation of names and not the Sanskritic pronunciation of the Pandits is shown by the fact that Bīrūnī gives the name of the capital of Gangeya as *Tiaurī*, the predecessor of the modern *Tewar*, and not *Tripurī*. See *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 202.

1 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 237, lines 10, etc.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22.

3 That the ruler of Gwalior was also a vassal of the Candellas is probably shown by the fact that Niẓām ud-Dīn when describing the invasion of *Nandā's* territory by Maḥmūd in 413 A. H., says : He invaded the kingdom of *Nandā*, and when he reached the fort of Gwalior he laid siege to it. At the end of four days the Commandant (or governor; حاکم) of the fort sent envoys..................... See *TA*, Trans, p. 14. Text (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 15 ; *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 692 and fn. 2 on that page.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22.

the Cedi ruler Kokalla II.[1] If these identifications are accepted it seems likely that the weight of Vidyādhara's arms was felt in the S. W. and the S. E. as far as the sources of the Chambal and the Narbada. In the north after the defeat and the death of Rājyapāla his authority possibly extended over the Ganges-Jumna *Doāb*. There was therefore not much exaggeration in the account of Ibn ul-Athīr when he described Vidyādhara as the most powerful Indian prince of the time. We can also believe Niẓām ud-Dīn when he tells us that he mustered an army 'consisting of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants to oppose the advance of Maḥmūd in 410 A. H.[2] We have elsewhere discussed the reasons that led Maḥmūd to invade India on this occasion.[3] We have seen how 'Parū-Jaypāl,' after unsuccessfully trying to resist Maḥmūd's advance on the Rāhib, started to meet Bīdā. Before however he could effect any junction with the Candella ruler he was surprised and killed by some Indians.[4] After this incident Maḥmūd plundered Bārī, and 'started in pursuit af Bīdā.' According to Ibn ul-Athīr Maḥmūd overtook him on the bank of a river, and after having diverted the stream into new channels came into touch with the Indian camp. The same author gives the following account of the battle that followed: "Yamīn ud-Daulah sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bīdā also sent out against him a similar number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them."[5] Niẓām ud-Dīn supplies

1 *Ibid*, p. 219.

2 *TA* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Trans., p. 12. Ibn ul-Athīr gives the number of the army as 56,000 cavalry, 184,000 (?) infantry and 746 elephants; see *TKA*, p. 216. The *KZA*, (p. 76) gives the figures as 36,000 cavalry, 145,000 (40,1000,5 ?) infantry and 640 elephants. Firishta gives the number as 36,000 cavalry, 45,000 infantry, and 640 elephants; Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 64. As Firishta generally closely follows Niẓām ud-Din, 45,000 may be a mistake for 145,000.

3 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 606 ff.

4 *TKA*, p. 216.

5 *Ibid*.

a somewhat different account of these incidents. He says: "When the Sultan encamped in front of *Nandā's* army, he first sent an envoy to him and invited him to submit, and to accept Islam. *Nandā* refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of *Nandā's* army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the giver of all mercies." [1]

Both the accounts bear evidence to the military power of the Candella ruler, on whom had now fallen the task of resisting the encroachments of Islam in the Ganges-Jumna valley. According to Niẓām ud-Dīn there was no fight between the two armies. *Nandā*, as he lay encamped is said to have become alarmed, and fled at night 'with a few special companions, leaving the army, and all the munitions of war behind.' I am rather disposed to place more credence on the earlier account of the *Kāmil*, and believe that there was a fierce though indecisive battle between the armies before the Candella beat a strategic retreat under cover of the night.[2] This version to me seems to be more consistent with the Muslim account of Bīdā's power and prestige. According to Ibn ul-Athīr, when Maḥmūd found 'the land deserted,' each party of the Hindu army 'having gone a different way,' he plundered the Candella camp and went in pursuit of the Hindu army. He is said to have overtaken them 'in forests and thickets,' and slain and captured a large number; but 'Bīdā escaped single-handed and Yamīn ud-Daulah returned victorious to Ghazna.' An instance of the exaggerations of later historians is afforded by Niẓām ud-Dīn's account of the spoils that fell into the hands of

[1] *TA*, Trans., p. 12. A similar account is also found in *KZA*, p. 76.

[2] On account of the diversion of the stream, the strategic importance of the field chosen by Vidyādhara to resist Maḥmūd must have considerably diminished.

Maḥmūd after this victory. According to the *Kāmil* Maḥmūd found 'treasures and weapons,' in the Hindu camp. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* 'immense quantities of booty,' including 580 elephants, 'fell into the hands of the army of Islām.'

According to Niẓām ud-Dīn and Firishta, Maḥmūd again invaded *Nandā's* territory in the year 413 A. H. (1022 A. D.).[1] The campaign in 410 A.H. did not bear any decisive results and Maḥmūd apparently wanted to force a conclusion. We are told that the Ghazni ruler advanced into the territory of *Nandā* and besieged the fortress of Gwalior. At the end of four days the commandant (حاکم) of the fort submitted and paid a tribute of 35 elephants.[2] The Sultan is then said to have invested the fort of Kālañjara, "which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability." The siege lasted for a *considerable time*, when *Nandā*, the ruler of the fort offered 300 elephants as a tribute and begged for safety. When these elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultan ordered that the Turks should catch hold of them and mount them. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. *Nandā* then sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue (زبان هندی),[3] in praise of the Sultan. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets[4] who were in attendance on him.

[1] Brigg's Trans. of the *TF*, Vol. I, p. 66, gives the date as A.H. 414 but the Lucknow Text (Vol. I, p. 31) gives the date as 413 A.H.; so it is likely that there is a mistake in the translation.

[2] The title حاکم which usually means a Commandant or a Governor, shows that the Gwalior ruler was a feudatory of the Candellas. The *KFA* (p. 79) gives *Sālār* (سالار; commandant). Firishta who is later in time, has راجه which is more ambiguous.

[3] *KZA* (p. 80) has *Lughat-i-Hindūī*. (لغت هندوی).

[4] Firishta has 'learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia:' Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 67. This is perhaps the earliest reference to *Hindi* poetry. As Muslim writers like Bīrūnī or Amīr Khusrau refer to Sanskrit as Sanskrit, it is not likely that Hindi is here an adjective of the word Hind (India) meaning Sanskrit, the language *par excellence* of *Hind*. Another fact which makes it probable that *Hindi* here means *Hindustānī* is the date of the earliest of the Hindi poets so far known, *viz.*, Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd, who lived in

They all praised them. The Sultan sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. *Nandā* also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultān. From that place the Sultān returned (to Ghazna) with victory and triumph.''[1]

It is clear from the account of these Musalman writers that Maḥmūd could not repeat the success which he obtained against the effete Gurjara-Pratīhāra rulers when he captured the 7 forts of Kanauj in a single day. Even after 'a considerable time,' he evidently could not capture the fort of Kālañjara, and the campaign ended in mutual gifts and compliments which appear to have been euphemistically represented by his historians as 'tribute.'[2] The friendly relations thus established between Maḥmūd and the Candellas may have continued till at least 1029 A. D., when the former seized one of Seljuq's sons and is reported to have sent him as a prisoner to the fort of 'Kalanjar' in India.[3]

the court of Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Maḥmūd, and died c. 515 or 525 A.H. (1121 or 1130 A.D.). Mas'ūd's family were immigrants from Hamdan in Persia and his *Diwans* of Arabic, Persian, and Hindi verses are referred to by Amir Khusrau. It is thus clear that at the beginning of the 12th century Hindi as a literature was so well known that even foreigners composed verses in it. It is not unlikely that a 100 years before this the beginnings of Hindi may be traced to the courts of the Indian princes, who had to carry on intercourse with the Muslim rulers on the frontier. I am indebted for the name and date of Mas'ūd to Dr. M. W. Mirza of Lucknow University.

[1] *TA*, Trans., p. 14. *KZA*, pp. 79-80. This authority mentions in addition the payment of *Jizya* by *Nandā* as one of the conditions of peace. *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 66-67. Ibn ul-Athīr does not mention any Indian invasions under the year 413 A.H. But under A.H. 414 he refers to Maḥmūd's conquest of a strong Indian fort situated on the top of a high mountain containing sufficient water and provisions and 500 elephants. I am disposed to identify this fort with *Kālañjara*. But in that case we shall have to correct the *Kāmil's* date by one year; see Vol. IX, p. 124.

[2] It would certainly be an exaggeration to represent him as a 'coward,' who 'capitulated without fighting.' *IA*, 1908, p. 142. In using these later historians one has always to guard against a tendency to exaggerate Maḥmūd's achievements.

[3] Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1915, p. 170; *Rāhat uṣ-Ṣudūr*. Ed. by Muhammad Iqbal, 1921, p. 103. But it seems more likely that this *Kalanjar* is to be identified with the *Kaliñjara* or Kāliñjara of Kalhaṇa and *Kalunjur* of Firishta, situated on the frontiers of Kashmir. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 158, fn. 2.

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman gives us the name of an officer of Vidyādhara's court, the "virtuous Śivanāga" son of Prabhāsa, the chief *Mantri* of Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa. We are told that Śivanāga 'as soon as he had assumed the post of minister (*Saciva-pada*), alone, by his excellent conduct made the government of the king Vidyādhara one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth.[1]

Vidyādhara was succeeded sometime after A. H. 413 (A. D. 1022) and before V. S. 1107 the first known date of his grandson Devavarman, by his son Vijayapāla. The latter's name and position in the dynastic table are known from a number of Candella inscriptions.[2] But these documents supply practically no information about the political incidents of his reign. One epigraph tells us that he was a *nṛpendra*, while another praises his virtuous conduct and bravery and tells us that his reign 'put an end to the *Kali* age.' The only piece of information of any importance is the name of his minister (*Saciva*) Mahīpāla, supplied by the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman.[3] We are told that Mahīpāla sustained 'to its full extent, the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapāla' and, uniting valour with blameless policy 'became the standard of comparison among good ministers.'

Vijayapāla was succeeded sometime before V. S. 1107 by Devavarman his son by his queen Bhuvanadevī. The existence of this prince is known from his grant, which was discovered at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari Jaitpur Tahsīl of the Hamirpur District of U. P. along with a grant of Dhaṅgadeva.[4] The plate which is written on one side only, contains 19 lines of writing. The inscription opens with *Oṁ svasti*,

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 199, Vs. 23-24.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 205, lines 1-3; *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, p. 238, lines 2-3; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 198 and 200, Vs. 6 and 26; *JASB*, Vol. 1848, XVII, p. 317, V. 7.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 200, V. 26.

[4] See *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 685, No. (3).

and then traces the genealogy of the donor as follows: *Pb.-M.-P.* Vidyādharadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.- M.P.*-Vijaya-pāla-deva-*pād-ānu-dhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Kālamjarādhipati* Deva-varma-deva. This prince in (V.)S.1107 (A.D. 1051), from his residence at Suhavāsa, on the occasion of the anniversary (*Sāṁvat-sarike*) of his mother the *rājñī* Bhuvanadevī, granted the village of Kaṭhahau (?) situated in Raṇamaua in the Rāja-pura-avasthā, to the Brāhman Abhimanyu, an emigrant from the *Bhaṭṭa-grāma* named Ḍhakārī. The grant ends with the name of the donor '*Śrīmad*-Devavarma-devah.'[1] The Candella records refer to no political incidents of his reign. In some of these he is altogether omitted. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, for instance, mentions Kīrtivarman after Vijayapāla.[2] The same thing is done in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kīrtivarman and a fragmentary Candella stone inscription from Mahoba.[3] All these inscriptions however describe Kīrtivarman as son of Vijayapāla. It is therefore likely that Devavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Kīrtivarman. Though it is not unusual for the compilers of royal genealogies to omit a brother from the family tree, there are reasons to suspect that this omission may have been more than casual. The *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, which allegorically represents in the form of a drama the eternal struggle between *Viveka* and *Mahā-mōha*, supplies the following interesting information on the point.[4] We are told in the introductory portion of the play that the 'glorious Gopāla has ordered it to be produced before king Kīrtivarman.' This Gopāla is called *Sakala sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi*, who like Paraśurāma extirpated the race of tyrannical kings: "His merciless battle axe spared neither

[1] The grant was first published by V. A. Smith in the *JASB*, Vol. XLVII. Part I, p. 81. It was then properly edited by Kielhorn in the *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-02 and 204-07. The plate is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 7.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 238, line 2-3; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, Vs. 23-26.

[4] The text has been printed at *The Nirṇaya-Sāgara* Press, Bombay. There is an imperfect translation by J. Taylor, London, 1812.

women, child, nor old age; it cleft the broad shoulders of the enemy, and its stroke was followed by a dreadful sound." [1] In other passages Gopāla is compared with the Man-lion incarnation (*Nṛsiṁha-rūpa*) and with the primeval boar (*Mahāvarāha*) who 'raised up the earth when it had sunk in the waters of destruction, poured down upon its sovereigns.' These passages indicate that Gopāla acted as the saviour in a time of great crisis. Several passages tell us that his services were undertaken in the interest of Kīrtivarman. One passage runs as follows: "Gopāla, whose glory fills the universe, who, aided by his sword as his friend conquered the lords of men and has invested with the sovereignty of the earth (*Sāmrājya*) Kīrtivarman, the chief of princes (*narapati-tilaka*)." [2] Elsewhere we are told that Gopāla when engaged in the *digvijaya-vyāpāra* of Kīrtivarmadeva became *viṣaya-rasāsvāda-dūṣita*. Thus it is clear that Gopāla must have acted as a saviour to the fortune of the Candellas when she was overwhelmed by the attack of enemies. The name of these enemies is contained in the following statement of the *Sūtradhāra*: "His anger was roused to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the Moon, who had been dethroned by the lord of Cedi, the Rudra and Fire of destruction of all royal families of the earth (*sakala-bhūpāla-kula-pralaya-kālāgni-rudra*)." [3] The *Naṭī* also refers to the victory of Gopāla over the armies of the confederacy of kings (*sakala-rāja-maṇḍala*) and of Karṇa, and compares him with the Madhumathana who obtained Lakṣmī by churning the ocean. In another place Gopāla, having overcome the strong Karṇa is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious king Kīrtivarman just as discrimination having overcome strong delusion gave rise to knowledge.[4] The statements referred

[1] I, 3; I, 6-7.
[2] I, 4.
[3] I, 6.
[4] I, 9. The importance of the passage was first noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 453. See also *EI*, Vol. I, p. 220.

to above are also supported by epigraphic evidence. Thus verse 26 of a Candella inscription at Mahoba records that Kīrtivarman conquered Lakṣmī-Karṇa: "Just as Puruṣottama (*Viṣṇu*), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain *Mandara*) the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakṣmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (*viz.*, Kīrtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakṣmī-Karṇa, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants."[1] These victories are also referred to in V. 3 of the stone inscription of the Candella Vīravarman. The verse runs as follows: "In that (race) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame was sung by the Vidyādharas, (who was) the pitcher-born (Agastya) in swallowing that ocean—Karṇa, (and) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom (*Prajeśvaro nūtana-rājya-sṛṣṭau*...),—the illustrious Kīrtivarman."[2]

Though there is some difference in the epigraphic and literary evidence, the former giving all the credit of the victory to Kīrtivarman and the latter to his chief *Sāmanta* Gopāla,[3] yet there is fundamental agreement in the statement that the Candella power was for sometime completely eclipsed by the victories of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, the Kalacuri king of Ḍāhala (*c.* 1042-70). The *Prabodha-candrodaya* distinctly says that 'the race of the moon' (the Candellas) was dethroned by the lord of Cedi, while one inscription gives to Kīrtivarman the credit of recreating

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 219-20 and 222. Hultzsch has noticed the 'curious coincidence' of this verse and the Prakrit passage in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* where Gopāla is compared with Madhumathana and the army of Karṇa with the milk-ocean; see *ibid.*

2 *Ibid*, pp. 327 and 329. Compare also lines 8-9 of the fragmentary Kālañjara Candella inscription in *JASB*, Vol. XVII, p. 317, which appear to refer to the same incident in similar verse.

3 I am disposed to think that the victories were really gained by the *Sāmanta*, for otherwise a drama in which that claim was so forcibly expressed could not have been staged before the reigning king.

like the Creator the kingdom (of the Candellas). The destruction of the Candella kingdom is also referred to by Bilhaṇa, who describes Karṇa, the lord of Ḍāhala, as 'the death to the lord of Kālañjara mountain" (*Kālaḥ Kālañjara-giri-pater yaḥ*).[1] It is therefore certain that Karṇa, whose contact with the kings of Northern India from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal is established on authentic documents,[2] and who is said to have dominated India from the borders of Kashmir to the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula,[3] must have held in subjection the Candella territory for some period before his defeat at the hands of Gopāla, the Brāhman general of Kīrtivarman. It is not unlikely, as the statement of Bilhaṇa seems to indicate, that one of the predecessors of Kīrtivarman may have even lost his life in the wars with the Kalacuris. The curious silence of the *praśastikāras* regarding the achievements of Vijayapāla and the omission of Devavarman from the family tree may therefore be explained to some extent by the fact that their reigns represented one of the darkest chapters in the dynastic history of the Candellas. We have traced how step by step their power increased till in the reign of Vidyādhara they were regarded by the Muslim writers as the most powerful kings in India. But the defeats which they inflicted on their Kalacuri neighbours since the days of Yaśovarman were at last reversed with disastrous results. In spite of Kīrtivarman's claims to have regained his dominions, the Candella power never really recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by Lakṣmī-Karṇa. Though it lingered long before it fell a prey to the Muslims, it could never again gain a predominant position in the chequered history of Northern India.

It is difficult to fix the time of these alleged victories of Kīrtivarman. His only date so far known is V. S. 1154 (A.D. 1098). The approximate dates of the other princes of

1 *Vikramāṅka-deva-carita*. Ed. by Bühler, XVIII, 93.

2 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, my chapter on the Haihayas (Kalacuris).

3 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 302.

India who also claim to have defeated Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c.* 1042-1070 A.D.), are as follow : [1]

(*a*) Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇī—*c.* 1040-69 A.D.
(*b*) Caulukya Bhīma of Aṇahilapattana,—*c.* 1021-64 A.D.
(*c*) Vigrahapāla of Bengal and Bihar—*c.* 1055-81 A.D.
(*d*) Udayāditya of Mālava—*c.* 1059 A.D.

These however do not help us to arrive at any definite conclusions. But if the Basahi plate of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra can be trusted, Lakṣmī-Karṇa must have sustained his defeat sometime before *c.* 1090-1104 A.D. For it tells us that 'when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karṇa, the world became troubled, Candradeva (*c.* 1090-1104) came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyākubja.' [2] An earlier date than 1090 A.D. is supplied by the Kahirha grant of Yaśaḥkarṇa, dated in (K.) *Saṁvat* 823, which indicates that Karṇa abdicated his throne in favour of his son some time before 1073 A.D.

An interesting piece of evidence of Kalacuri occupation of the Candella territories is probably supplied by the series of Candella coins which start from the reign of Kīrtivarman. The coins of Kīrtivarman so far discovered are of gold only, and, with the exception of the legend, are almost exact copies of the coins of the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of Lakṣmī-Karṇa.[3] It is therefore likely that the Candellas retained the Kalacuri type of coinage, which probably became extensively current in Jejā-bhukti during the period of occupation by Karṇa.[4]

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235-36, Vs. 19-22 ; Vol. II, pp. 185-86, Vs. 32-34 ; *ibid*, p. 303 ; *Vikramānka-deva-carita*, I, 102-03. *Rāmacarita*, *MASB*, Vol. III, p. 22.

2 *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 102-03, lines 3-5. For the earliest date of Candradeva, see his Candravati grant dated in 1090 A.D. ; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 302.

3 See *CMI*, pp. 77-79, and No. 12 on plate XIII ; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 458-59 ; Vol. X, pp. 25-26, plate X, No. 5. *CCIM*, pp. 251 and 253, No. 1. According to Cunningham the seated nimbate four-armed goddess on the obverse side is *Pārvatī*, but according to others it is *Lakṣmī* ; see *IA*, 1908, p. 147. The coins are of two denominations, *drammas* (approximately 63 grains), and ½ *drammas* (approximately 31 grains).

4 It is however curious that we have not so far discovered any coins of so powerful a king as Lakṣmī-Karṇa.

Besides these gold coins the only other important record of Kīrtivarman[1] is his *Deogarh Rock Inscription* :

'This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the fort of the town of Deogarh, situated at the western end of the tableland of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Betwa.' It contains 8 lines; opening with *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, it traces the genealogy of the illustrious prince Kīrtivarman, son of king Vijayapāla and grandson of the renowned prince Vidyādhara, of the *Caṁdella-vaṁśa*. V. 5 introduces us to this king's 'chief counsellor among his ministers' (*Amātya-mantr-īndra*), Vatsarāja, who had gone forth (*vi-nirgata*) from Ramaṇīpura. This officer, we are told, 'quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (*maṇḍala*) by his counsel and valour,' and made 'this fort Kīrtigiri.' The immediate object of this inscription was to record the building of a flight of steps named after him *Vatsarāja-ghaṭṭa*. The date, (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1154 (A.D.1098), comes at the end.[2]

The *Prabodha-candrodaya* gives us the name of Gopāla, who was one of the prominent *Sāmantas* in the court of Kīrtivarman. The record mentioned above supplies us with the name of another official, *viz.*, Vatsa who appears to have conquered the Betwa valley for his master. Besides these two, the Candella records mention the names of two more officers of this king. One of these was Ananta, son of Mahīpāla, who served as a minister of Vijayapāla. The Mau inscription of the time of Madanavarman tells us that Ananta combined in himself 'spotless sacred knowledge,' bravery and efficiency in 'the very high office of counselling,' and was the approved minister of the

1 Cunningham suggested that a temple of Śiva, the remains of which he discovered at Mahoba, 'was probably built in the time of Kīrtivarman,' see *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 441. V. A. Smith suggested that the lakes named *Kirat Sagar* at Mahoba and *Chanderi* (in Lalitpur) were also the work of this king. Kīrtivarman's name is also connected with 'buildings at Kālañjar and Ajaigarh.' See *IA*, 1908, p. 131.

2 A transcript of the inscription accompanied by a phtozincograph, was first published by Cunningham; see his *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 103, and plate XXXIII. It was then edited by Hultzsch in the *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 311-12; finally edited by Kielhorn in *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237-39.

king Kirtīvarman.[1] The Ajaigarh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman mentions the name of another officer, the *Vāstavya-Kāyastha* Maheśvara. We are told that he received the title of *Viśiṣa* of Kālañjara, accompanied by the grant of Pipalāhikā, from Kīrtivarman, 'the crest-jewel of the princes of the yellow mountain districts (*pītaśaila-viṣayeṣu*).[2]

Kīrtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallakṣaṇavarman or Hallakṣanavarma. The latter name is found on his coins.[3] His gold *drammas* and *quarter-drammas* belong to the same type as those of his father; but his copper *drammas* on the obverse substitute the figure of the 'Hanumān under a canopy' in the place of the four-handed seated goddess. Unfortunately no inscription of this king has so far been discovered.[4] But the records of his successors contain some information about his reign. Thus the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, after praising him in vague terms for his prowess, victory and liberality, seems to hint at his success against some unknown enemies in the *Doab* between the Ganges and the Jumna (*Antarvedī-viṣaya*).[5] One of his officers is said to have utterly defeated his foes 'by excess of his heroism,' and 'dissipated the fears of the subjects by clearing the country of thorns.'

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 200 and 205. Vs. 29-31. Ananta claims to have served at different times as *mantri mantrādhikāre*, *hasty-aśva-netā*, *pura-balādhyakṣa* and *abhimata-saciva* of the king.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 333 and 336, V. 9. The name *pīta-sáila-viṣaya* has not yet been met with elsewhere and has not been identified. The word *Viśiṣa* of this record needs explanation. It was certainly an administrative post.

[3] *CMI*, p. 79, Nos. 14-16, plate VIII. *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 458-59. Vol. X, p. 26, plate X, No. 6-g, 7-g, and 8-g. The change of *s* sound into *h* is quite common in some N. Indian vernaculars, *e.g.*, *hālā* for *sālā*; *he* for *se* in some forms of spoken Bengali.

[4] A fragmentary stone inscription, written in Nāgarī characters of about the 11th or the 12th century was discovered on the walls of the ruined fort of Jhansi. Line 2 of this inscription refers to the Ganges as the resting-place of Kāṇyakubja. It also appears to mention the (Candella?) Kīrtivarman and (the Malwa ruler) Udayāditya. The record belongs to the illustrious Sallakṣaṇa-siṁha. Kielhorn did not see 'any cogent reason' for identifying him 'with the Candella Sallakṣaṇavarman or for assigning this inscription to the Candella ruler. See *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 214-17. The inscription is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 198 and 201, Vs. 9-10 and 38-39.

The Ajaigarh rock-inscription of Bhojavarman tells us that Sallakṣaṇa's 'sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Cedis.' [1] We have seen that in the previous reign the revived Candella power was extending its influence on the Betwa. It is not unlikely therefore that Sallakṣaṇa may have carried out successful raids in the Paramāra territory in Malwa from the *Kīrti-giri-durga*. The contemporary Malwa king was most probably Naravarman (*c*. 1104 A.D.), the grandson of Udayāditya. The Cedi contemporary of Sallakṣaṇa was most probably Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c*. 1073-1125 A.D.), the son of Lakṣmī-Karṇa. It is difficult to decide who may have been the enemies of the Candella king in the *Antarvedī*. But if Sallakṣaṇa's objective in invading the Ganges-Jumna Doāb was to capture Kanauj he may have come into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gopāla or one of his predecessors who ruled over the city about this period.[2] As the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva claims to have conquered Kanauj between *c* 1094-1104, it seems probable that the attempt of the Candellas to control the *Doāb* proved abortive.

As to the names of the officers who served under this king, the Mau stone-inscription of Madanavarman informs us that the Brāhman Ananta, who held various responsible posts under Kīrtivarman, continued to serve under his son.[3] The same inscription tells us that Vatsa, Gadādhara, Vāmana and Pradyumna, the four sons of the abovementioned officer after 'being properly tried,' were all appointed to suitable posts by

1 *Ibid*, p. 327, V. 4.

2 *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 61-64. Kielhorn read the date as V.S.1276. It was corrected by W. Hoey in *JASB*, 1892, Vol. LXI, Extra No., pp. 57-64, and the correction, V.S 1176, was accepted by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XXIV, p. 176; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 61-66; see also *JASB*, 1925, pp. 103-06. It is possible that the lunar line of Kānyakubja, who appear to trace their descent to one Jayanta, and who are referred to in the *Jhansi fragmentary stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha*, may have been the predecessors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Kanauj. It is interesting to notice that the line of Jayanta seems to have been connected with the Caulukyas, the traditional enemies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; see *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 214-17.

3 *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 200-01, Vs. 33-37.

king Sallakṣaṇavarman.[1] Of these, Gadādhara appears to have been the officer responsible for the success of the king in the *Antarvedī*.[2]

Sallakṣaṇavarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman. Though some of the inscriptions omit him and his father from the dynastic lists,[3] his existence is established by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Thus the Ajaigarh inscription of the time of Vīravarman distinctly tells us that 'after him (Sallakṣaṇa), the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom.'[4] The close proximity of the succession of these two princes is also proved by the Mau stone-inscription of the time of Madanavarman, which informs us that when Ananta, who had served under the successive reigns of Kīrtivarman and Sallakṣaṇa, 'abandoned his body in the waters of (the river of) the gods and the daughter of the Sun' (*i. e.*, at the confluences of the *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā*), his son Gadādhara 'was eagerly appointed by king Jayavarman, near his own person, in the office of *Pratihāra*.'[5] The only epigraphic record of this king so far known is the *Khajraho stone-inscription* dated in (V.)S. 1173 (*c*. A.D. 1117), which contains a renewed document of king Dhaṅga. It is curious that this inscription does not contain any names of the princes who ruled between Dhaṅga and Jayavarman. In the two concluding verses (Vs. 63-64) we are simply told that the above record was "caused to be (re-)written in clear letters by Jayavarmadeva-*nṛpati*." It was re-written by the learned *Gauḍa* Jayapāla, the *Kāyastha* of the above prince.[6] Nothing

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid*, p. 206, Vs. 38-39 and fn. 75. The fragmentary Candella inscription which Cunningham discovered at Mahoba in 1865 refers to a son of Kīrtivarman in V. 29. (*Āsīt tadīya-tanayodbhūta*). But as 46 syllables of this verse, as well as the remainder of this inscription are lost, we cannot say definitely to whose time this inscription really belongs. For the inscription which is now in the Lucknow Museum, see Cunningham *ASR*, XXI, pp. 71-72, plate XXI, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 217-22.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 208.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 327, V. 4.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 206, V. 40.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 147, lines 33-34.

is known about the political incidents of this king's reign. His copper *drammas* (grains 60) are close imitations of those of his father.[1] Cunningham noticed a solitary silver coin in the collection of the British Museum; but it cannot be traced now.[2]

According to the Ajaigarh rock-inscription of Vīravarman, Jayavarman was succeeded by Pṛthīvarman. The Augasi plate of Madanavarman tells us that the *Pb.-M.-P.* Pṛthvīvarmadeva meditated on the feet of (*Pādānudhyāta*) *Pb.-M.-P.* Kīrtivarmadeva. The suspicion that the former was therefore a son of the latter is confirmed by verse 12 of the Mau inscription of Madanavarman, which describes Pṛthvīvarman as 'the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallakṣaṇavarman.'[3] It is therefore clear that the uncle succeeded his nephew. The suggestion that 'Jayavarman left no capable issue'[4] though unsupported by any evidence, is not impossible. Lines 10 and 11 of an imperfectly edited Kalinjar inscription however seem to indicate that Jayavarman 'being wearied of government,' abdicated his throne in favour of his successor.[5] Pṛthvīvarman's copper coins of the usual type with the figure of the 'monkey-god' on the obverse were known to Cunningham.[6] The Mau inscription referred to above supplies us with the name of an officer of this reign. It tells us that Gadādhara, who had served the last king in the office of *Pratihāra*, and who was " well-versed, in science, military exercises, and secret counsel, was ' subsequently appointed chief of the ministers (*Mantri-mukhya*) by Pṛthvīvarman.[7]

1 *CMI*, pp. 77-79, No. 17, plate VIII ; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 453-59; Vol. X, p. 26, plate X, No. 9/C and 10/C.
2 *IA*, 1908, p. 147.
3 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 198 and 203, V. 12.
4 *IA*, 1908, p. 129.
5 *JASB*, 1848, Part I, pp. 318-19.
6 *CMI*, p. 79, plate VIII, No. 18 ; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 458-59, Vol. X, p 26, plate X, No. 11/C.
7 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 201, V. 41.

If from the silence of the official *praśastikāras* we conclude that the last two reigns were not a particularly brilliant period of the Candellas' history, there is evidence to show that the reign of the next king, Madanavarman, the son of Pṛthvīvarman, marks a successful epoch in their annals. This is evident from the following list of the number and distribution of his inscriptions (*c.* 1129-63 A. D.) and coins :

(1) *Kalinjar pillar-inscription.*—It is incised on a pillar in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha, inside the fort of Kalinjar. The record opens with 'adoration to *Śri*-Nīlakaṇṭha,' and then gives the date, (*V.*) *Saṁ* 1186 (A. D. 1129), with the name of *Mahārāja-Śrī*-Madanavarmadeva. Next come the names of *Mahāpratihāra* Saṁgrāmasiṁha and *Mahānācani* Padmāvatī. The inscription ends with *lāmṣuḥ* Auji (which according to Cunningham means written by Auji). The inscription is fragmentary, but it evidently recorded some benefactions by the two persons mentioned above. Cunningham took them to be 'two of the permanent attendants attached to the Nīlakaṇṭha shrine, one being the chief doorkeeper and the other the chief of the dancing girls.' But it is probable that Saṁgrāmasiṁha was an official of the state, while Padmāvatī may have occupied the post of the chief court *danseuse.*[1]

(2) *Kalinjar broken pillar-inscription.*—It is said to have been found originally in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha within the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with *Oṁ*, and then gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1187 (A. D. 1130) with the name *Śrīmad*-Madanavarmadeva. Next occur the words *Kālañjarādri Śrī*-Trisalka....... The inscription is incomplete ; but it evidently described some benefaction by the person mentioned last.[2]

(3) *Kalinjar rock-inscription.*—It contains nine lines, and is incised 'on the rock to the left, or north, side of the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha in the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with *Oṁ*

[1] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 34, plate X, A.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 34, plate X, B. In 1884-85 the piece of broken pillar which contained the inscription was lying at the police-station at Kalinjar.

svasti, and then gives the name, *Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Śrī-Kālañjarādhipati-Śrī*-Madanavarmadeva. During his reign the following worshippers of his lotus feet, *viz.*, '*Mahārājaputra-Śrī-Solhaṇa-suta-maha(ā?)-Sahaṇkika maha(ā?)-Selaita-Kuma(ā?)ra-Kulakamalenu Mahārājaputra-Śrī-Vacha (Vatsa?)-rāja-deva-Śrī-Kavidyaṁka- Achoda-Rāuta-Śrī-Udanaḥ*,' set up an image (*mūrti*) of *Nīlakaṇṭha*. The image was the work of the *Rūpakāra* Lahaḍa, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Rāma and the *Rūpakāra* Lakṣmīdhara. The inscription ends with the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1188 (A. D. 1131).[1]

(4) *Augasi grant.*—The plate was found in the Augasi Pargana in the Baberu Tahsil of the Banda district, U. P. The inscription contains 19 lines, and is incised on one side of a single copper plate. There is a ring-hole at the lower part of the plate; but 'the ring with the seal attached to it' is lost. In the upper-middle part of the plate however there is engraved the figure of the goddess *Lakṣmī* sitting in the *Padmāsana* with an elephant at each side 'standing on what looks like an expanded water lily,[2] pouring water over her head.' The inscription opens with *Oṁ svasti* and a verse praising the princes of the *Candrātreya-vaṁśa*. In that family lustrous because of the appearance of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, arose *Pb.-M.-P.*-Kīrtivarmadeva *pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Pṛthvīvarma-deva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvarā-Kālañjarādhipati*-Madanavarmadeva. Then follows some vague praise of the last ruler, after which we are told that this king, from his residence near Bhailasvāmin (mod. Bhilsa) granted a piece of land measuring 10 ploughs (*hala*) of the village

1 The inscription was first edited in *JASB*, 1848 Vol. XVII. Part I, pp 321-22, No. 4, as an appendix to Maisey's 'account of the antiquities of Kalinjar.' Cunningham re-edited it in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 34-35, plate X, C. *Rāuta* is an abbreviation of *Rājaputra*; see *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 154.

2 This is the view of Kielhorn. To me a comparison with the *Lakṣmī* on Semra plates, EI, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 166, seems to indicate that what that scholar took to be expanded water lilies is really an imperfect representation of the two other arms of the *Gaja-Lakṣmī*.

Vambaradā in the Sudali-*viṣaya* to a Brāhman who was an emigrant from the village of Ḍhakārī, in the (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1190 (A. D. 1134). The inscription was written by the *Dharmalekhi* (law-writer?) Ṭhāsīsudha, and engraved by the *Vijñānika* Jalhaṇa.[1]

(5) *Khajraho Jaina image-inscription.*—This inscription consists of a single line. It does not contain the name of the reigning king; but it refers to the sons of the *Śreṣṭhin* Pāṇidhara of the *Grahapati* family (*anvaya* which is well-known from the Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala of the (V.) S. 1058. The inscription is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1205 (1147-48).[2]

(6) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This epigraph consists of 18 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate in the fort of Ajaigarh (which is situated about 20 miles by road to the S. W. of Kalinjar). The inscription opens with *Oṁ*, and then gives the date (V.) *Saṁ at* 1208 (A. D. 115.). It next records that during the reign of Madanavarman a certain *Rāuta* Vedā of the village of Kortia, who was a Kṣatriya by caste (*jāti*), built something (a *Sirotha* ?) in the Jayapura-durga for the use of all people. The record ends with the name of the *Sūtradhāra* *Thā-Śri*-Suprata.[3]

(7 *Mahoba Jaina image-inscription.*—This consists of two

[1] This plate is now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was first edited by Dr. R. L. Mitra in *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 73. Re-edited by Kielhorn in 1887 in the *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202 and 207-10. The village Ḍhakārī is also mentioned in the plate of Devavarman; see *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 695.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 152-53. For other inscriptions which do not mention the king's name but whose dates fall within the reign of Madanavarman, see (1) *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 35, plate X, E. Kalinjar rock inscription; dedication of an image of *Nṛsimha* in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1192 by *Ṭhakkura* Nṛsiṁha; (2) *ibid*, p. 36, plate X, E. Kalinjar cell (*Kotri*) Saiva inscription, containing a record of 2 Brāhmans, dated in (V.) S. 1194; (3) *ibid*, Vol. X, p. 17; Chandpur (half-way between Dudahi and Deogarh) pillar inscription, dated in V. S. 1207. This record is of an unknown person who belonged to Vaccha-gotra and *Mahāpratihārānvaya*; (4) *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 101-02; Horniman Jain image inscription; dedication of the image by the *Śreṣṭhin* Maula of the *Grahapati* family of Maṇḍilapura, in V. S. 1208. (5) and (6) *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 448, Nos. 22 and 23; Khajraho (V. S. 1212) and Mahoba (V. S. 1203) inscriptions.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 49, plate XII, A.

lines, incised on the pedestal of an image of Neminātha. The second line contains the date (*V.*) *Saṁ* 1211 (A.D. 1155) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva. The inscription records the dedication of the image which was made by the *rūpakāra* Lakhana.[1]

(8) *Khajraho Jaina image-inscription.*—This consists of a single line 'divided into two parts by a boss.' It opens with *Oṁ*, and then gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1215 (A. D. 1157-58) in the *pravardhamāna-vijaya rājya* of Madanavarma-deva. On this date the image bearing the inscription was caused to be set up by the *Sādhu* Sālhe, the son of Pāhilla, who was the son of the *Śreṣṭhin* Dedū, of the *Grahapati* family. This inscription adds that the sons of Sālhe Mahāgaṇa and others, 'always bow down to *Sambhavanātha*.' It ends with the name of the *rūpakāra* Rāmadeva.[2]

(9) *Vāridurga grant.*—The Semra plates of Paramardi refer to a grant of his grandfather (*pītāmaha*) which was issued when the latter was resident at Vāridurga (mod. Barigar, N. 25°14', E. 80°6'), in the year (*V.*) *S*. 1219 (A. D. 1162). Among the villages granted is Madanapura, which has been identified with the modern village of the same name in the Jhansi district. Another village, Vadavāri, is probably Berwara (N. 24°30', E. 78°41') while Dudhai may be the place of the same name (N. 24°26', E. 78°27') in the South of Lalitpur.[3]

(10) *Mahoba Jaina image-inscription.*—This records the dedication of the image in the (*V.*) *S*. 1220 (A. D. 1163) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva.[4]

(11) *Mau stone-inscription.*—This was discovered 'at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, in the Jhansi district' in the U. P. It consists of 29 lines ; but a considerable portion of it is greatly damaged. There is no date

1 *Ibid*, p. 73, plate XXII, D.

2 First edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, XXI, p. 61, D. It was re-edited by Kielhorn from an impression taken by Burgess in the *EI*, Vol. I, p. 151.

3 *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 158. For other place names which have been generally identified with places between 78°-79° E. and 24°-25°N., see *ibid*, p. 156.

4 *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 448, No. 25.

in the preserved portion. The inscription is throughout in verse. Its proper object is 'to record the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu, the building of a tank near the village of Deddu and the execution of some other work of piety, by one of the king's ministers whose name appears to have been Gadādhara (verses 46-48) ; by way of introduction the inscription (in verses 3-16) gives a list of the Candella kings from Dhaṅga to Madanavarman and (in verses 17-45) an account of the family of the ministers of these kings to which Gadhādhara belonged.'[1]

(12) *Coins.*— Cunningham in 1862-65 noticed 4 gold (one large and 3 small) and two copper coins of this king.[2] In his report on his tours in 1874-77 he noticed again one gold *dramma* (61 grains), three gold quarter-*drammas* (15 grains), and a copper quarter-*dramma* (15 grains).[3] In 1894 the same scholar described and illustrated these three types of coins of Madanavarman in his *Coins of Mediaeval India.*[4] In 1906 V. A. Smith in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta, described one gold *dramma* and two gold quarter-*drammas* of the same king.[5] So far no silver coins had been noticed. In 1910 however 'a find consisting of 48 silver coins was found in a village named Panwar of the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State.' It consisted of 8 large (about 60 to 62·75 grains) and 40 small (about 14·17 to 16·07 grains) silver coins of Madanavarman. They are 'exact copies' of the larger and smaller gold coins with the seated goddess on the reverse (or obverse, according to Cunningham).'[6]

1 Lieut. Price first published a transcript and translation of the inscription in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XII, pp. 357-74. Kielhorn properly edited it in the *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 195-207. Did Kielhorn mean by the 'town of Mau,' Mau-Ranipur, the only town in the Mau Tahsil of Jhansi ? See *IGI*, 1908, Vol. XVII, p. 222.

2 *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 458.

3 *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 26, plate X, Nos. 12/G, 13/G and 14/C.

4 *CMI*, p. 79, plate VIII, Nos. 19-21.

5 *CCIM*, p. 253.

6 Noticed by R. D. Banerji in *JASB*, 1914, Vol. X (N.S.), pp. 199-200.

The above list certainly indicates a revival of the Candella power. Inscriptions 1-3 and 5-7 show that he was the master of the four famous places, Kalinjar, Khajraho, Ajaigarh and Mahoba, which are traditionally connected with the history of the Candellas. The Augasi and Mau inscriptions show his possession of the Banda and Jhansi districts and the neighbouring regions. As the former inscription was issued from Bhilsa and the Vāridurga grant records gifts of places within 50 miles of that place, it may be gathered that the Candella power had crossed the Betwa in the S.W. and advanced into the Paramāra territory in Malwa. This inference is confirmed by Verse 15 of the inscription No. 11, which tells us that 'the ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated' by Madanavarman.[1] It is difficult to identify the *Mālaveśa* referred to in the verse. But he must have been one of the three Paramāra kings, Yaśovarman (A. D. 1134), Jayavarman, and Lakṣmīvarman (A D. 1143),[2] who seem to have ruled during the reign of Madanavarman (*c.* 1129-63 A.D.). The success of the Candellas in this direction seems to have brought them into contact of the Caulukyas of Anahilapātaka. The Gujarat chronicles refer to wars between Madanavarman and Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. We know from the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* that Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.) conquered Ujjain. According to the *Kīrtikaumudī*, Siddharāja went from Dhārā to Kālañjara The account in the *Kumārapālacarita* suggests that Siddharāja was compelled to come to terms and make peace.'[3] This agrees with the statement of a Kālañjara stone-inscription that Madanavarman 'in an instant defeated the king of Gurjara, as Kṛṣṇa in former times defeated Kaṁsa.'[4] The identification of the *Gurjareśa* of this passage with the Gurjart king Siddharāja is

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198.

[2] *EI*, Vol. III, Appendix I, B, p. 15, Nos. 14-16; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Paramāras.

[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 178-79.

[4] *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 318, line 11. The tradition that Madanavarman defeated the king of Gurjara is also recorded by the Hindu poet Chand, see *IA*, 1908, p. 144.

generally accepted.[1] In the west the discovery of the Panwar hoard of his coins may indicate the possession of that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. Expansion on this side again brought him into conflict with the Kalacuris. This is proved by the claim made by the Mau stone-inscription that before his very name 'ever quickly flees the Cedi king, vanquished in fierce fight.'[2] The defeated Cedi king may possibly be identified with Gayā-Karṇa (*c.* 1151 A.D.), the son of Yaśaḥkarṇa (*c.* 1073-1125 A.D.). In the north his relationship with the Gāhaḍavālas is indicated by the statement of the Mau inscription that through dread of him 'the king of Kāśi always passes his time in friendly behaviour.'[3] The *Kāśirāja* referred to in this passage is certainly the powerful king Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-68 A.D.). In the south, though there is no reliable evidence to indicate the extent of Candella power, tradition seems to connect their power with territory as far south as the Bhanrer Range.[4] It would therefore appear that the territories of Madanavarman were probably included more or less in the triangle of which the base was formed by the Vindhya, Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges and the two sides by the rivers Betwa and Jumna and the northern boundary line of Baghelkhand. Madanavarman had a long reign. The dates on his records show that he ruled at least for 34 years.

A Kalinjar inscription mentions the name of Pratāpavarman as that of his younger brother.[5] According to the Bagh[illegible]ri stone-inscription of Paramardi, one Lāhaḍa, born in the *gotra* of Vasiṣṭha, was placed at the head of all his *Mantris* by Madanavarman.[6] The Brāhman Gadādhara, who claims to have

1 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 178.
2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 15.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *IA*, 1908, p. 144.
5 *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 318, line 15. Though the inscription distinctly refers to Pratāpavarman as *bhrātā kanīyān*, Vaidya wrongly represents him as 'his elder son;' see his *Downfall of Hindu India*, 1926, p. 183.
6 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 210, V. 20.

served as the *Mantrimukhya* of Pṛthvīvarman, appears to have continued in office under his son. The Mau inscription of the latter tells us that, 'having gradually reduced all princes to the state of dependence by applying the six expedients and so forth, each in due season, he made (the king's) sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella.'[1]

In the Candella grants the name of Paramardi is usually placed after that of Madanavarman, with the epithet *tatpādānudhyāta*. In some of the stone-inscriptions the names are so placed with the remark *athābhavat* (then came). From this it has been generally supposed that Madanavarman was immediately succeeded by Paramardi. But the introductory portion of the Baghari stone-inscription of the latter's reign mentions the name of Yaśovarman between Madanavarman and Paramardi. It is clear from this record that Yaśovarman was the son of the former and the father of the latter. It has been assumed that Yaśovarman predeceased his father.[2] But this inscription seems to describe him as having reigned. We are told :

"As the moon, the crest-jewel of Maheśvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him Yaśovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers (*Maheśvara-śiromaṇi*), causing joy to the people.

"Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (of men) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained to old age, had, alas! turned grey."[3]

It is however significant that in the account of the ministers in the same inscription, the name of Yaśovarman is omitted. It would therefore seem that Yaśovarman may have had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardi. A hint of his untimely end is possibly contained in the second of the two verses quoted above. The absence

1 *Ibid*, p. 206, V. 42.
2 *IA*, 1896, p. 205, fn. 4; *ibid*, 1908, p. 129.
3 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 212, Vs. 8-9.

of Yaśovarman's name from his son's grants may probably indicate that the son's accession to the throne was not entirely peaceful. Instances in history are not rare where a grandson has tried to supersede his father. If Khusrau failed in the 17th century,[1] Paramardi may have succeeded in the 12th.

Yaśovarman, if he reigned at all, must have been succeeded by his son Paramardi some time before V. S. 1223, the earliest recorded date of the latter. The following dates and records are known for the reign of Paramardi :

(1) *Semra grant.*—This was discovered 'at Semra, a village in the Bijawar state, Bundelkhand Agency, C.I., and 9 miles west of Shahgarh, a police station in the Sagar district of the C.P.' It consists of 124 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The middle plate alone is written on both sides. The plates are joined by a 'plain ring ;' but at the top of the first plate there is a representation of Lakṣmī with four arms, seated on a lotus ; above her shoulders stand two elephants with raised trunks. The language is mainly Sanskrit prose; but there are 'a good many Prākṛt or hybrid forms' in the names of the donees and the villages. The inscription begins with *Oṁ svasti*, and then traces the genealogy of the donor from the family of the *Candrātreya* princes, radiant through the appearance of such heroes as Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti. In that family was *Pb.-M.-P.*-Pṛthvīvarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.*-Madanavarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Kālañjarādhipati*-Paramardideva. Then follows a verse vaguely praising the donor's various good qualities. Next comes the main portion of the grant. We are told that the king when in the camp of Sonasara in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1223 (A.D. 1165) confirmed a grant made by his grandfather (*pitāmaha*) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1219 (A.D. 1162) to 309 Brāhmans who had 'emigrated from various *bhaṭṭāgrahāras* and belonged to various *gotras* and *pravaras* and were students of various

[1] *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1917, pp. 321 ff.

Vedic *Śākhās*.' The following villages were granted to the donees:

(I) In the *Viṣaya* of Vikaura (mod. Beekore, 4-5 miles S. W. of Madanapura): (*a*) Khaṭauḍā-*dvādaśaka* (mod. Khutourea, S.E. of Beekore); (*b*) Tāṇṭa (?) -*dvādaśaka*; (*c*) *Hāṭāṣṭādaśaka*; (*d*) Sesayī-*grāma* (mod. Sajee?, S.E. of Khutourea).

(II) In the *Viṣaya* of Dudhai (mod. place of the same name, N. Lat. 24°26′ and E. Long. 78°27′): (*a*) Pilikhiṇī-*pañcela*; (*b*) Iṭāva-*pañcela* (mod. Etawa, N. Lat. 24°12′ and E. Long. 78°16′).

(III) In the *Viṣaya* of Vaḍavāri (mod. Berwara, N. Lat. 24°30′ and E. Long. 78°41′): (*a*) Isarahara-*pañcela*; (*b*) Uladana (mod. Ooldana, 7 miles N. E. of Madanpur); (*c*) Kakaradaha.

Line 123 contains the king's signature. Then come the names of the writer, *Dharmalekhī* Pṛthvīdhara of the *Vāstavya vaṁśa*, and of the *pitalahāra* (brass-worker) Pālhaṇa, who incised it.[1]

(2) *Mahoba image-inscription.*—This is incised on the pedestal of a broken Jaina statue at Mahoba. The epigraph consists of 'one long line,' and is incomplete. It records the dedications of the image in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1224 (A.D. 1168), in the *pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarājya* of Paramardi-deva.[2]

(3) *Icchawar grant.*—This was found near the village of Icchawar, in the Pailani Tahsil of Banda district, U.P. It consists of 35 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. It opens with the same genealogical details as in the Semra grant (No. 1), and records a gift by the king, from his residence

[1] Edited by Cartellieri in *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 153-70. The editor in two appendices has given a list of the names of the donees and their *gotras*; see *ibid*, pp. 170-74. The names are preceded by abbreviations of titles, such as '*Dvi*'=*dvivedin*, '*Tri*' or *Ti*= '*Trivedin*.' Some of the titles, such as *Ṭhakkura*, are still found amongst Brāhmans; but *Rā* or *Rāuta*=*Rājaputra* as a title of the Brāhmans appears to be rare. The identifications of the places given above have been proposed by the editor. The grant is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 74, plate XXIII, G.

at Vilāsapura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1228 (1171 A.D.). The village granted was named Nandinī (mod. Nandandeo or Nundodeo, some 10 miles S.W. of Icchawar ?), and was situated in the Nandāvana-*viṣaya*. The donee was the Brāhman *Senāpati* Madanapāla Śarman, son of the *Ṭhakkura* Maheśvara and grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Bhonapāla, an immigrant from the *bhaṭṭāgrahāra* Naugāva. The writer of the *Śāsana* was the *Kāyastha* Pṛthvīdhara, probably the same person who wrote the Semra grant. The engraver was also the same as in No. (1) but in this plate he calls himself a *Śilpi.*[1]

(4) *Mahoba grant.*—This was discovered in the town of Mahoba (Hamirpur district, U.P.), in a stone chest about 30′ below the surface. It contains 33 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. The plates were strung together by a ring having a seal, which is now broken. On the top of the first plate there is the usual figure of *Gaja-Lakṣmī.* The introductory portion of the grant is exactly the same as in Nos. (1) and (3). It records the grant of some 'land measuring 60 square *vādhas* cultivable by five ploughs' in the village of Dhanaura (mod. Dhanaura, 11 miles from Erich on the Betwa) in the *Viṣaya* of Eracha (mod. Erich on the Betwa, 60 miles from Mahoba) to the Brāhman Ratna Śarman, an immigrant from Phauḍiva(?)-*bhaṭṭāgrahāra*, by the *Candrātreya* king Paramardi, when he was resident at the village of Gahilū (mod. Gahuli, about 10 miles north of Dhanaura). The writer and engraver of the plate were the same as in Nos. (1) and (3). Pālhaṇa describes himself here as a *Vijñānin* (skilful artist). The date of the grant is (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1230 (A. D. 1173).[2]

(5) *Pachar grant.*—This is said to have been dug up in the village of Pachar, 12 miles N. E. of the city of Jhansi. The

1 V. A. Smith and Hoey first gave an account of the contents of the grant with a photolithograph in the *JASB*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 155-58; properly edited by Kielhorn from the photolithograph in *IA*, Vol. XXV, pp. 205-08. The plates were the property of Dr. Hoey in 1896.

2 Edited by Hiralal in *EI*, 1921-22, Vol. XVI, pp. 9-15.

inscription consists of 22 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a ring-hole at the bottom of the plate, and at the top a 4-handed squatting figure of *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. The introductory portion of the grant is nearly the same as in Nos. (1), (3) and (4). It records a gift of some land in the village of Lauvā (mod. Lewa, 3 miles west of Pachar) in the *Viṣaya* of Karigavā (perhaps mod. Kargawan, 9 miles N. E. of Pachar) to the *paṇḍita* Keśava Śarman, an immigrant from Mutāuṣa *bhaṭṭāgrahāra*. The grant was made by the king when he was resident in Vilāsapura[1] (probably mod. village of Pachar) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1233 (A. D. 1176). The writer of the inscription was Subhānanda of the *Vāstavya-vaṁśa*. It was engraved by the same as in (3). He describes himself as *Vaidagdhī-Viśvakarmaṇā* (a master of art and craft), as in No. (3).[2]

(6) *Madanpur stone-inscriptions of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja.*—These were discovered by Cunningham on the pillars of a *maṇḍapa* of an old temple in the village of Madanpur, 'situated at the mouth of the best and easiest pass leading from Sāgar to the north.' The village 'is 24 miles to the S. E. of Dudahi, 35 miles to the S.S.E. of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north of Sāgar (Saugor).' The inscription informs us that *Jejāka-bhukti*, the country belonging to Paramardi, was devastated and plundered by Pṛthvīrāja in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1239 (A. D. 1182-83).[3]

(7) *Kalinjar rock-inscription.*—From rubbings of the inscription Kielhorn gives us only one line, containing the date, in his 'List of Northern Inscriptions,' '*Śrīmat*-Paramarddi-[deva]-*vijayarājye* (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1240 (A. D. 1184).[4]

(8) *Mahoba stone-inscription.*—This was found in 1843 'in the fort wall placed upside down as a common building

[1] See above, inscription No. 3, p. 715.

[2] Edited by A. Venis, *ibid*, 1909-10, Vol. X, pp. 44-49. The plate is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. X, pp. 98-99, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74; *ASI*, WC, 1904, p. 55.

[4] *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 26, No. 178. To my knowledge it has not yet been edited.

stone. It is broken at top and at both ends.' The original inscription consisted of 16 lines; but it is so much damaged that it is not till we reach the 11th that the first complete verse is found. The record refers to Suhila, born in the *Vāstavya* family, and probably mentions the building of a temple (*prāsāda*). The sculptor was Devarāja, son of Somarāja. The inscription is dated in (*V.*) *S.* 1240 (A. D. 1184), but in the preserved portion there is no mention of the king's name. It is reported that the epigraph contains the name 'of Nānika the founder of the Candel dynasty.'[1]

(9) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This contains 8 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate of the fort. It records that in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1243 (A. D. 1187) *Rāut Śrī*-Sīhaḍa, son of *Rāut* Sāntana of the *Kṣatriya* caste (*jāti*) belonging to the village of Kotia, established a *Cautra* in the Jayapura-*durga* for all people. There is no king's name in the inscription.[2]

(10) *Baghari stone-inscription.*—This was originally found in Singhanpur-Baghari, near Mahoba. The stone on which it is incised 'is broken right through from top to bottom.' It consists of 24 lines, and is in Sanskrit verse throughout. The inscription begins with *Oṁ oṁ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya.* Then follow two verses invoking Śauri (*Viṣṇu*). Next comes the usual genealogy of the *Candrātreya* kings beginning from Atri and the Moon down to Paramardi. The only interesting point is that this portion of the inscription alone mentioned Paramardi's father Jayavarman, and describes him as an 'ornament of great rulers.' Then we are given the genealogy of a

[1] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 72; V. A. Smith, *PASB*, 1879, pp. 143-44. The inscription has not yet been edited.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 50, plate XII, C. There is another inscription in the same place dated in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1227 (A. D. 1171), which records the building of a *bauli* (well) on the road during a famine for (the use of) all people in the Jayapura-*durga* by *Rauta* Vera, a *Kṣatriya* (by caste). This inscription also does not mention the name of any king. Cunningham read the date of this epigraph as 1237, see his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-50; Kielhorn corrected it to 1227 in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 23, No. 157 and fn. 1. The letter ३ on the plate XII, A, however seems to support Cunningham's reading.

family of Brāhmans of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* who served as officers of the Candella kings. The real founder of the line was Lakṣmīdhara, 'a swan sporting in the lake of all sciences.' His son was 'the chief of the twice-born' *dvijendra* Vatsarāja. His son Lāhaḍa served as a *mantri* of king Madana. By his wife Prabhā he had a son named Sallakṣaṇa, 'through whom Paramardi-deva has become a lord of the earth with three eyes.' His son was Puruṣottama, who when still a youth was appointed by the same king to be chief of his ministers (*saciveṣu mukhyabhāvaṁ*). The object of the inscription is to record that Sallakṣaṇa built a temple of Viṣṇu and another of Śiva. The second was left unfinished by him and was completed by his son Puruṣottama. The inscription was composed by the *Kavīndra* Devadhara, son of *Kavicakravarti* Gadādhara, the *Saṁdhāna-vigraha-mahā-saciva* of Paramardi, and grandson of *Gauḍānvayaikatilaka* Lakṣmīdhara. It is not impossible that this Lakṣmīdhara is identical with Lakṣmīdhara of the ministerial family. It was written by the *Bāla-kavi* Dharmadhara, younger brother of Devadhara, and engraved by Mahārāja (?),' who rouses the admiration of all *Śilpis*' (artisans?). The inscription is dated in the last verse in the year of Vikrama counted by the wings (2), the faces of the three-eyed (*Pañcānana*), (5) and the Ādityas (12), *i.e.*, 1252 (A.D. 1195).[1]

(11) *Kalinjar stone-inscription.*—This is incised on a large black stone, inside the temple of Nilakaṇṭha at Kalinjar. It consists of 32 lines and opens with *Namaḥ Śivāya*. The first 24 lines 'contain only an eulogistic and glowing address to Śiva and Pārvatī.' The remaining portions are devoted to the

[1] First noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 82, No. 52. It was then published by Hultzsch in *ZDMG*, Vol. XL, pp. 51-54. Next Kielhorn edited it in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 207-14, under the name *Baṭeśvar stone inscription.* But in fn. 2, p. 207, he expressed the opinion that this inscription was possibly the same as the one noticed above by Cunningham as found on the bank of a lake at 'Baghari.' In a note (fn. 1, p. 158, *JASB*, 1895, Vol. XLIV, Part I), V. A. Smith and Hoey confirmed this suspicion that the labe_ attributing the stone to Baṭeśvar in the Agra district is wrong, and that there can be no doubt that it was really found at Baghari.

vague praise of Paramardi. In line 27 this prince is described as *Daśārṇādhinātha*. In line 28 he is called 'a guide in the mysteries of amorous and heroic sentiments' (*Śṛṅgāra-vīra-vratācārya*). Next we are told that king Paramardi 'himself *composed* with his innate faith this eulogy of Purāri (*Śiva*) It was written and inscribed by Padma, a favourite of king Paramardi, and his younger brother Deoka. The date of the inscription is Monday, the 10th Kārtika Sudi of (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1258 (*i.e.*, Monday, 8th October, A.D. 1201).[1]

(12) *Coins.*—Only one *dramma* (61·4 grains) of base gold has so far been discovered for his reign. It is of the usual Candella type, and is reported to have been discovered in Khajuraho.[2]

The distribution of these records shows that Paramardi's dominions extended over nearly the whole of the triangle which roughly indicated the territories of his father. The Candella inscriptions mention no political incidents in his reign. Tradition recorded in the *Pṛthvīrāj-Rāso* of Cand Bardāi[3] however informs us that he was on hostile terms with the famous Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja. *The Mahobā-Khaṇḍa*[4] gives a detailed account of these struggles between the Cāhamānas and the Candellas. Though ably assisted by two famous heroes of the Banāphar clan, the brothers Alha and Udal, and by Jayaccandra (Jaicand), the Gāhaḍavāla ruler, Paramardi (Pararmāl, Parimāladeva), we are told, was severely defeated in a series of engagements by the Cāhamāna prince. The first battle was fought near

1 The record was first published in *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, pp. 313-17, as an appendix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. In 1884-85, Cunningham noticed it in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-38. He corrected the reading of the date which was given in the above account as *Saṁvat* 1298. Kielhorn gave the accurate date in the IA, Vol. XIX, p. 354, No. 152. I think *Daśārṇa* of this inscription should be taken as Western *Daśārṇa*, which is identified with Eastern Malwa (capital Bhilsa); *GDI*, p. 54. It was from this city that the Augasi grant of his father was issued. His Semra grant shows that he held territory close to Eastern Malwa.

2 *JASB*, 1889, Part I, p. 30. *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 258.

3 Edited by Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia and Syam Sundar Das, Benares, 1913.

4 Pp. 2507-2615.

Sisargadh on the banks of the Pahuj, a tributary of the Sind.[1] According to Cand, Pṛthvīrāja (Prithirāj) then captured Mahoba, plundered Kālañjara, and left for Delhi, after placing the former place in charge of Pajjunrāj.

In its present state, the work of Cand certainly contains much unhistorical matter. But the authenticity of his account of the hostility between Pṛthvīrāja and Paramardi is borne out by the two Madanpur inscriptions referred to above (No. 6), which distinctly refer to the devastation of the territories of the latter by the former in about 1182-83 A.D. It is also not unlikely that Jayccandra may have really assisted the Candellas in their struggles, for the Mau inscription indicates friendly relations between Paramardi's grandfather and the Gāhaḍavālas. There is at present no definite means to find out how long the Cāhamānas retained their hold on the western portion of the Candella territory; but if the title *Daśārṇādhipati* given to Paramardi in one of his Kālinjar inscriptions is not a mere boast, he may have recovered a substantial portion of his territories some time before A.D. 1201. But before he could consolidate his position, his territories were again invaded by a more formidable foe. The *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī (1205-17 A.D.) gives the following account of the conflict of Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak with 'the accursed Parmār the Rai of Kālinjar.'

"In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutub ud-Dīn proceeded to the investment of Kālinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by Sāhib-Kirān, Shamsu-d-dīn Altamash.........'The accursed Parmār,' the Rāi of Kālinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and 'placed the collar of subjection,' round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestors had experienced from Mahmūd Subuktigīn, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements.

[1] *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 455; *IA*, 1908, p. 145, fn. 49.

ments. His Dīwān, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate in consequence of a severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. 'On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction came out of the fort and by compulsion left their native place empty,' 'and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being so strong as the wall of Alexander,' was taken. 'The temples were converted into mosques, and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculation of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated.' 'Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery and the plain became as pitch with Hindus.' Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors. 'The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahoba, and the government of Kālinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru-d-dīn Hasan Arnal.'[1]

The account of Firishta[2] agrees in essentials with that of Ḥasan Niẓāmī, and only differs in the manner of the Hindu prince's death. According to Firishta, when the Raja, being hard pressed, offered to submit to the Delhi Sultan, his minister 'who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing.' But as the contemporary *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir* distinctly says that Parmār (Paramardi) died a natural death, we are perhaps justified in rejecting the testimony of Firishta as a later fabrication.[3] According to both Ḥasan Niẓāmī and Firishta, after the

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 231-32. In the MS. of the work in the London School of Oriental Studies (W. 18967) the name of the king is not mentioned. It says "but during the negotiations by the heavenly decrees and the conjunction of the stars, the soul bird of that accursed fell into the snare of death." The Diwān's office is spelt as مهي (in Elliot مهتي) and his name as اخديو (in Elliot اجديو)

[2] Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 197.

[3] According to the *Pṛthvīrāj-Rāso* 'Parmal after his defeat by Rājā Pṛthirāj, retired to Gaya, and died there;' see *JASB*, 1881, Part I, p. 29.

fall of Kalinjar Quṭb ud-Dīn marched to Mahoba and 'subdued' it. From the fact that the latter authority describes Mahoba as 'the capital of the principality of Kālpī (كالپي), it may probably be concluded that that city and the surrounding regions were no longer a part of the Candella dominions.

According to the *Pṛthvīrāj-Rāso*, Samarjit, a son of Parmāl, with the help of Narsiṁha, an officer of Rājā Jaicand of Kanauj captured Mahoba from Pajjun Rāy, the *Thānāpati* of Pṛthvīrāja, and ruled over the whole territory between Kalinjar and Gaya. He was ultimately killed by Binae ud-Dīn, a Musalman.[1] It has been suggested that the name Bīnae ud-Dīn may be a mistake for Bahā-ud-Dīn (Tughril) who was placed in charge of Bayana in 1196 A.D. by Muḥammad Ghūrī.[2] According to Raverty, this officer became for some time the head of an independent state in Central India after the death of Quṭb ud-Dīn in 1220 A.D.[3] It is very doubtful whether there is any basis of fact in these exploits of Samarjit. The genealogical lists in the Candella inscriptions do not contain the name of this son of Paramardi. On the contrary, they seem to mention Trailokyavarman as his immediate successor. The recently discovered Garra grant describes Trailokyavarman as meditating on the feet of Paramardi; and as its date (V. S. 1261 = A.D. 1205) is only removed from the death of Paramardi (599 A.H. = A.D. 1202) by a short period of 3 years, it is likely that he directly succeeded his father. The distribution of the find-spots of his inscriptions also appears to support this conclusion. The following dates and records are referred to his reign :

(1) *Garra grant (a)*.—This was 'found in a tank near the village of Garra, to the south-east of Chattarpur, capital of the Indian state of the same name in Bundelkhund.[4] It consists of 16 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a small

[1] *JASB*, 1881, Part I, pp. 29-31. Binae ud-Din is probably بنا الدين (Bina' ud-Dīn).

[2] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 195; *IA*, 1908, p. 145, fn. 50.

[3] *NA*, p. 572.

ring-hole at the top of the plate and below this is engraved 'a seated figure of the goddess *Lakṣmī* with four arms, the upper two holding lotuses.' The inscription begins with *Oṁ svasti*, and then follows the genealogy of the donor from the lineage of the *Candrātreya* sovereigns, 'resplendent with the birth of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.' In that family was *Pb.-M.-P.*-Madanavarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.*-Paramardideva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.- M.- P.-Paramamāheśvara Kālañjarādhipati*-Trailokyavarmadeva. In lines 7-11 the grant records the gift by way of maintenance for death (*mṛtyuka-vṛttau...*) of Kādohā-*grāma* (mod. Kadoa in N. Lat. 24°48′ and E. Long. 79°52′ just south of Garra, in Chhatarpur State), in the *Viṣaya* of Paniuli (possibly mod. Panna, in N. Lat. 24°43′ and E. Long. 80°16′, capital of the Indian State of the same name) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1261 (A. D. 1205) to *Rāüta* Sāmanta (or Sāvanta) of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, son of *Rāüta* Pāpe, who was killed at Kakaḍādaha,[1] in a battle with the Turuṣkas (Turks). The grant was made by the king when he was encamped at the village of Vaḍavāḍa (mod. Bedwara in N. Lat. 24°30′ and E. Long. 78°41′ in Lalitpur subdivision of Jhansi district).[2]

(2) *Garra grant* (*b*).—This inscription was found with (1). It contains 17 lines and is 'almost identical' with the above. It grants to the same donee the village of Lohasihāṇi (may be mod. Lohāni in the Bijawar State, in N. Lat. 24°23′ and E. Long. 79°12′), in the *Viṣaya* of Vikrauni(?). The donor, year of the grant and the object of the gift are the same.[3]

[1] Mod. Kakaḍwa in N. Lat. 24°28′ and E. Long. 78°42′, a little to the S. E. of Bedwara.

[2] Edited by K. N. Dikshit in *EI*, 1921-22, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-77. The grant is now in Lucknow Museum. Is the donee of the grant the same Sāvanta who acquired the Rewah grant (*a*)? See *infra*, p. 725, inscription No. (4). Kakaḍādaha of our plate again seems to be the same as Kakaradaha of the Semra grant of Paramardi. Dr. Barnett suggests that *Mṛtyuka vṛtti* is a grant to maintain the heirs of one who has sacrificed his life, which in Kanarese is styled *nettar-goḍage*, 'blood-gift.'

[3] *Ibid*, now in the Lucknow Museum.

(3) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This was found near the tank of Patal-sar at Ajaigarh. It consists of 6 lines, and gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1269 (A.D. 1212), in the reign of *Rāja-Śrī* Trailokyavarma-deva.[1]

(4) *Rewa grant* (*a*).—This was found in 1884-85 in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. It contains 55 lines, 'on two plates of which the first is inscribed on one side only.' There is no ring-hole or emblem engraved on the plates. The inscription begins with *Oṁ siddhiḥ,* followed by 3 verses in honour of Brahman, Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) and Tryambaka (Śiva) of which the last is taken from the introduction to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī.* In lines 4-7 we have: *Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara*-Vāmadeva *pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Tṛkaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujo- pārjita- Aśvapati-gajapati - narapati- rājatrayādhipati-* Trailokyavarmadeva-*kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye.* In lines 7-28 we are given the following genealogy of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kumārapāla of the town of Kakareḍikā[2] of the Kaurava-*vaṁśa.*

In the abovementioned town and family:

(i) *Paramamāheśvara-Mahārāṇaka-Dāhilla.*

(ii) *Rājyapāla* Durjaya
|
(iii) *Mahārāṇaka* Shojavarman[3]
|
(iv) *Śivapadānurakta* ,, Jayavarman
|
(v) ,, Vatsarāja
|
(vi) ,, Salaṣaṇavarman (*i.e.* Sallakṣaṇa)
|
(vii) ,, Harirāja
|
(viii) ,, Kumārapāla.

In lines 28-36 Kumārapāla who 'it may be assumed, owed allegiance to Trailokyavarman,' grants the village of Rehi in the

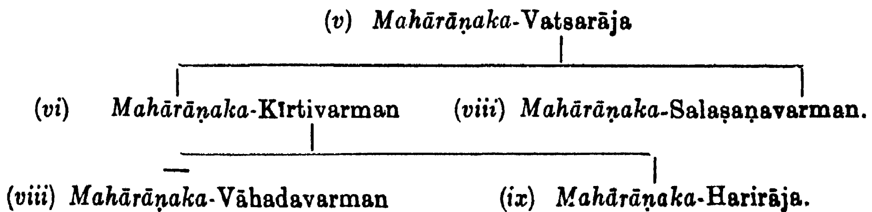
[1] Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR,* Vol. XXI, p. 50, and plate XII, D. It has not yet been edited.

[2] Mod. Kakreri in N. Lat. 24°56′ and E. Long. 81°17′ at the head of the Mamani Ghat leading westwards towards Banda, Kalinjar and Mahoba.

[3] Dr. Barnett suggests Bhojavarman.

Vadharā-*Pattalā* to *Rāūta* Sāṅge and 5 other *Rāūtas* (names given). The date of the grant is (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1297 (A.D.1240). The *tāmraka* was drawn up by the *Kāyastha* Muktasiṁha, 'by whom the reign of the child-prince was made a prosperous one and his fame spotless.' It was written by Māḷādhara, engraved by the *Śilpis* Jayasiṁha and Pratāpasiṁha, and acquired (*upārjitāṁ*) by *Rāūta* Sāvanta.[1]

(5) *Rewa grant* (*b*).—This was found with the inscription No. (4) in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. The number and arrangement of the plates are the same. It contains 48 lines, and begins with the same verses in honour of the same gods. In lines 4-5 it refers itself to the victorious reign of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraketyādi-rājāvalī-tray-opeta-mahārāja Śrī-Trelākyamalla* (Trailokyamalla). In lines 5-18 the inscription gives the same genealogical list of the *Mahārāṇakas* of Kakareḍikā from Dhāhilla to Vatsarāja. Lines 18-29 furnish the following additional details :



In lines 29-36 No. (*ix*) records the grant of the village of Agaseyi, in the Vadharā-*pattalā* to the *Rāūta* Sāṅge and four other *Rāūtas* (names given) in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1298 (A.D.1241). In lines 45-48 we are told that the *tāmraka* was written by the

[1] This grant, together with 3 other Rewah copperplates were noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-48. They are denoted by him by the letters A, B, C and D. This grant is marked by the letter C. Kielhorn next edited it in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 and 230-34. Following Cunningham, Kielhorn rightly identified the Trailokyavarman of this grant with the Candella prince of that name. As the name Vāmadeva first occurs in the two Kalacuri grants (A and B) dated in A.D. 1175 and 1195, and has been simply transferred to the Candella plate, together with the titles of the Cedi princes, we shall discuss the question of its appearance in our chapter on the Haihayas (Kalacuris), see *infra*.

Karaṇika Ṭhakkura Udayasiṁha, born in the family of *Mahāṭhakkura* Dhāreśvara and engraved by the son of Kūkeṁ and the grandson of Dāṅge the worker in iron (*ayaskāra*).[1]

These inscriptions show that 'the history of the Candel dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India' did not end with the death of Paramardi.[2] The Garra grants show that his son Trailokyavarman was in possession of villages and townships which were scattered all over the region now occupied by the States of Chhatarpur, Bijawar, and Panna in C. I., and the Lalitpur sub-division of Jhansi district, U.P. It is not unlikely that in the battle with the Turuṣkas at Kakaḍādaha, in which the father of the donee of the Garra grants lost his life, Trailokyavarman proved victorious and recovered his 'ancestral stronghold of Kālañjara.' That his assumption of the title of *Kālañjarādhipati* was not an idle boast like that of the Kalacuris of Kalyani,[3] is perhaps indicated by the *Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī*. We are told by this authority that Malik Nuṣrat ud-Dīn Tāī-shī was entrusted with the charge of 'Bhīānah and Sulṭān-Koṭ...together with the superintendency (شحنگی) of Gwāliyūr' by 'Sulṭān I-yal-timish.' 'In the year 631 H. (A.D. 1233) he accordingly led an army from Gwāliyūr towards the Kālinjar country, and the Rāe of Kālinjar fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory, and in a very short period, obtained vast booty in such wise that in the space of fifty days, the Sultan's fifth share was set down

1 This inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 148, C. Kielhorn next edited it in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 and 234-36. As the date of this grant is only one year later than inscription No. (4), he, following Cunningham, rightly identified Trailokyamalla of these plates with the Trailokyavarman of No. (4). The names of the donees with one exception are the same in both the grants. The name of the *pattalā* in which the villages granted in the two grants were situated, is also the same.

2 *IA*, 1908, p. 146. In the *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 514, Sir W. Haig following V. A. Smith, says: 'After the death of Paramardi, the Candels, as an important dynasty disappeared, and the tribes dispersed, etc......'

3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 469.

at twenty-five *lakhs*.'[1] There is possibly some exaggeration in this account of Tāī-shī's success against the 'Rāe of Kālinjar,' but the fact remains that that fort and the surrounding country had again passed under the control of the Hindu chiefs. As the dates on the inscriptions of Trailokyavarman range from 1205 to 1241 A.D., it is almost certain that the 'Rāe of Kālinjar' defeated by Tāī-shī was this Candella prince. At present there is no means of knowing the exact date when the fort was lost by the Sultans of Delhi. It must have passed into Hindu possession some time between 1203 and 1233. It is possible that Trailokyavarman may have recovered Kālañjara soon after the battle of Kakaḍādaha, which was fought some time before 1205 A. D.

In connection with his success in stemming the tide of Musalman invasions in Jejāka-bhukti, it is interesting to notice that the Ajaigarh stone-inscription of Vīravarman (*V. S.* 1317-A. D. 1261) compares Trailokyavarman with Viṣṇu, 'in lifting up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of the Turuṣkas.'[2] Both the Musalman and Hindu records are silent about the details of this struggle. But the fact that the above-mentioned inscription calls Trailokyavarman 'a very creator in providing strong places' (*durggapravidhāna-vedhāḥ*) may possibly contain a hint of the system of warfare followed by the Candella prince.[3]

The Rewa grants (Nos. 4 and 5) show that the Candella power in the west not only held its own in Baghelkhand, but had extended itself at the expense of the Kalacuris. I have already suggested that the discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins of Madanavarman probably indicates an extension of Candella power

[1] Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 732-33. The facts contained in this passage were known to Cunningham. (*ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 87); but he did not indicate his source of information. On the Turkish title *Tāī-shī*, which is sometimes written *Tā-Yasa'ī*, see *ibid*, Raverty's note in his 'Additional Notes and Emendations,' P. LIV, on p. 633.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 329, V. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*

into that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. But the two Rewa grants of the time of Kalacuri Jayasiṁha and Vijayadeva dated in (Cedi) *Saṁvat* 926 (A.D.1175) and (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1253 (A. D. 1195) [1] show that some portion of this region had again passed under the control of the Kalacuris. The *Mahārāṇakas* Kīrtivarman and his brother Salaṣaṇavarman of Kakkareḍikā appear in the two above grants as feudatories of the Kalacuri princes Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1175-77 A. D.) and his son Vijayasiṁha (*c.* 1180-95 A. D.). It is not unlikely therefore that during the disastrous reign of Paramardi (*c.* 1167-1202 A. D.) the Kalacuris wrested the control of the Trans-Kaimur region from the Candellas. If this was so the Rewa grants of the time of Trailokyavarman show that he succeeded in regaining this region some time before 1239.[2] There is therefore ample evidence to indicate that Trailokyavarman was not a mere petty local chieftain of Ajaigarh. His rule appears to have extended from the river Betwa, on the west of Lalitpur, to the upper courses of the Son in the east. It is difficult to know how far his authority extended in the north. But the discovery of his copper *dramma* in the Banda district may possibly supply some indication on the point. Gold *drammas* of Trailokyavarman are also known, but their find-spots are unfortunately not recorded.[3] In the south his territory may have extended up to 24° Latitude. The Garra plates record grants of land some of which are situated not very far from that region.

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224-30.

[2] A puzzling fact about the two Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman is that while the inscription of Kumārapāla is dated in 1240, that of his father Harirāja is dated in 1241 A. D. The grant of the son however shows that his father was already a *Mahārāṇaka* before 1240. The difficulty is probably to be solved by the assumption that Kumārapāla when still a child was made king through the machinations of the *Kāyastha* Muktasiṁha, who poses as a king-maker in the grant of Kumārapāla. Harirāja had to abdicate but before long he succeeded in recovering his throne from his child-son. The abdication of the Kashmirian king Ananta in 1063 A. D., through the influence of his wife Sūryamatī, in favour of her son Kalaśa and the resumption of the regal functions by Ananta shortly after Kalaśa's coronation may serve as a parallel incident in the history of this period. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, *Dynastic History of Kashmir*, pp. 142 ff.

[3] *IA*, 1908, p. 148; *CCIM*, p. 253.

Trailokyavarman ruled for at least 36 years (*c.* 1205-41 A. D.). But as his earliest date is separated only by 3 years from the death of his father, and as the distribution of his records shows that he ruled practically over the whole of the Candella territories, it is very likely that his reign began from the death of his father in 1202 A. D. In that case Cand's Samarjit must be regarded as a figment of imagination.

The Ajaigarh rock-inscription of the time of Bhojavarman mention the names of some of the officers of Trailokyavarman.[1] One of these was Vāśe or Vāśeka, of the *Vāstavya* Kāyastha family, who was appointed *Viśiṣa*[2] of Jayadurga, and endowed with the village of Varbhari by Trailokyavarman. In V. 19 of this record we are told that 'the wise Vāśeka, being to the armies of the opposing chiefs what a forest-fire is to the brushwood, sent the irresistible Bhojuka, who, seized with frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abcde of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families.' V. 22 of the same record tells us that Ānanda, Vāśeka's younger brother, was appointed governor of the fort (of Jayadurga) and 'reduced to submission the wild tribes of the Bhillas, Śabaras and Pulindas.' Probably Trailokyavarman owed to these two officers much of his success against internal and external foes.

Trailokyavarman was succeeded by his son Vīravarman[3] some time after V. S. 1298 (A. D. 1241), and before V. S. 1317 (A.D. 1261), the first recorded date of his son. There is some evidence to show that he may have continued to rule even up to 1247 A.D. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* refers to a Rāna (رانة بود) who was called *Dalakī wa Malakī* (دلكي و ملكي), who ruled in the mountainous tract not far from Kara (Allahabad district, U. P.). 'He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. We are told that in 645 A. H. (1247 A.D.)

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 337. 2 *Vi + śiṣ* = to distinguish. 3 *Ibid*, p. 327, V. 8.

in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir ud-Din, Ulugh Khān ravaged all these territories and obtained great booty.[1] According to Firishta, this prince resided at Kalinjar. He had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kara.'[2] It was observed by Briggs that there must be some mistake in the name *Dalakī wa Malakī.* Cunningham suggested that this name has 'been made out of the one long name, *Tilakī Wama Deo* (تلكي و ماديه) which in Persian characters might easily be mis-read as *Tilakī Wa Milakī* (تلكي و ملكي), and which may be further corrupted into *Dalaki Wa Malakī.*'[3] The strangeness of the name *Dalakī wa Malakī* and the fact that he lived in Kālañjara seem to indicate that Cunningham may be right in identifying him with the Candella Trailokyavarman. If his guess is accepted, the reign of Vīravarman could not have begun before 1247 A.D. The following dates and records are so far known for the reign of Vīravarman :

(1) *Ajaigarh rock-inscription.*—In 1883-85 Cunningham found this inscription 'engraved on a rock, with a crack dividing it into two portions' at Ajaigarh It contains 15 lines, and opens with *Oṁ oṁ siddhī.* Next follows a verse invoking *Gaṅgā.* Then comes a list of the later Candellas from Kīrtivarman down to Vīra(varman). Next follows the genealogy of Kalyaṇadevī, who became the chief queen of king Vīra.

In the Dadhīci-*vaṁśa*
|
Cādala...'an object of reverence for the Kṣatriyas.'
|
Kṣitipāla Govindarāja | Śrīpāla...'who was bravery as it were incarnate.'
| |
Vesaladevī (?) = Maheśvara...'revered even by the crowned heads...valiant like a bull.'
|
Kalyāṇadevī = King Vīra.

[1] Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 680-83, and fn. 9 on p. 680 and no. 5 on p. 682. *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 348.

[2] Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 237. Raverty has pointed out that Briggs' Translation is defective here. Firishta "does not mention anything whatever of *two* rājahs, as rendered by Briggs, "the Rājahs Dulky and Mulky"; but on the other hand 'a rājah'; see also *Elliot* Vol. II, p. 348, fn. 1.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. I, p. 457.

The object of the inscription is to record (Vs. 18-20) that this Kalyāṇadevī built a well with perennial water (*nirjara-kūpa*) at 'this spot' which is 'guarded by the arms of strong men (?), a hall for the supply of its water (?) and a tank at Nāndīpura. The *praśasti* was composed by Ratnapāla, son of *Kavi* Haripāla, and engraved by Rāma in the *Vikrama vatsara* 'measured by the seas (7), the moon (1),' the fires (3) and the moon (1), *i.e.* V.S. 1317. In the last line we are told that the inscription was made in (*V.*) *S.* 1317 (A.D. 1261), during the office of (*vyāpāre*) Jetana in the reign of Vīravarman.[1]

(2) *Jhansi stone-inscription.*—Kielhorn noticed this inscription from a rubbing supplied by Burgess. It is dated, in line 19, (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1318 (A.D. 1262), and belongs to the reign of Candella Vīravarman (?).[2]

(3) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This consists of only 3 lines, incised on the wall of a temple at Ajaigarh. It records the 'adoration to Īśvara of one Abhayadeva, the son of *Aśvavaidya Thaḥ* Bhojūka in the reign of Vīravarman, in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1325 (A.D. 1268).[3]

(4) *Ajaigarh rock-inscription.*—This consists of 21 lines incised on a 'rock near the figure of a Ganes.' According to Cunningham 'this inscription gives the genealogy of the Candella Rajas from Kirtti Varmma down to Vira Varmma.' It is dated both in words [sea (7), fire (3), Veda (3) and moon (1)] and in figures in 1337 (*V.*) *Saṁvat* (A. D. 1281). 'The

[1] The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 51, plate XIII. The 'substance of the inscription as read by a Simla Pandit' gives the date wrongly as S. 1312. The record was properly edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 325-30. This scholar took Nāndīpura of this inscription to be another name of Jayadurga or Ajaigarh. Cunningham suggested that the *Kṣitipāla* Govindarāja, the maternal grandfather of Kalyṇadevī 'may perhaps have been the Raja of Nalapura, or Narwar, the predecessor of the famous Chāhaḍadeva, the gallant opponent of the Mahomedans.'

[2] *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 33, No. 227. It has not yet been edited. It is now in the Lucknow Museum.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 51, plate XIV, F. Kielhorn has suggested the identification of this Bhojūka with the Bhojūka who was killed by Vāśeka in the reign of Trailokyavarman, see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 332; also *DHNI*, *supra*, p. 729.

inscription as explained by a Simla Pandit, records the setting up of a statue of Vināyaka (Ganesa) by Gaṇapati, the minister of Vira Varmma '[1]

(5) *Dahi grant.*—This copper-plate was discovered in Dahi '4½ miles to the east of Bijawar in Bundelkhand.' The grant in its formal portion opens with the usual praise of the family of 'the *Candrātreya* princes rendered illustrious by Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti and others.' Then it traces the genealogy of the donor from Madanavarman downwards. It next records the gift of the village of Dahi to Mallāya, 'an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1237 (A.D. 1281).' The donee is said to have conquered the lord of Narwar (*Nalapura-pati*), Gopāla the ruler of Mathurā (*Madhuvanakādhipa* ?) and Harirāja of Gwalior (Gopagiri).[2]

(6) *Gurha Sati stone-inscription.*—This is dated in line 1 in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1342 (A.D. 1286) in the reign of Vīravarma-deva.[3]

(7) *Kalinjar stone-inscription.*—This fragmentary epigraph seems to give the Candella genealogy from Vijayapāla to Vīravarman. In *V.* 25 it seems to record the construction of various temples, gardens, and ponds by the latter.[4]

[1] *Ibid*, p. 52, plate XIV, G. The inscription has not yet been edited properly. In including this record in the list of northern inscriptions, Kielhorn has placed a ? after the name of Vīravarman : see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 34, No. 239.

[2] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74-76. It has never been properly edited. It was obtained by Col. Ellis in 1848 from Dahi, but now its whereabouts are unknown.

[3] Noticed by Kielhorn, *ibid*, p. 35, No. 242. Gurha is probably the capital of the petty State of that name in the C. I. Agency under the Resident at Gwalior.

[4] This inscription was first published in 1848, in *JASB*, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp 817-20, as an appendix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. It was then noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI. p. 39. It has not yet been properly edited. Kielhorn noticed another Kalinjar inscription from rubbings supplied by Burgess in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 35, No. 241. In line 3 it gives the date (*V.*) *Saṁ.* 1340 (A.D. 1283); but unfortunately it does not mention the name of the king. Cunningham noticed another stone-inscription at Ajaigarh, which is dated in 1372 *V.S.* (1315 A.D.) in the reign of Vīravarman. As the earliest inscription of the successor of Vīravarman is dated in *V.S.* 1345, he assumed the existence of a second king of that name. But it is more likely that there is some mistake in the reading of the date or the name of the king; see *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 54.

The distribution of these records show that Vīravarman was still the ruler of a considerable portion of his ancestral territories. The known dates of his records extend over a period of at least 25 years (A.D. 1261-1286), and as the Muhammadan chronicles at this time claim no decisive victories over the chiefs of Bundelkhand, it is likely that he was left in comparatively undisturbed possession of his territories. The Gurha inscription shows his hold over the land between the Sindh and the Betwa, and it is not impossible that he may have even come into conflict with the petty Hindu rulers of Narwar, Gwalior, and Muttra (?). A gold dramma of this king, which is unique, was discovered in Khajraho.[1]

Vīravarman was probably succeeded by Bhojavarman some time before *V. S.* 1365 (A D. 1288). The following records and coins are referred to his reign :

(1) *Ajaigarh rock inscription.*—This consists of 16 lines, incised on a rock near the 'Tarhaoni' or 'Tirhawan' gate of the fort of Ajaigarh. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Kedārāya*; then follows a verse in adoration of Śiva. It then praised the *Vāstavya* Kāyasthas of the town of Takkārikā. Various persons of this family served under the Candella kings. One of these, Vāśe, was appointed *Viśiṣa* of Jayapura by king Trailokya-varman.[2] His younger brother Ānanda had a son named Rucira. Rucira had 3 sons, *viz.*, Gopati, Mahīpāla, and Subhaṭa of whom the last was a *Saciva* and the Superintendent of treasury (*Kośādhikārādhipati*) of king Bhojavarman. The immediate object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple (*devālaya*) by Subhaṭa. 'The inscription closes rather abruptly and it neither contains the names of the composer, writer, and engraver, nor is it dated.'[3]

(2) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription.*—This opens with verses

[1] Described by Hoernle in *JASB*, 1889, Vol. LVIII, Part I, p. 34. See also *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 264.

[2] See *DHNI*, *supra*, p. 729.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 330 38.

invoking Viṣṇu under various names, such as Murāri, Hari, Mādhava, Rāma, etc. In V. 24 one Nāna is said to have served as *Saciva* of the *Candrātreya* kings. In V. 25 he is mentioned as serving king Bhojavarman. The inscription was composed by Amara, and appears to record that this Nāna, 'caused an image of Hari to be placed at the celebrated fort of Jayadurga (Ajaigarh).' The date (*V.*) *S*. 1345 (A.D. 1288) is given in V. 37.[1]

It seems reasonable to conclude from these two inscriptions that Bhojavarman succeeded Vīravarman at least in the territory around the fort of Ajaigarh. There is however some reason to believe that the Candellas continued in possession of Kalinjar till the 16th century. Recently Rai Bahadur Hiralal drew attention to a *Satī* record in the village of Bamhni of the Damoh district, C.P. It runs as follows: *Paramabhe-ṭārakeṇādhirājavalītrayopeta Kāliñjarādhipati Srimad*-Hammīravarma-devaḥ *vijayarājye Saṁvat* 1365 *samaye Mahāraja-putra Sri*-Vāghadeva *bhujyamāne.........*[2] This record shows that about A.D. 1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbulpore districts were governed by a *Mahārājaputra*, Vāghadeva, under the sovereignty of Hammīradeva. Two other *Satī* records of the time of Vāghadeva are known, dated in (*V.*)*S*. 1361 and 1362.[3] In the former, which was discovered in Patan, in Jubbulpore district, he is described as a Pratihāra chief. It is quite likely that this Hammīradeva was a Candella and a successor of Bhojavarman. If this is accepted, the Candellas in the beginning of the 14th century were still the rulers of a considerable portion of their former dominions. But the discovery of a *Satī*-record at Salaiya, 3 miles from Bamhni, dated in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1366 (A.D. 1309) in the reign of

1 Edited by Prinsep in *JASB*, 1837, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 881-87, plate XLVIII. The record is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and ought to be properly edited.

2 *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 10, fn. 4. The writer of the inscription *Paṁ*[*ḍita*] Jaipāla apparently was no great Sanskrit scholar.

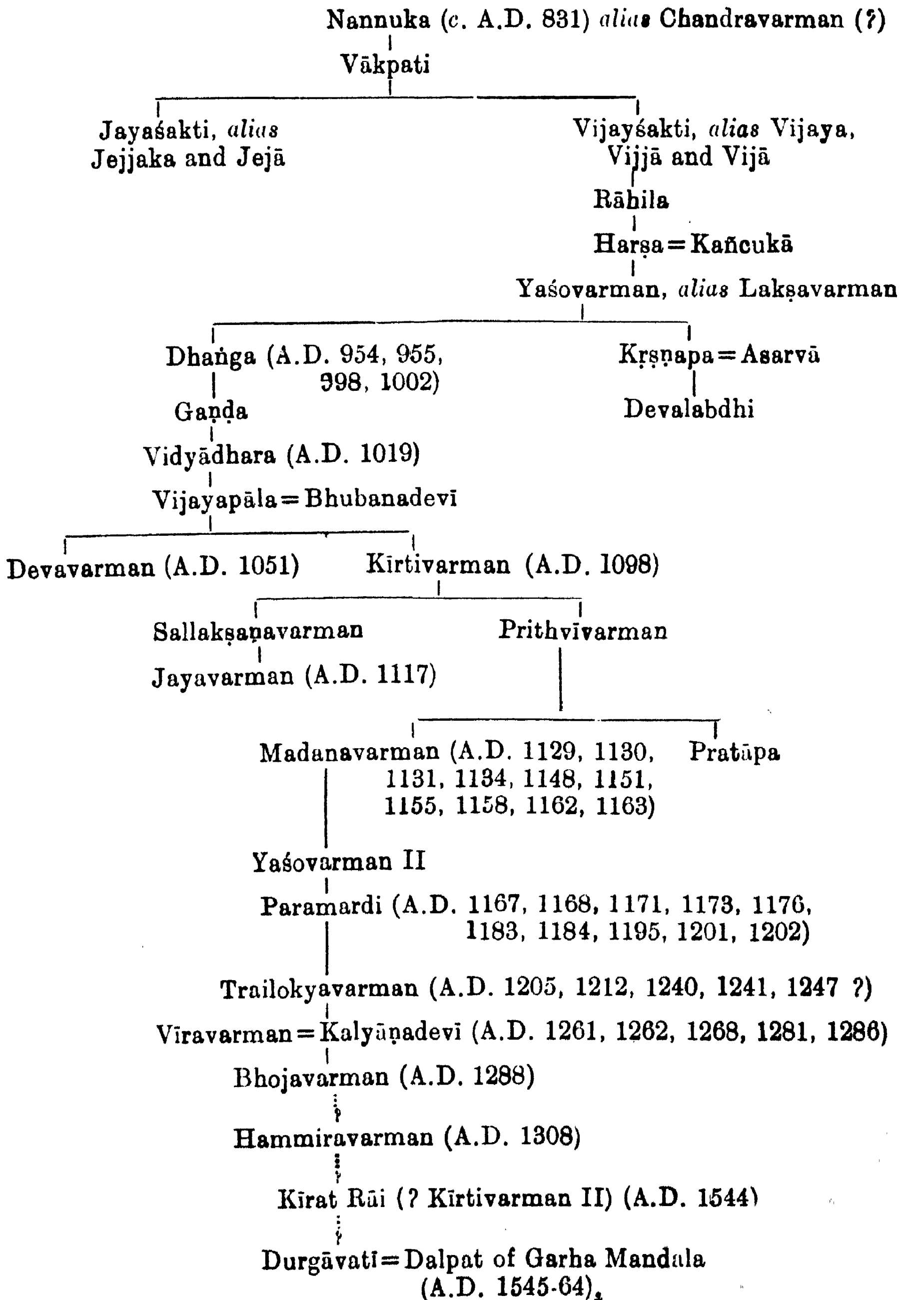
3 *Ibid*, p. 11 and fns. 1 and 2.

Alayadīna Sutānā (Sultan 'Alā ud-Dīn)[1] shows that Vāghadeva's reign probably terminated between 1308 and 1309 A.D. The armies of 'Alā ud-Dīn were at this time marching to the Deccan, and he may have established a base in Bundelkhand, reducing the power of the Candellas to some of their inaccessible forts. Though the Muslims attacked the fort of Kalinjar several times during the period *c*. 1240-1540 A.D.,[2] there is no decisive evidence to show that the Candellas were permanently driven out of Kalinjar; and there may be some truth in the suggestion that Kirat Singh, the Raja of Kalinjar who opposed Sher Shah in 1544 in A.D., was a Candella.[3] The Candella princess Durgāvatī, who married Rājā Dalpat Sā of Garha-Mandla about the year 1545 A.D. and was killed in 1564 gallantly fighting against Akbar, may have been a daughter of this Kirat Rāi of Kalinjar.[4]

[1] *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 2.
[2] *IGI*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 812; *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 247.
[3] *IA*, 1908, p. 146.
[4] According to tradition she was the daughter of the Candella ruler of Mahoba; but see *JASB*, 1881, Vol. L, p. 42. Was the full name of Kirat Rai, Kīrti[varman] ?

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Dates Approximate.)



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CHAPTER XII

HAIHAYAS OF THE UNITED AND CENTRAL PROVINCES

The Haihayas[1] according to Epic and Purāṇic tradition, were descendants of Sahasrajit, a son of Yadu and grandson of Yayāti. The name of the family is derived from Haihaya, the grandson of Sahasrajit. Their capital was situated in Māhiṣmatī (mod. Mandhata on the Narbada, Nimar District, C. P.), named after Mahiṣmant, a descendant of Haihaya. The greatest king of this line was Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is called both a *Samrāj* and a *Cakravartin.* The next important king of this race was Tālajaṅgha, who had many sons, called the Tālajaṅghas. The *Purāṇas* mention five different groups of Haihayas, *viz.*, the Vītihotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis, and Tundikeras, who were all Tālajaṅghas.[2] The Indian inscriptions reveal the existence of some other branches of this line. Thus the Ārjunāyanas, who did homage to the Gupta king Samudragupta, may have claimed descent from the Haihaya Arjuna.[3] But the most important line that claimed such descent was certainly the Kalacuris,[4] whose name appear in records from at least the 6th century A.D. down to the 15th century. We have seen that Epic and Purāṇic tradition connects the Haihayas

[1] The inscriptions supply a variant of this name, *Ahihaya*; see *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 268 ff.; *ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 229 ff.

[2] Pargiter, *IHT*, pp. 41, 102, 143, 153, 263, etc

[3] Fleet, *GI*, Introduction, p. 10. *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 293. Some connect them with the *Pāṇḍava* Arjuna. Raychaudhury, *Political History* (3rd Ed.), p. 371.

[4] There are several variants of this name, *viz.*, *Kaṭaccūri* (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 296), *Kaṭaccuri* (*ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 5 and 297), *Kalatsūri* (*IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 18), *Kālacchuri* (*ibid*, Vol. XVI, p. 22). *Kalacuti* (*EI*, Vol. II, pp, 228 ff.) and *Kulacuri* (*JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 481 ff.; *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 140). The origin of the name is at present doubtful. In the Jubbulpur grant of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, Kārtavīrya is said to have begat the *Kalacuri-vaṁśa* (*EI*, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.) I reserve the discussion of the origin of the tribe for my third volume.

with the middle Narbada valley. Their capital was at Mandhata while one of their subdivisions is actually named Avanti. This tradition about Mandhata was recently confirmed by the discovery of an inscription at Yewur which introduces us to the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Revarasa of the Ahihaya race with the title *Māhiṣmatī-puravareśvara.*[1] It is again interesting to note that the earliest inscriptions of the Kalacuris so far discovered reveal the Avanti-Mandhata region as the stronghold of the tribe. Thus the Abhona plates of the Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kṛṣṇarāja, dated in (K.) S. 347 (A. D. 595), were issued from Ujjayinī.[2] As the power of the Kalacuris extended as far south as Nasik district, they soon came into conflict with the rising Caḷukya power. The Caḷukya king Maṅgaleśa claims to have defeated in the course of an expedition to the north the Kalacuri king Buddha. This Buddha has been rightly identified as the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa; and it has been calculated that these conflicts took place some time between 597-98 and 602 A. D.[3] In their records the Kalacuris use an era which was founded in 248-49 A. D,[4] probably by the Ābhīras[5] and first used in the grants of the Traikūṭaka **Mahārāja** Dahrasena. But this does not prove that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Kalacuris. As the Abhona and the Sarsavni grants[6] show that the Kalacuris' territory was contiguous to the area where this era had its origin, it is not unlikely that they may have adopted it to date their official records. An interesting point in the Kalacuri history is raised by their title *Kālañjara-puravarādhīśvara.*[7] As the title occurs

[1] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 268 ff. Yewur is a village in the Shorapur taluq of the Gulbarga district in the Nizam's Dominions.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. The inscription grants lands in the Nasik district.

[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 295.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 215.

[5] *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (*Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas, etc.*), by E. J. Rapson, 1908, p. clxii.

[6] *EI*, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff.; Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. The Sarsavni grant was issued from Ānandapura, identified with Anand in the Kaira district.

[7] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 469 ff. In some inscriptions from Huli occurs the form *Kālaṁjana-puravarādhiśvara*; see *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 209.

in the inscription of the Kalacuris of Kalyani (*c.* 1145-1183 A.D.) it is possible that the Kalacuris assumed this title after the victories of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmī-Karṇa (*c.* 1041-1098) over the Candellas. But the Kalha grant of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, dated in (V.) *Saṁ.* 1134 (A. D. 1077),[1] seems to suggest that the Kalacuris were in possession of the hill-fort some time before the rise of the Candellas. In this grant Soḍhadeva traces his descent to one Rājaputra, who has been placed by Kielhorn in the beginning of the 9th century. Rājaputra, we are told, was born in the family of Lakṣmaṇarāja, whose elder brother is said to have possessed himself of Kālañjara by conquering Ayomukha and subduing the Krathas.[2] I have already shown that Kālañjara was in the possession of the Gurjara Pratīhāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Candellas from *c.* 836 A.D. down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India.[3] Therefore the brother of Lakṣmaṇarāja must have conquered Kālañjara some time before 836 A.D.[4] In this connection it is interesting to notice the Karitalai and Khoh grants of the feudatory *Mahārājas* of Uccakalpa dated in the same era that was used by the Kalacuri kings of Malwa.[5] Their dates range from the (K.) year 174 to 214, *i.e.*, A.D. 423 to 462. Some of these plates were found in the Nagod state, which is not very far from Kalinjar, while one grant was found in the Jubbulpore district. We have already seen that the Kalacuris' dominions extended in the south at least as far as Nasik. On the west they reached at least up to Anand in the Kaira district of Gujrat; and on the east they may have extended along the whole upper course of the Narbada including a large portion of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.

1 *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff.

2 *Ibid*, p. 89, V. 5.

3 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p 589; Vol. II, p. 674.

4 Cunningham also held that the Kalacuris "obtained possession of Kālañjara......... long before Maṅgaleśa Chālukya in the 6th century." See his *ASR*, Vol. XVII, pp. 83-84.

5 *GI*, pp. 117-35; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 293. Fleet suggested that these princes were possibly the 'feudatories of early Kalacuri kings.'

In the present state of our knowledge no connected history of the Kalacuris of this early period is possible ;[1] but it seems probable that they were deprived of most of their southern provinces by the steady pressure of the Calukyas of Badami, while the invasion of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras from their bases in the Punjab and Rajputana probably drove them out from Malwa sometime in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D.[2] Possibly also their power after this was confined to the provinces around the upper waters of the Narbada and Bundelkhand. But the rapid rise of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire probably drove them across the Bhanrer and the Kaimur hills into the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The Barah grant of Bhojadeva shows that the Pratīhāras were already in possession of the Kālañjara-*viṣaya* in 836 A.D.[3] These repeated misfortunes seem to have caused a dispersal of the tribe. While one section of the line remained in the C.P., other sections appear to have dispersed to various parts of India. Some of them accepted service as *condottieri* under the Deccani and the Northern Indian kings. It was no doubt from one of these families, settled in the south, that the Kalacuris of Kalyani[4] were descended. In the north also at least one branch appears to have accepted service under the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[5] It is difficult to define the exact relationship of the Kalacuris of C.P. with the great Pratīhāra emperors; but it is certain that some of the earlier members at least maintained amicable relations with them. It was only after the gradual decline and downfall of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras that the Kalacuris once again succeeded in making their power felt in North Indian history.

The account of the various branches of the Kalacuris that ruled in Northern India during this period can be conveniently

[1] Fleet found a possible reference to the Kalacuris in the *Ārjunāyanas* of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (*c.* 340-75 A.D.), *GI*, *Introduction*, pp. 9-10.

[2] *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 29 ff.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

[4] For their history see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 468-89.

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 85, V. 9; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 744, 745-46.

grouped under three heads, *viz.*, (1) *Kalacuris of Gorakhpur*, (2) *Kalacuris of Ḍāhala* [1] and (3) *Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa.*[2] We shall take them one by one.

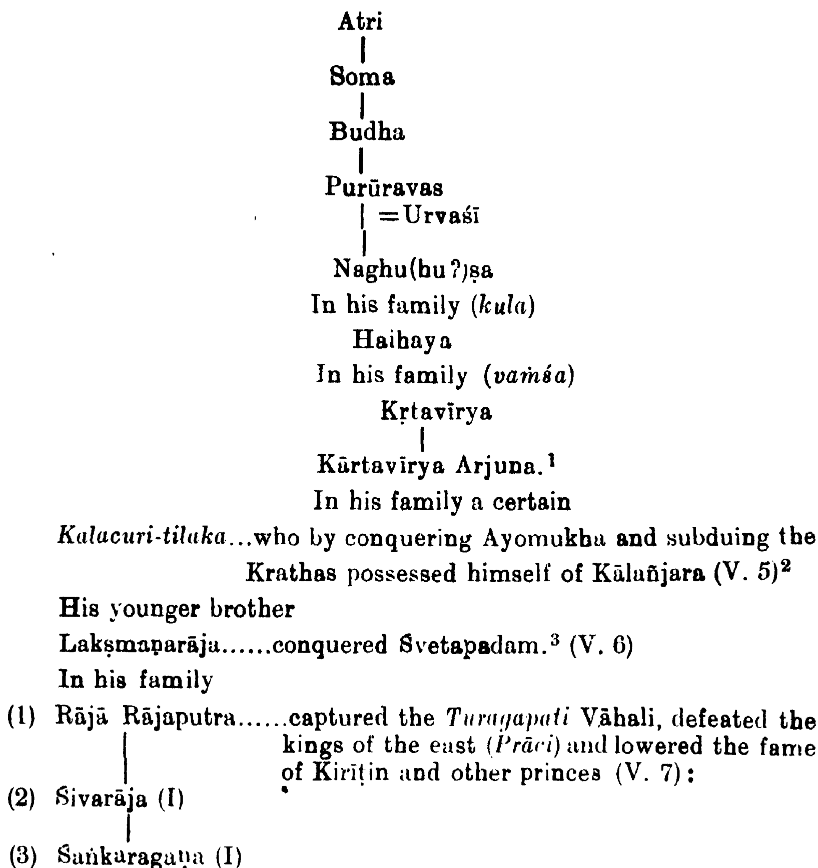
(1) *Kalacuris of Gorakhpur* (U.P.).

The existence of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the Kahla plate of Soḍhadeva and a stone inscription from Kasia. The second inscription is unfortunately much damaged, and some writing at the end of it is lost, with the name and possibly the date of the reigning king. But from the preserved portion it is clear that the two records represent two distinct families of the Kalacuris which for convenience again we shall designate as the (*a*) *Kahla* and the (*b*) *Kasia Kalacuris*. The Kahla grant was discovered by a cultivator in his field at the village of Kahla, in tappa Athaisi, pargana Dhuriapar, Gorakhpur District, U.P. The inscription contains 59 lines, and is written on both sides of a single copper-plate. In the middle of the lower part of the plate there is a ring-hole. The seal (which was probably attached to the ring) is circular, and "contains in high relief the figure of a bull, lying down and facing to the proper right ;[3] below it is the legend *Śrīmat Sōḍhadevasya.*' The characters resemble those on the copper-plates of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-55 A.D.) and Jayaccandra (*c.* 1170-93 A.D.) of Benares and Kanauj. The language is Sanskrit, but certain proper names are given ' in their vernacular forms or in forms based on them.' The inscription opens with *Oṁ Svasti* ; then begins the genealogy of the donor, which may be tabulated as follows :

[1] Usually known as *Kalacuris of Tripurī*. On *Ḍāhala*, see *infra*, p. 772, fn. 1.

[2] Popularly known as ' *Kalacuris of Ratnapura*.' But the dynasty even after the foundation of Ratnapura claims to be rulers of Tuṁmāṇa (*Tuṁmāṇādhipati*); see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 395, 479 and 478 ; *ibid*, *infra*, Vol. II, pp. 812, 815.

[3] The Abhona and Sarsavni grants of the Kalacuris of Malwa appear to have no seals attached to their rings or plates. But the seal on the grants of the Kalacuris of Kalyani, contain the figure of the bull ; see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 169.



[1] This mythical portion of the genealogy does not agree with the Epic and Purāṇic tradition. The composer of the inscription has omitted many kings. Thus between Haihaya and Kṛtavīrya he has omitted 7 kings, *viz.*, (1) Dharmanetra, (2) Kunti, (3) Sāhañja, (4) Mahiṣmant, (5) Bhadraśreṇya, (6) Durdama, and (7) Kanaka. Between Nahuṣa* and Haihaya he has omitted (1) Yayāti, (2) Yadu, (3) Sahasrajit, and (4) Śatajit. See Pargiter, *IHT*, p. 144.

[2] *Ayomukha* is the name of a mountain, and also a demon. The location of the mountain or the legend here referred to is unknown. See *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 86, fn. 2. *Kratha* is the name of a people probably inhabiting the region of Berar. In Purāṇic tradition Kratha is the son of a king of Vidarbha; see Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 168. In the *Mahābhārata* the *Kratha-Kauśikas* and the *Pāṇḍyas* are said to have been conquered by Bhiṣmaka the mighty king of the Bhojas (*Sabhā*, Chap. XIV). Some identify *Kratha-Kauśika* with Payoṣṇī (mod. Purna in Berar), see *GDI*, p. 104.

[3] Identified with the northern part of the modern Nasik District in the Bombay Presidency. This shows that this branch of the Kalacuris must have come from beyond the Narbada. The identification of the conqueror of this place with the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja (*EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 70; *MASI*, No. 23, p. 12) has nothing to support it except the similarity of names. See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 745.

(4) Guṇāmbhodhi......................'obtained some territories from Bhojadeva and by a warlike expedition took away the fortune of the Gauḍa' (V. 9).
alias Guṇasāgara (I)
Kāñcanadevī = (First wife)
= Madanadevī (2nd wife)

(5) Ullabha abdicated in favour of (6)

(6) Bhāmāna.........'distinguished himself in war with the king of Dhārā' (*Dhārāvanīśa*); (V. 13)
= Dehaṭṭadevī

(7) Śaṅkaragaṇa (II) Mugdhatuṅga
= Vidyā

(8) Guṇasāgara (II) .... = Lāvaṇyavatī.
Rājavā =

(9) Śivarāja (II) Bhāmāna
= Sugalladevī

(10) Śaṅkaragaṇa (III)
= Yaśolekhyadevī

(11) Bhīma.........by the decree of fate lost his kingdom (or was dethroned).

(12) Vyāsa...raised to the throne when the royal camp was at Gokulaghaṭṭa in (V.) S.1087 (A.D. 1031).

(13) Soḍhadeva......the life of *Sarayūpāra* (the bank of the Sarayū; V. 30).

Then in the prose portion of the grant we are informed that from his residence at Dhuliaghaṭṭa, after bathing, the *Pb.-M.-P.-Maryādāsāgaradeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara*, Ṣoḍhadeva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti* in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1134 (A. D. 1077), granted to 14 Brāhmans (names, *gotras*, Vedic *śākhās* and places of residence or origin given) various pieces of land situated in a group of 6 villages (*pāṭakas*) included in the Guṇakala-*viṣaya* of (the district of) Tīkarikā. Towards the end, in line 57, we are told that the *tāmrapaṭṭa* was written by the *Ādeśa-naibandhika* (recorder of orders) Janaka

in the (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1135 (A. D. 1079), *i.e.*, about 14 months after the donation. In line 59 the grant ends with the sign-manual of *Mahārājādhirāja*-Soḍhadeva.[1]

The real founder of this line of the Kalacuris was king Rājaputra. Commenting on the date of the inscription (A. D. 1031), Kielhorn remarked that " it shows that the founder of this new branch of the Kalacuri family...cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century." As Soḍhadeva is the 10th in lineal descent from Rājaputra, they cannot be separated by a period of more than 250 years (1031 − 250 = 781 A.D.). This prince is said to have captured the ' lord of horses ' Vāhali, defeated the kings of the East, and lowered the fame of Kirīṭin and other princes. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot with certainty identify any of these. But if he was already ruling in the Gorakhpur region in the last quarter of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th, some of the early Pāla kings may be included amongst the *prācī-kṣitīndras* defeated by him. Nothing is recorded of the next two princes, Śivarāja and Śaṅkaragaṇa I. But it is possible that the last of these two is to be identified with the *rājā* of the same name who was 'granted freedom from fear' by Kokkalla (*c.* 860-900 A. D.), the founder of the Tripurī branch of the Kalacuris.[2] Guṇāmbhodhi who succeeded Śaṅkaragaṇa I, is said to have received some land (*bhūmi*) from Bhojadeva, and taken away the fortune of the Gauḍa by a warlike expedition. As he is 4th in lineal descent from Rājaputra (*c.* 780-800 A.D.), he is probably to be referred to the

1 The plate was discovered in 1889. Kielhorn edited it from impressions in *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 85-93. It is now in the Lucknow Museum. The find-spot of the inscription is about 28 miles from the town of Gorakhpur.

2 But see *infra*, p. 754, fn. 5 ; also *EI*, Vol. II, p. 306, V. 7. Kielhorn identified the Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Benares grant of Karṇa, with Kokkalla's own son (also called Raṇavigraha), whose daughter Lakṣmī was married by the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Jagattuṅga II, the father of Indra III (A.D. *c.* 915-17); see *ibid*, p. 301, also *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 414. But as this Śaṅkaragaṇa is called *rājā*, and grouped together with Bhoja and Vallabharāja, the Gurjara-Pratīhāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, it is more probable that the third prince was also a separate ruler and 'not' a mere *crown-prince* like Raṇavigraha.

last quarter of the 9th century A.D. This would make him a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja I (c. 836-882 A.D.), and it seems likely that he took part in the great offensive of Bhoja against his eastern neighbours, the Pāla rulers of Gauḍa.[1] It is not improbable that Guṇāmbhodhi received a gift of land after the successful termination of this expedition. It is certain that this Kalacuri prince and his immediate feudatories were subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras; for as I have shown elsewhere,[2] the Pratīhāra empire some time after 836 A.D. gradually spread eastwards till in the reign of Mahendrapāla I it included large portions of Bihar and Northern Bengal. We may therefore venture the conclusion that the Pratīhāra hold on the Gorakhpur region remained unshaken till their serious reverses at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D. Nothing definite is known about the next king, Ullabha, except that he abdicated in favour of his younger brother Bhāmāna. This last prince is credited with having distinguished himself in a war against a king of Dhārā ; who the latter was is unknown. There is nothing to indicate that the authority of Bhāmāna extended from U. P. to Malwa. But it may be that this king of Dhārā was one of the earlier Paramāras, possibly (Harṣa) Sīyaka II, whose Ahmedabad grants are dated in 949 and 970 A.D.[3] The Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II shows that the Gurjaras in 946 A.D. still held portions of Malwa. It is not unlikely that the struggle which made the Paramāras the masters of Dhārā was already raging. We have shown elsewhere that this was only a side-issue of the continuous struggle between the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[4] The Paramāras fought as feudatories of the latter; and Bhāmānadeva, though holding a fief in U. P., may perhaps have fought on this frontier on behalf of his masters. It was probably in this war that he

1 *JL*, Vol. X, p. 52   2 *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. xxxvii, 302 ff., 569 ff.

3 *PTOC*, Madras, 1924, Madras, 1925, pp. 303-08. *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79; 236 ff

4 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588 ff.; see also Vol. II, pp. 761 and 769-70.

found an opportunity to distinguish himself against the *Dhārāvanīśa*. Nothing is recorded of the next 5 rulers (7-10), *viz.*, Śaṅkaragaṇa II,[1] Guṇasāgara II, Śivarāja II, Śaṅkaragaṇa III, and Bhīma. The last was probably dethroned in favour of Vyāsa, a son of Guṇasāgara II, the 8th prince. The grant records that this happened in (*V.*) *S.* 1087 (A.D. 1031) when the royal camp (*kaṭaka*) was at Gokulaghaṭṭa. Vyāsa's son was Soḍhadeva, the donor of the grant. It is difficult to determine the exact limits of Soḍhadeva's dominions, as the numerous localities mentioned in his inscription have not yet been identified. But since he is called 'the life of the bank of Sarayū'[2] (*Sarayūpāra-jīvitaṁ*) and he bathed in the Gaṇḍakī before making the grant, we may infer that his dominions probably included at least the Gorakhpur division of the U.P., and the Saran district of Bihar. His royal titles indicate that he was no longer a feudatory. Possibly the destruction of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra power in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley by the Yamīnīs and Candellas may have helped Vyāsa Maryādāsāgara, the father of Soḍhadeva, to carve out an independent principality on the banks of the Gogra and the Gandak. From the figure of the bull on his seal as well as his title *Parama-māheśvara*, we may infer that Soḍhadeva was a worshipper of Śiva. Nothing else is known about his reign or the reign of any of his possible successors. It is however not unlikely that Soḍhadeva was the last prince of this Kalacuri line. The rise of the Gāhaḍavāla power in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century appears to have destroyed the power of the Kalacuris on the Gogra. The Candravati grant of Candradeva, dated in (*V.*) *S.* 1150 (A.D. 1093), shows the extension of the Gāhaḍavāla dominions from Benares and Kanauj to the Svarga-dvāra *tīrtha* at the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ghargharā in Ayodhyā (Fyzabad district).[3] As the earliest date (A.D. 1090)

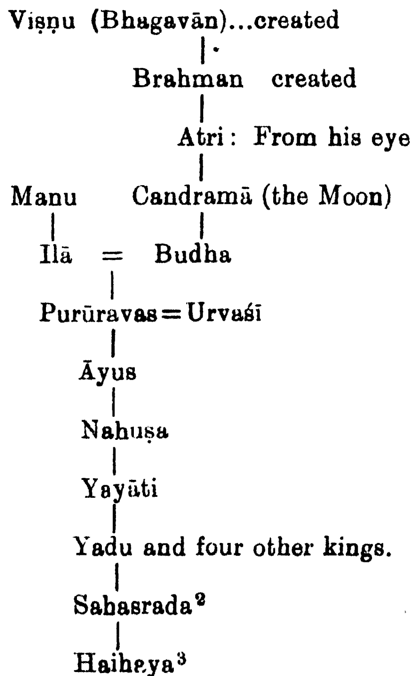
[1] But see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 754, fn. 5, and *supra*, 745, fn. 2.

[2] Most probably the river Gogra which in Oudh is known 'by the names of Dehoa, Surjoo or Sarayu as well as Ghogra.' See *IGI*, Vol. XII, 1908, pp. 302-03.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 193; see also *supra DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 509 ff.

of Candradeva[1] is separated only by a period of 11 years from the latest recorded date (A.D. 1079) of the Kahla plate, the founder of the Gāhaḍavālas may well have been the destroyer of Soḍhadeva.

The existence of another family of the Kalacuris in Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the *Kasia stone-inscription.* The blue stone slab on which this is engraved was found at the Buddhist ruins near Kasia, 'in all probability the ancient site of Kuśanagara,' in the disirict of Gorakhpur (U. P.). The inscription is much damaged, and 'evidently some writing is lost at the end of it.' The existing portion contains 24 lines, and is written in *Nāgari* characters of about the 12th century A.D. It is throughout in verse, excepting the opening invocation to Buddha. The first four verses are devoted to the praise of Śaṅkara, Pārvatī, Tārā and Buddha. Then follows the mythical and historical portion of the genealogy which may be presented in tabular form as follows:



[1] *Ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 302. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 508-09.

[2] In Purāṇic tradition the name is spelt Sahasrajit, see *IHT*, p. 144. The inscription omits Śatajit between Sahasrajit and Haihaya.

[3] The inscription omits 8 kings between Haihaya and Kārtavīrya (Arjuna). See *IHT*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

In his family

Kārtavīrya

In his family

(1) Śaṅkaragaṇa
|
(2) Nannarāja
|
(3) Lakṣmaṇa (I)
|
(4) Śivarāja (I)
|
(5) Bhīmaṭa (I)
|
?
(6) *Rājaputra* Lakṣmaṇa (I)
|
(7) Śivarāja (II)
|
(8) Name lost = Bhūdā
|
(9) Lakṣmaṇarāja (III)
:
? = Kāñcanā
|
(10) Bhīmaṭa (II)

The inscription abruptly comes to an end after this. The name of the king in whose reign this record was engraved, as well as the object of it has been lost. It is likely however that the epigraph 'recorded the erection of the brick shrine in which the large black stone image of the Buddha' was originally enshrined and near the doorway of which it was discovered. The preserved portion contains no date.[1]

The founder of this branch was Śaṅkaragaṇa, about whom we are told that Purajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted him an emblem of his own. His son and successor, Nannarāja, is vaguely praised as one 'whose fame spread up to the ocean.'

[1] The stone inscription was discovered in 1875-76. Kielhorn published a résmé of the contents of the inscription in *NKGWG*, 1903, pp. 300-03. It was fully edited by D. R. Sahni in 1925. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 121-37. It is not impossible that Kāñcanā was the wife 'of another king whose name has disappeared;' see *ibid*, p. 129.

His son Lakṣmaṇa is credited with having entered a fort and 'resorted to a mountainous district named *Śaivaya*,[1] which was the sum-total of the universe and the residence of Śibi Auśīnara.' Kielhorn identified *Śaivaya* with Seweya situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasiā. But as Seweya 'is situated on perfectly level ground and nót on a mountainous region,' objection has been taken to Kielhorn's suggestion. It appears however probable that *Śaivaya* (or *Śaivya*) 'must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasiā' The next person and the first to be called a king (*narapati*) was his son Śivarāja I, whose prowess resembled the light of the flame created by (the sage) Aurva and 'who was more successful even than Kīrti.' This Kīrti was no doubt the name of a person, but his identity has not yet been ascertained. Can he be the same as the Candella Kīrtivarman (A.D. 1098), who by defeating the mighty Karṇa and recovering his dominions appears to have performed one of the most sensational military achievements of the period? Nothing is known about his son and successor the *Kṣitīśa* Bhīmaṭa (I). The next in the genealogical list is the *Rājaputra*, Lakṣmaṇa II, who was probably the son of Bhīmaṭa. It is said of him that 'the title son of a king, the source of virtues, befitted him more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes.' Next is mentioned Śivarāja (II), who is said to have produced 'confusion in the circle of his enemies.' The son of Śivarāja is called 'the crest-jewel of kings' (*Narendra-cuḍāmaṇi*) but unfortunately his name is lost. His wife (*dharma-patnī*) Bhūdā bore to him the *narapati* Lakṣmaṇarāja III.[2] The latter is vaguely praised for his victories against his enemies. His wife Kāñcanā bore to him the last prince on the list, Bhīmaṭa II, who 'earned fame by his fierce prowess.'

[1] Sahni suggests that this is a mistake for Śaivya (= *Śivi* + the suffix *ñya*), *i.e.*, the country or city of the Śibis. Vogel identified Shorkot in the Punjab as the ancient Śibipura; see *EI*. Vol. XVI. p. 15

[2] *Rājaputra* Lakṣmaṇa probably did not reign. In that case Lakṣmaṇarāja III should be Lakṣmaṇarāja II. It is not absolutely certain that Kāñcanā was his wife; see *supra*, p. 749, fn. 1.

From the account given above, it does not seem that this branch of the Kalacuris ever became very powerful. I have already shown that the Gāhaḍavālas from c. 1093 gradually extended their territories from Kanauj and Benares to the banks of the Gogra. That the Gāhaḍavālas retained their power on the banks of the Gogra till the reign of their last ruler, is shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Jayaccandra, dated in (*V.*) *S.* 1234 (A.D. 1177), which grants land on the banks of the Daivahā (mod. Deoha, another name of the Gogra).[1] It is therefore likely that this branch of the Kalacuris was suffered to remain as a feudatory line after the main dynasty of Kalha was destroyed by Candradeva. Though there is no apparent connection between the Kalha and the Kasiā branches, the occurrence of many common names at least tends to indicate close connection between the families. If my guess about the identification of Kīrti with the Candella Kīrtivarman (A.D. 1098) be accepted, some of the last princes, at least Bhīmaṭa II, may have to be placed in the first half of the 13th century.

(2) *Kalacuris of Ḍāhala*[2] (C.P.).

We have already suggested the probability that one of the branches of the Kalacuris was driven into the C. P. by the pressure of Gurjara-Pratīhāra power in Bundelkhand. The Kalacuri dynasty of Ḍāhala may have been descended from this Kalacuri stock. We have epigraphic evidence to show that these Kalacuris ruled in the C.P. for at least 300 years. Like the inscriptions of the Kasiā branch their records also trace their descent to the god Viṣṇu. The mythical portion of their pedigree may be summarised in tabular form as follows :

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 138 and *EI*. Vol. VII, p. 88, and fn. 2 on p. 83 ; see also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 539.

[2] Usually called *Kalacuris of Tripurī*.

Vîṣṇu: From his navel

(The god) born from the lotus (Brahmā)

|

Atri

|

'The friend of the ocean' (*i.e.*, Moon)

|

Budha (or Bodhana) ... son-in-law of the 'friend of the lotuses' (*i.e.* Sun)

|

Purūravas = Urvaśī.

In his family

Bharata ... 'whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunā, hemmed in by more than a hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (offered by him)'

In his family (*anvaye*)

The *Haihaya-Cakravartī* Kārtavīrya Arjuna, who inprisoned Rāvaṇa ... He begat the

Kalacuri-vaṁśa.

It will be observed from this table that the list leaves out some mythical kings who figure in the genealogy of the Gorakhpur branches. With one exception,[1] most of the inscriptions omit to mention Haihaya or the Haihayas before Arjuna, while the Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, make Kārtavīrya 'the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.'[2] But the most serious difference seems to be the inclusion of Bharata in the genealogy of the Haihayas. This Bharata cannot be the Paurava Bharata Dauṣyanti, because he flourished after Arjuna. It is likely that the *praśastikāras* meant the 'mythical king of that name after whom (it is said) India was called Bhāratavarṣa.'[3] In the Epic and Purāṇic lists of the Yādava Haihayas also, the name of Bharata does not occur.[4]

[1] The Bilhari stone inscription mentions the Haihayas before Arjuna; see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 263.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 215.

[3] Pargiter, *IHT*, pp. 131 and 146.

[4] *Ibid*, p 144.

The first historical name in the genealogy of the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala[1] is that of Kokkalla.[2] No record of his reign has so far been discovered; but the documents of his successors refer to a number of political incidents of his time. Thus the Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja informs us that Kokkalladeva, 'having conquered the whole earth, set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya, *i.e.* the south) that well-known Kṛṣṇarāja, and in the quarter of Kuvera (*i.e.* in the north) Bhojadeva, a store of fortune.'[3] The Benares grant of Karṇa informs us that the hand of Kokkalla 'granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the *Citrakuṭabhūpāla* Harṣa, and *rājā* Śaṅkaragaṇa.'[4] The same inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady named Naṭṭā or Naṭṭādevī (*Naṭṭākhyadevī*), who was born in the Candella family.[5] Kielhorn rightly identified Kṛṣṇarāja and Vallabharāja of these two records with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa-Vallabha of Malkheḍ (*c.* 878-912 A.D.), and Harṣa with the Candella Harṣa of Khajraho (*c.* 900 A.D.).[6] Kṛṣṇa II married a daughter of Kokkalla,[7] who is described in the Karda plates as the younger sister of Śaṅkuka.[8] This Haihaya princess, we are told, 'attained the rank of chief queen' (*mahādevī*) and became the mother of Jagattuṅga, the father

[1] Sometimes the family is said to have arisen in the *Ātreya-gotra* (*IA*, 1889, XVIII, p. 210). At other times the family is called *Haihaya-kula* (*IA*, Vol. XII, p. 265, line 16), *Cedi-kula* (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 40), and *Sahasrārjuna-vaṁśa* (*ibid*, p. 42; *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 250, line 16).

[2] Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokalla (*EI*, Vol. I, pp. 34) and Kokkala (*EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 78). Kekkalla in the Ghotia plates of Pṛthvīdeva is probably a mistake of the scribe (*IA*, 1925, p. 44).

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 264, V. 17. In early Sanskrit Kuvera is spelt *Kubera*.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 300 and 306, V. 7.

[5] *Ibid*, V. 8.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 301 and 304. The identification of Kṛṣṇarāja with Kṛṣṇa II, was first suggested by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 80. Kṛṣṇa II was known as Vallabharāja; see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II. p. 410. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, chap. on the *Candrātreyas* (Candellas), p. 673.

[7] *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 265.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 265, line 17. Śaṅkuka is probably an abbreviation of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

of the famous Indra III (*c.* 15-17 A.D.), who raided Ujjayinī and Kanauj in the reign of the Gurjara- Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I (*c.* 914-43 A.D.). Possibly Kokkalla may have assisted his son-in-law when the latter suffered disaster at the hands of the Eastern Calukya Vijayāditya III (*c.* 844-88 A.D.)[1] Naṭṭā or Naṭṭādevī probably belonged to the family of the Candella king Harṣa.[2] In view of the fact that Indra III, the great-grandson of Kokkalla was contemporary with Mahīpāla, the grandson of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Bhoja I (*c.* 836-882 A.D.), Cunningham and Kielhorn were perhaps right in identifying the Bhojadeva of the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions with Bhoja I.[3] But as one of the contemporaries of Kokkalla, the Candella Harṣadeva, was possibly a contemporary of Mahīpāla I, the younger brother of Bhoja II (*c.* 908-14 A.D.), it is just possible that the Gurjara contemporary of Kokkalla may have been Bhoja II, and not Bhoja I.[4] Another identification of Kielhorn is also open to doubt as I have already pointed out, *viz.*, that the *rājā* Śaṅkaragaṇa to whom Kokkalla granted freedom from fear was probably one of the Kalacuri kings of that name who ruled in Gorakhpur, and not the prince of that name who was a son of Kokkalla.[5] Cunningham assigned the reign of Kokkalla 'with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'[6] In view of the above discussion however it will probably be safer to allot to him the period 875-925 A.D. During these years he firmly laid the foundation of his family's sovereignty. He formed matrimonial alliances with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas,

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 411-12.

[2] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the Candellas, p. 673.

[3] *ASR*, Vol. IX, pp. 84 and 103; *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 301 and 304.

[4] See on this point *MASB*, Vol. V, p. 65; also *JL*, Vol. X, p. 52, fn. 4; *MASI*, No. 23, p. 4.

[5] See *JL*, p. 53, fn. 1; also p. 8, and fn. 2 on p. 8. If Bhojadeva is identified with Bhoja II, Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Benares plate is probably to be identified with the Kahla Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa II. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 745, fn. 2, and p. 747, fn. 1.

[6] *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 103. Rai Bahadur Hiralal places his reign in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.; see *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 282.

and kept up friendly relations with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. After consolidating his position at home he seems to have raided a large area of northern and southern India. In the Amoda plates of the Haihaya Pṛthvīdeva of Tuṁmāṇa (K. S. 831=1079 A.D.) Kokkalla is said to have plundered 'the treasuries of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families.'[1] Much of this is no doubt mere *praśasti*. As the word *Turuṣkà* in the records of this period generally means the Turks represented by the ruling families of Ghazni and Ghūr, and as the earliest recorded date for a Turkish invasion of India cannot be placed before the middle of the 10th century, when Alp-tigīn established himself at Ghazni,[2] the chances of Kokkalla meeting a Turuṣka opponent were extremely remote. Without, therefore, accepting literally all that the poet claims for him, we can believe that he really raided a wide area around his dominions. There is, however, no means to determine the exact limits of his kingdom. In some records of the Tuṁmāṇa Haihayas his dominions seem to be designated as *Tritasaurya*.[3] This place has not yet been identified. But as one of his sons is said to have ascended the ancestral throne at Tripurī (6 miles from Jubbulpore, in the Central Provinces), and another appears to have fixed his residence at Tuṁmāṇa (mod. Tumāna, 45 miles north of Ratnapur in the Central Provinces), we may infer that Kokkalla's power extended from the Bhanrer to the Maikal range, or roughly over the region now known as the Jubbulpore Division.

According to the inscriptions of the Haihaya kings of Ratnapura, Kokkalla had 18 sons, of whom the eldest became king of Tripurī, while the others became *maṇḍalapatis* or feudatory chiefs in the kingdom. They mention Kaliṅgarāja as

[1] *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 and 78, Vs. 4-5.
[2] *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 11. *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 79 and 80.
[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 33, 34; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 802.

one of these younger sons, from whom the Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa traced their descent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants reveal the names of some other sons of Kokkalla. Thus the Karda grant of Kakka II (A.D. 972) gives us the name of Śaṅkuka, whose younger sister became the queen of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. The Saṅgli grant of Govinda IV (A.D. 933) tells us that Jagattuṅga married Lakṣmī, a daughter of Raṇavigraha, the son of Kokkala, the ornament of the *Sahasrārjuna-vaṁśa*.[1] The Karda grant mentioned above also informs us that this Jagattuṅga married Lakṣmī, the daughter of the *Cedīśvara* Śaṅkaragaṇa.[2] As in both the grants the issue of Jagattuṅga by Lakṣmī is stated to be Indra III, it is clear that Raṇavigraha and Śaṅkaragaṇa are one and the same person 'the latter appellation being his real name, and the former a *biruda*.'[3] The Karda grant reveals the interesting fact that Jagattuṅga in the course of an expedition during the reign of his father came to the Cedi country and married Govindāmbā, another daughter of his maternal uncle (*mātula*) Śaṅkaragaṇa.[4] This princess became in course of time the mother of Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (*c*. 933-40 A.D.) and the grandmother of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III (*c*. 940-56 A.D.). The Saṅgli grant of Govinda IV gives us the name of yet another son of Kokkalla, named Arjuna. This Arjuna, we are told, had a son named Ammanadeva, 'of exceedingly great might,' whose daughter Vijāmbā became the wife of Indra III and mother of Amoghavarṣa II and Govinda IV (*c*. 918-33 A.D.).[5] The records of the Haihayas of Tripurī however do not mention any of these names of the sons of Kokkalla. The Bilhari stone inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II tells us that Kokkalla was

1 *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 253, line 16.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 265 and 268, line 18.

3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 414.

4 The Caḷukya king Vikramāditya II of Bādāmī (733-46 A.D) also married Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, who were uterine sisters and came from the same Haihaya stock ; see *ibid*, p. 374.

5 *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 253, lines 20-22. Fleet first read the name as Dvijāmbā but see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 415.

succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, while the Benares grant of Karṇa relates that he was succeeded by Prasiddhadhavala, his son by Naṭṭādevī. As both these names are given as that of the father of Yuvarāja I, it is clear that these two names belong to one and the same person. Hitherto it has been believed that one of these names is a titular name.[1] But possibly both are *birudas* of the *Cedīśvara* Śaṅkaragaṇa, whose daughters Lakṣmī and Govindāmbā were married to Jagattuṅga, the son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. In view of his epithet 'lord of Cedi,' it is difficult to identify Śaṅkaragaṇa with one of the younger sons of Kokkalla who became mere lords of *maṇḍalas*.[2] As the genealogical lists of the Haihayas of Tripurī does not mention this 'lord of Cedi' amongst the immediate successors of Kokkalla, and as both the names Mugdhatuṅga and Prasiddha-dhavala look more like *birudas* than personal names it is likely that the personal name of the eldest son who succeeded him at Tripurī was Śaṅkaragaṇa. If this is accepted, Raṇavigraha must be another *biruda* of this king. We have not yet discovered any records of this prince; but the Bilhari stone-inscription of Yuvarāja II contains the following description of his victories:

"On his expeditions the forests by the sea, near which his army encamped, had the number of their coral-sprouts doubled by the tips of the hands of women, stretched forth to gather them.

To Malaya his thoughts wandered, because it is there that the waves of the sea are playing, because there that wind is blowing which causes the Kerala women to sport, because there the serpent is stealing the fragrance of the trees.

Having conquered the lines of the country by the shore of the eastern sea, and having taken Pāli from the lord of Kosala,

1 *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 285. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 444. Mugdhatuṅga is a *biruda* of the Kalha Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa II.

2 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 301.

having uprooted the dwellings of enemies one after another, he was a most splendid master of the sword "[1]

The references to Malaya and Kerala are so vague that they seem to have no historical basis. Excepting the Bilhari inscription, most of the Kalacuri records are silent about the achievements of Prasiddhadhavala. He does not appear to have been powerful enough to pierce through the heart of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory and reach the Malabar coast. It is however not impossible that he may have been associated with some of the southern campaigns of his Rāṣṭrakūṭa relatives. The conquest of Pāli from 'the lord of Kosala' looks like a statement of fact. Some scholars show a tendency to identify this Pāli with 'the village of Palia in the Balasore district, six miles from the sea shore,'[2] but it seems more likely that it is to be identified with the village of Pali situated 12 miles to the north-east of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district. Cunningham visited this place in 1873-74 and found here 'a fine large tank and the remains of several temples on its banks' in the style of the Khajraho temples.[3] There can be no doubt therefore that the village marks the site of an important city. It is however difficult to identify the *Kosalendra* from whom this place was taken by Mugdhatuṅga. It is possible that this prince was a member of the dynasty conveniently designated as 'Śarabhapura kings.' Land-grants of two kings of this line, named Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudevarāja, have been discovered in Raipur, Arang, Khariar and Sarangarh, all situated in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces.[4] The grants contain circular seals with the standing figure of *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. They are written in the 'boxheaded

1 *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 256 and 265, Vs. 22-24.

2 *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 287. But see *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 396 and 401.

3 *ASR*, Vol. VII, pp. 217-19.

4 For these grants see Fleet, *GI*, pp. 191-200; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 170-74 and 281-85; Hiralal, *DLI*, pp. 96-97. The characters of the grants belong to the southern class of alphabets. For the Sirpur stone-inscription of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, see *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 184-97.

variety of the Central Indian alphabet,' and are all issued from Śarabhapura.[1] It has been suggested that these Śarabhapura princes drove away the line of rulers known as ' Śrīpura kings ' from the Raipur region into the middle Mahanadi valley, but were themselves gradually supplanted by the Kalacuris.[2] The records of these ' Śrīpura kings ' were issued from Śrīpura (mod. Sirpur) and were all found near about the Raipur district.[3] Their seals bear the figure of Garuḍa, and they claim to belong to the *Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa* and assume the title ' lord of Kosala ' (*Kosalādhipati*). The characters in their inscriptions belong to the northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or the 9th centuries A.D. ' In spite of overwhelming paleographic evidence,' some scholars have tried to link together these ' Śrīpura kings ' with the so-called ' Somavaṁśī kings of Kaṭak,' who also called themselves ' lords of Kosala,' and had similar names and titles.[4] If this be accepted then the *Kośalendra* defeated by Prasiddhadhavala may possibly have been some princes of this dynasty,[5] and not of the Śarabhapura line, for the latter, though it ruled in Kosala, never seem to have assumed the title of *Kosalendra*. After the conquest of Pāli from the king of Kosala, Prasiddhadhavala may have reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal by following the lower courses of the river Mahanadi.

Prasiddhadhavala was succeeded by his son Bālaharṣa. The Bilhari inscription omits him; but the Benares grant of Karṇa distinctly calls him a *nṛpati*.[6] So it is certain that he ruled for some time. As that record only praises him in general terms, and most other inscriptions do not mention him at all, he must have had a very short and inglorious reign; and he may have

1 This place has not yet been identified; but Rai Bahadur Hiralal thinks that this may be another name of Sirpur, in the district of Raipur, see *DLI*, p. 90.

2 *DLI*, p. 90.

3 *GI*, pp. 291-99; *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 103-07; Vol. XI, pp. 184-201; *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179-81. *DLI*, p. 101. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 621.

4 *DLI*, p. 90. See for further details *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 393 ff.

5 Probably Śivagupta, the first prince of the Orissa line, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 396.

EI, Vol. II, pp. 306-07, V. 13.

been the king of Cedi who was 'impetuously' defeated by the Candella Yaśovarman.[1] His younger brother Yuvarāja[2] who succeeded him, is given in the Bilhari inscription the *biruda* Keyūravarṣa.[3] The same record gives the following account of his victories: "Who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, who was a deer to sport on those pleasure-hills—the breasts of the damsels of Karṇāṭa, (*and*) ornamented the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa; who engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kaśmīra, (*and*) was fond of the charming songs of the women of Kaliṅga. Up to the Kailāsa... and up to the noble eastern mountain over which the sun shines forth, near the bridge of the waters, and as far as the western sea, too, the valour of his armies brought endless anguish on hostile people."[4] In spite of obvious exaggerations, it is possible that the Kalacuris recovered from the effects of their defeat at the hands of the Candellas under Yuvarāja I, who, following the usual practice of successful kings, raided the countries all round his dominions. The conflict with the Karṇāṭa sovereigns, who must be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of the Deccan, throws interesting light on the relations of these two dynasties. We have seen how intimate was the bond of union between these two royal families. Since the time of Kokkalla, the Kalacuris of Tripurī had formed frequent matrimonial alliances with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ. Even Yuvarāja himself gave his daughter Kundakadevī as a bride to Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (*c.* 933-40 A.D.).[5] The Karhad grant of Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 940-56 A.D.), seems to indicate that he also, like his father, married a Sahasrārjuna princess.[6] These

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 132. Kielhorn suggested that the defeated Cedi king was Yuvarāja I; see *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 301. But chronology and facts seem to point out that the defeat should be referred to the weak reign of his elder brother. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 675.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 307, V. 15.

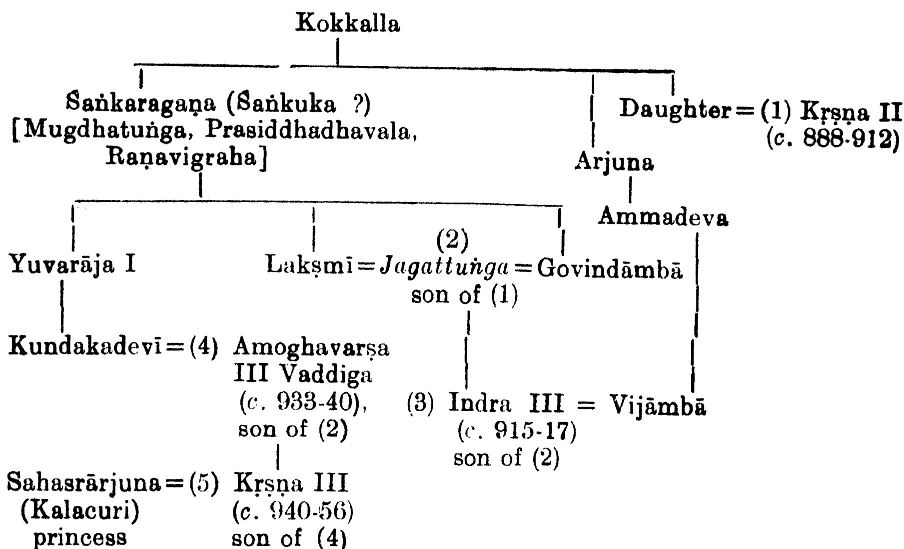
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 256, V. 24.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 265, Vs. 24 and 28. The Gauḍa king was possibly Gopāla II, see *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 350 ff. *seq*.

[5] *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 268, line 23; *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 104; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 418.

[6] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 288, V. 25.

matrimonial alliances may be represented by the following table :



The above table shows that in three generations, within a period of less than three-quarters of a century (*c*. 888-956 A.D.), there were no less than six marriages between the two families. The recent discovery of the Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III in the State of Maihar in Baghelkhand and the references to the possible Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation of Kalinjar contained in the Deoli and Karhad plates of the same king show that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' dominions during this period probably encircled the Kalacuri kingdom in the north, west, and south.[1] It is not impossible that the Kalacuris may have even assisted the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in their northern campaigns against the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and their Candella feudatories. But the references to the conflict of the Kalacuris and the Karṇāṭas show that this period of close alliance and co-operation had come to an end. This conclusion is also supported by the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III, which tell us that during his father's reign (*c*. 933-40 A.D.) he conquered a Sahasrārjuna

[1] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588 ff.; *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 10 ff.

prince.[1] From the fact that this prince is described as 'an elderly relative of his mother and his wife' it seems very likely that the defeated Kalacuri prince was no other than Yuvarāja I, the father of his mother. This conflict must have happened some time before 940 A.D., when Yuvarāja was already well advanced in years.

The limits of the kingdom of Yuvarāja I cannot be definitely fixed. But the Chandrehe stone-inscription,[2] seems to indicate that in the north it included a portion of Baghelkhand. This document is written on two slabs of stone 'built into the walls of the front verandah of a Śaiva monastery which stands close to the great temple of Śiva at Chandrehe,' on the Son river in Rewa. It belongs to the Mattamayūra sect of the Śaiva ascetics. One of these, Prabhāvaśiva, we are told, was greatly honoured by Yuvarāja. The identity of this prince is established by another stone-inscription,[3] said to have been discovered in the ruins of Gurgi some 12 miles to the east of the town of Rewa. The 6th verse of this record tells us that the Mattamayūra ascetic Prabhāvaśiva 'was brought to this part of the country by Yuvarājadeva, son of Mugdhatuṅga, and made to accept a monastery or a temple.' As this last inscription also refers to the building of a high temple at the place by the same king, it is likely that Yuvarāja's power extended across the Son to the north of the Kaimur Range.

The association of Yuvarāja with Śaiva ascetics is also revealed by a number of other records. An unpublished inscription, found at Malakāpuram, in the Madras Presidency, tells us that Yuvarāja gave 3 lakhs of villages as a *bhikṣā* to the Śaiva

[1] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 288, V. 25.

[2] The inscription is dated in (K.)S. 724 (A.D. 973) and records the re-excavation and rebuilding of a well by Prabodhaśiva which was formerly excavated by his *guru* Praśāntaśiva. The latter was the disciple of Prabhāvaśiva. The inscription was composed by the *kavi* Dvāṁsaṭa. See *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 85; *ASI*, *WC*, 1921, pp. 53-54; *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 117-22.

[3] *ASI*, *WC*, 1921, pp. 51-52. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 122-29. This is another record of the Śaiva ascetic Prabodhaśiva.

teacher Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala* situated between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā.'[1] The Bilhari stone-inscription tells us that Yuvarāja had as his wife Nohalā, who traced her origin to the Caulukya lineage. She was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Siṁhavarman.[2] Nohalā is said to have erected near the modern Bilhari a large temple of Śiva, which she endowed with the villages Dhaṅgaṭa-pāṭaka, Poṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khaila-pāṭaka, Vīḍā, Sajjāhalī, and Goṣṭhapālī. She is also reported to have given the villages of Nipānīya, and Ambi-pāṭaka to the sage Īśvaraśiva, a disciple of Śabdaśiva, who again was a disciple of Pavanaśiva, 'as a reward for his learning.'[3]

The Karitalai stone-inscription of the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja supplies us with the name of one of the officers of the administration of this king. We are told that the Brāhman Bhāka Miśra, who flourished in the family of the sage Bhāradvāja, served Yuvarāja as his chief minister (*mantri-pradhāna*).[4] No records of this king have so far been discovered.

Yuvarāja I was succeeded by Lakṣmaṇarāja, his son by Nohalā. There appears to have been no weakening of the Kalacuri power under his administration; and if the records can be believed, he considerably increased the prestige of his house by invading the territories of his neighbours. Thus the Bilhari inscription tells us that 'the powerful Cedi lord (*Cedi-nātha*)

[1] Mentioned by Hiralal in *ABOI*, 1927-28, pp. 283-90. Hiralal also suggests that the *Golaki Maṭha* of this inscription should be identified with the Caunsath Jogini temple at Bheraghat. If this is accepted, that temple, which was founded by Sadbhāvasambhu, must be referred to the time of Yuvarāja I; see *ibid*. For his temples, see *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 31 ff.

[2] An interesting fact about the origin of this Caulukya family is that they trace their descent from the *Culuka* of Droṇa Bhāradvāja, while the Caḷukyas of Bādāmi traced their descent from that of Brahmā; see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 180. For the story of origin of the Caulukyas of Anahilapāṭaka (Gujarat), see *infra*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 266-67 Vs. 30-45. Cunningham identified Poṇḍī with the village of Pondi situated 4 miles to the N. W. of Bilhari. He also suggested that Khaila-pāṭaka was probably represented by Khailwara, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari; see *ibid*, p. 251; also *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 104.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 174-76, Vs. 2-6.

marched with all his elephants and horses, (and) accompanied by strong foot-soldiers of tributary chiefs (*Sāmanta-patti*), to the very pleasant *western region*, inspiring his adversaries with fear......Having valorously struck down (adversaries) who were humbled in battle, having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who bowed down (before him)..... he made the host of his army sport in the water of the ocean. Having bathed in the sea, the illustrious (prince) then worshipped *Someśvara* with golden lotuses; but he also presented something else. After defeating the lord of Kosala (*Kosala-nātha*), he made (the effigy of the serpent) Kāliya wrought of jewels and gold, which was obtained from the prince of Oḍra (*Oḍra-nṛpati*), a reverential offering to Someśvara. Having besides presented elephants, horses, splendid dresses, garlands, sandal and other (gifts), the prince to get out of the toils of this life, humbly praised (the god), full of joy."[1] The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa gives him credit for conquering the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kāśmīra.[2]

These descriptions of Lakṣmaṇarāja's victories are of course not free from the usual suspicion attaching to all royal *praśastis*; but certain statements in them seem to contain some truth. His claim to have advanced as far as Somnath (Patan), in the Kathiawar peninsula, seems to be based on an historical fact. During the second half of the 10th century A.D., which probably saw the reigns of both Lakṣmaṇarāja and his father Yuvaraja I, great confusion prevailed in the Gurjara and Lāṭa countries. During the first half of the 10th century Southern Gujarat (Lāṭa) was held by the Silāhāra feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭaka, while Northern Gujarat was possessed by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. With the decline of the Pratīhāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa powers in

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 268, Vs. 59-63.

2 *Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-nipuṇaḥ paribhūta-Pāṇḍyo Lāṭeśa-luṇṭhana-paṭārjjita-Gurjarendraḥ-Kāśmīravīra-mukuṭārcita-pādapīṭhaḥ* : see *ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 142, V. 8.

the 2nd half of the 10th century, their hold on those distant provinces also grew weak, and during the last quarter of this century we find the Caulukya Mūlaraja (*c.* 974-95 A.D.) fighting with Bārappa, the general of the Cālukya Taila II (*c.* 973-97 A.D.), for the possession of Gujarat. [1] In this period of uncertainty, therefore, it was not very difficult for a daring king to penetrate into Gujarat and Kathiawar with a mobile force. It is interesting to remember in this connection the claim of Yuvarāja I to have 'sported with Lāṭa women.'' By penetrating to Somnath (Patan), therefore, Lakṣmaṇarāja merely carried forward a step further the policy initiated by his illustrious predecessor. The references to the ornamented effigy of the serpent *Kāliya* seem to indicate that his claim to victory over the lord of Kosala was also genuine. It is however difficult to identify this *Kosala-nātha* or the *Oḍra-nṛpati* from whom Yuvarāja obtained the bejewelled *Kāliya*. The former may have been one of the earlier members of the Somavaṁśī rulers of Orissa who regularly assumed the title of *Kosalendra*.[2] There is again no inherent impossibility in the claim that Lakṣmaṇarāja defeated the king of the Vaṅgālas. For the second half of the 10th century marked a dark patch in the history of the Pālas, which appears to have culminated in the Kamboja rebellion. The references in the records of the Pālas and the Varmans, as well as the Paikor (Birbhum dist., Bengal) pillar inscription of Lakṣmī-Karṇa, conclusively prove that the Kalacuris in the first half of the 11th century were in intimate contact with the Bengal rulers.[3]

1 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 23, 213 and 430; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

2 See *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 330-33. Also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 394 ff. The association of Kosala with Odra shows that *MASI*, No. 23, p. 12, is wrong in taking it to mean N. Kosala The Pratīhāras were never known as lords of Kosala. Their capital Kanauj lay in Pañcāla. Tripurī Lakṣmaṇarāja also cannot be identified with the founder of the *Kahla Kalacuris*. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 743, fn. 3. Oḍra king = a Kara prince? See *ibid*, pp. 413 ff.

3 *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 326 ff. King of the *Vaṅgālas* was probably the Varman prince of E. Bengal. See *ibid*, pp. 318, 324, 331 ff.

It may well be that Yuvarāja I,[1] and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja laid the foundation of that eastern policy, which at last culminated in the reign of Lakṣmī-Karṇa (c. 1042-90 A.D.). There is however some difficulty in accepting the claim to victory over Kashmir which is made on behalf of both Yuvarāja I and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja. It must be admitted that the 2nd half of the 10th century was also one of the most inglorious epochs in the history of Kashmir. From Kṣemagupta (950-58 A.D.) to the end of the reign of Diddā (980-1003 A.D.), she was a constant prey to anarchy and civil war.[2] But the valley of Kashmir is so distant from the borders of the Kalacuri dominions, that we are loth to accept this claim without some confirmatory evidence from an independent source. The same argument applies to Lakṣmaṇarāja's claim to victory over the Pāṇḍya king. Though the decay of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power and the uncertain position of the newly re-established Cāḷukya dynasty made it comparatively easy for a king of the C.P. to invade the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, yet in view of the great distance separating the two countries it would perhaps be better to reserve our judgment till we discover some evidence stronger than the eulogy of a court poet. The only piece of indirect evidence which may possibly be quoted in favour of this southern campaign of Lakṣmaṇarāja is his matrimonial alliance with the rising power of the Cāḷukyas of the Kanarese districts. We know from the records of the latter, that he married his daughter Bonthādevī to Vikramāditya IV, the father of Āhavamalla-Nūrmaḍi Taila II (c. 973-997 A.D.), who destroyed the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ about A. D. 973.[3] It is not impossible that Lakṣmaṇarāja may have invaded

1 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 760 and fn. 1.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 130 ff.

3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 427. Hiralal mentions Tailapa II as the daughter's son of Yuvarāja II. This must be a mistake; see his article in the *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 291.

peninsular India to assist his new allies against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II shows that Lakṣmaṇarāja continued his father's patronage of the Śaiva ascetics. We are told that this line of ascetics emigrated from Kadambaguhā. An object of veneration of these sages was Rudraśambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha, who, 'became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince of Avanti.' His disciple's disciple was Mādhumāteya. His disciple's disciple was Hṛdayaśiva, who 'still further increased the renown spread over the illustrious Mādhumāteya lineage (*vaṁśa*).' We are then informed that the *Cedi-candra*, Lakṣmaṇarāja showed his devotion to this sage, 'by presents sent by well-conducted messengers.' He also 'made over to that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha.[1]

The only record so far known of this prince is the *Karitalai stone-inscription* of his minister (*mantri-tilaka*) Someśvara, the son of Bhāka Miśra, who served as the chief minister of his father. This record, which was found at Karitalai, a village in the Mudwara subdivision of the Jubbulpore District of the C. P. (Lat. 24°3'N, Long. 80°46'E), is much damaged, and the preserved portion, which contains 34 lines, appears to be 'only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription, the upper part of which is missing.' The missing portion probably contained an eulogy of the 'earlier Cedi rulers of Tripurī, especially Yuvarājadeva I and Lakṣmaṇarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel.' Verses 2-17 of the preserved portion give an account of the family of the Brāhman minister of the king, who belonged to the *vaṁśa* of Bharadvāja. He is described in verse 9 as *bhaṭṭa-Someśvara-dīkṣita*. The proper object of

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 267-68, Vs. 46-57. For another inscription of about the end of the 10th century A.D., discovered at Ranod, which mentions Kadambaguhā, a prince of Avanti and the town of Mattamayūra, see *JASB*, Vol: XVI, p. 1080; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 305; *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 351 ff.

the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Viṣṇu named after the founder *Somasvāmideva*, in which this inscription was apparently set up. The latter part of the inscription records certain donations, mainly by the royal family. For the maintenance of a *Pura* for eight Brāhmans, near the temple, the king granted the village of Dīrghaśākhika (which may be the modern Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles S.E. of Karitalai). His queen *Mahādevī* Rāhaḍā gave to the temple the village of Cakrahradī, while the king's son, the *Parama-vaiṣṇava* Śaṅkaragaṇa, made a donation on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. There is no date in the preserved portion of the inscription.[1]

Lakṣmaṇarāja was succeeded by Śaṅkaragaṇa, his son by Rāhaḍā. This prince is omitted by the Goharwa grant of Lakṣmī-Karṇa ;[2] but he is mentioned as king in the Benares[3] and the Bilhari[4] inscriptions. Both these records praise him only in vague terms, without any remark of the slightest value. He probably had a rather brief and inglorious reign. The only interesting fact known about him is his devotion to the god Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇava-parama*).[5]

After Lakṣmaṇarāja came his younger brother Yuvarāja II.[6] The Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī-Karṇa call him a 'moon among the kings of Cedi' (*Cedīndra-candra*), who became a 'supreme ruler' (*Parameśvara*).[7] The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasiṁha tells us that he dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Someśvara (*i.e.*, Somanātha

1 An account of the contents of the inscription was first given by Cunningham. *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 81. It was then edited from a rubbing by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 174-79.

2 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 142; Vol. II, p. 3.

3 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 307, V. 19.

4 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 260, Vs. 64-66.

5 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 179, V. 33.

6 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 307, V. 21; Vol. I, p. 260, V. 67.

7 *Ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 142-43, Vs. 10-12. Some identify *Kalacuri-candra* who 'worshipped' the Candella Vidyādhara with this prince (*MASI*, No. 23, p. 14.). But see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 689-90; also *ibid*, *infra*, p. 771.

in Gujarat).[1] It was probably in the course of this western expedition, which he may have undertaken, to emulate the success of his father, that he came into violent conflict with the Paramāras. The Udaipur *praśasti* of the kings of Malwa informs us that Vākpati II (Muñja) (*c*. 974 A.D.) 'conquering Yuvarāja and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī.' [2] This expedition by Vākpati was probably undertaken as a retaliation for the western campaigns of the Kalacuri kings. The remark in the Khairha and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa that Yuvarāja 'purified the town of Tripurī,' [3] may have a veiled reference to the purificatory ceremonies which the Kalacuri king possibly performed after the re-occupation of his capital. In connection with these hostilities between Vākpati and Yuvarāja, it is interesting to remember the struggles between the former and the Cāḷukya Taila II, the nephew (sister's son) of Yuvarāja. The recent discovery of the Ahmedabad grants of the Paramāra Harṣa Sīyaka II (*c*. 947-70) [4] has shown that the predecessors of Vākpati were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭaka. This explains to some extent the nature of the struggle between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cāḷukyas, Kalacuris, and Paramāras of this period. These conflicts, in which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ceased to exist as a great power in the Deccan and in which Tripurī was plundered and Vākpati Muñja met a tragic end, were possibly not detached incidents, but only episodes of the long drawn duel between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Paramāras on the one hand and the Cāḷukyas and Kalacuris on the other. The alliance between the Cāḷukyas and the Kalacuris however did not long survive these events. The claim put forward in some of the

1 *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215-16, line 7. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 14-15, curiously enough, thinks that these 'epithets applicable to Yuvarāja I' have been 'misapplied' by the inscription 'to his grandson Yuvarāja II.'

2 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235-237, V. 15; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

3 *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 7.

4 *PTOC*, Madras, 1924, Madras, 1925, pp. 303 ff.; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.; also *infra*, *DHNI* Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

later Cāḷukya records that Taila, in addition to subverting the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, overcame the king of Cedi, indicates that Yuvarāja II must have subsequently come into conflict with his relatives.[1] Thus the history of Kalacuri-Cāḷukya relationship forms a close parallel to the earlier Kalacuri-Rāṣṭrakūṭa connections.

The only record which can be referred to the time of Yuvarāja II is the *Bilhari stone-inscription* of the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect, who originally emigrated from Kadambaguhā.[2] The stone which bears it is said to have been found at Bilhari (the Balihrī of the maps, Lat. 23°48′ N., Long. 80°19′E.), described as one of the oldest towns in the Jubbulpore district of the C. P. The record consists of 33 lines, the last 3 lines of which are somewhat damaged. It opens with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and then invokes Śiva under various names. Next it traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Atri down to Yuvarāja II. It also contains a list of the various Śaiva ascetics who were honoured by or received gifts from these princes. The proper object of the inscription is to record the various gifts and endowments to the temple of Śiva raised by Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarāja I. Towards the end we are told that the inscription was set up in the monastery of Nohaleśvara by the holy preceptor Aghoraśiva, the disciple of the sage Hṛdayaśiva, who was a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇarāja. Verses 83-84 mention the names of Tripurī (mod. Tewar near Jubbulpore), Saubhāgyapura (mod. Sohagpur in Rewa state), Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura (?), 'the inhabitants of which would seem to have had to contribute towards the support of the temple.' V. 85 informs us that this composition 'would deserve praise (even from the wonder-struck poet (*vismita-kavi*) Rājaśekhara.' The *praśasti* was partly composed by Śrīnivāsa and partly by Sajjana. It was written by Nāī, the son of

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 431.

[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 762-63 and 767.

Karaṇika Dhīra, and engraved by Nanna, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Saṁgama. The inscription is not dated ; but Kielhorn 'felt no hesitation in assigning it to about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.' [1]

Yuvarāja II was succeeded by his son Kokalla II. No record of this prince has so far been discovered and in the inscriptions of his successors he is generally praised in very vague terms. Thus the Jubbulpore and Khaira plates of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa call him 'a lion-like prince, the progress of whose four-fold (*caturaṅga*) armies was checked (only) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.' [2] The only interesting thing recorded about him in these inscriptions is that he was placed on the throne by the chief ministers (*amātyamukhyāḥ*) of Yuvarāja II.[3] This may indicate that he was not the heir-apparent of his father, or when his father died Kokalla was still a minor. The silence of the *praśastikāras* clearly shows that his reign did not form a brilliant chapter in the history of the Kalacuris. It is therefore likely that the *Kalacuri-candra* who 'worshipped' the great Candella king Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil' is to be identified with this prince.[4] Kokalladeva, like his predecessors, may have had also something to do with the Mattamayūra Śaiva ascetics. His name apparently occurs in the lower part (line 40) of a much damaged stone inscription of these ascetics, discovered at Gurgi (12 miles E. of Rewa).[5]

1 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 251-70. Just before the last verse (86) occurs '*Kāyastha śrī-Sīrukasya*.' It is difficult 'to construe the genitive with the preceding or the following verse.' Kielhorn suggested that Sīruka may have been the writer of a portion of the eulogy ; see *ibid*, fn. 50 on p. 270. V. 63 of this inscription seems to refer to a real incident in Yuvarāja II's life, *viz.*, the slaughter of a fierce 'tiger with his hand which wielded a knife.' The record is now in the Nagpur Museum.

2 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 3-4, V. 8; Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 8. This verse also occurs in the Kumbhi grant of Vijayasimha ; see *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 480, V. 8.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 105, and *EI*, Vol. I, p. 219. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 689-90, and *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 768, fn. 7.

5 *ASI, WC.* 1921, p. 51 ; *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 122 ff., line 40. The next line (41) mentions water-forts (*jala-durga*) in connection with the king of Gauḍa. At present it is difficult to know whether this king of Gauḍa had anything to do with Kokalla II. *MASI*, No. 23, p. 9, seem to be wrong in reading in this a reference to incidents of the reign of Yuvarāja I.

Kokalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṅgeya. The only inscription of this prince so far known, is the *Piawan rock-inscription.* Piawan is a small valley, 25 miles to the N.N.E. of Rewa. At the western end of the valley, below a waterfall formed by a small stream, there is a rock formed into an *Argha* for the reception of a *liṅga.* The inscription is engraved on this rock. It consists of 6 lines and begins with the name of the king : *Śrīmad*-Gāṅgeyadeva *Māhārājādhirāja Parameśvara... Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara.* The record is damaged, but it contains the date (K.) *Saṁvat* 789 (A.D. 1038), and ends with *Śrī-Ḍhāhala-m-iti.* It was certainly a Śaiva record, for it contains the word *Maheśvara.*[1]

This inscription shows that Gāṅgeya had already succeeded his father as king of Ḍāhala before 1038 A.D., and that at that date his dominions had extended in the north to within 50 miles from Allahabad. An earlier date of his reign is supplied by the *Kitābul-Hind* of Bīrūnī, composed about 1030 A.D.,[2] which mentions *Dahāla* with its capital *Tīauri* as one of the countries of India. At the time of the composition of this work the ruler of that country was *Gangeya*, no doubt the Gāṅgeya-deva of the Piawan rock-inscription. In the records of his successors Gāṅgeya is given credit for extensive conquests. Thus the Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī-Karṇa tell us that Gāṅgeya imprisoned the king of Kīra and defeated the rulers of Aṅga, Kuntala, and Utkala.[3] The Khairha and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa inform us that he became famous under the name Vikramāditya.[4] The same two grants in a rather obscure verse

1 Edited by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 112-13, and plate XXVIII. In his list of northern inscriptions Kielhorn gives the date with a sign of interrogation ; see *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 58, No. 406. *Ḍhāhala* is possibly another variation of the name spelt as *Ḍabhālā* (*GI*, p. 114), *Ḍahālā*, *Ḍāhala*, *Ḍāhālu*, *Ḍahālu*, *Ḍahalā*, etc. In Kanarese sometimes *Ḍahale*.

2 Trans. by Sachau, Trübner, Vol. I, p. 202.

3 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 143, V. 17.

4 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 3, V. 11; Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 11. In *ASI*, 1915-16, Part 1, p. 23 fn., Sir John Marshall seems to take this Vikramāditya as Vikramāditya V (1009-11 A.D.), the name of the Kuntala king defeated by Gāṅgeya.

seem to refer to Gāṅgeya's victory over the king of Kuntala. It has been translated as follows: "The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he became famous under the name Vikramāditya, wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again."[1] According to Hiralal, 'the eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgeyadeva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to its king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair?[2] A Candella inscription from Mahoba tells us that 'when Gāṅgeyadeva who had conquered the world (*jita-viśva*) perceived before him (this) terrible one (Vijayapāla)... the lotus of his heart closed the knot of pride in battle.'[3] It is difficult to separate *praśasti* from facts in these claims. But the fact that he is given the credit of having conquered the world in an enemy's record is highly significant. I have already indicated elsewhere that the reign of Vijayapāla probably represented a rather inglorious period of Candella history.[4] The Piawan rock-inscription, as well as the statement in the Kalacuri records that Gāṅgeya took up his residence at the feet of the holy fig-tree at Prayāga,[5] shows the extension of his power up to the Ganges in the north. It suggests also the possibility that the whole of the Baghelkhund Agency had passed into his possession. Our inference is further supported by the statement of Baihaqi, who tells us that when Ahmad Nīyāl-tigīn, the general of the Yamīnī king Ma'sūd I (*c.* 1030-40 A.D.), invaded 'Banāras,' (*c.* 1034 A.D.) that city 'belonged to the territory of Gang' (ولايت گنگ). It is possible that this *Gang* is to be identified with the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeya.[6] At this time the

1 *EI*, Vol. XII. pp. 205 ff., V. 11; *ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 3-4, V. 11.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 215, fn. 2. See also *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 291.

3 *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, Vs. 22-24.

4 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 691 and 698.

5 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 12; Vol. XII, p. 211. V. 12; *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 11.

6 *Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaqi*, Ed. by Morley, 1862 (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 497. Trans. of extracts in *Elliot*. Vol. II, p. 123. *HI*, Vol. III, pp. 29-30.

Gurjara-Pratīhāras had practically disappeared as an effective power in the Ganges-Jumna valley. The death of Vidyādhara had also probably caused a decline of Candella influence in the *Doab*. Under the circumstances it was not impossible for a daring ruler to advance from his base at Allahabad up the Jumna valley into Kangra, and capture a petty Kīra prince ruling in that area. In the east the Aṅga king at this time was probably the Pāla ruler Mahīpāla I; and an attempt to advance down the Ganges valley from Allahabad may have brought Gāṅgeya into conflict with him also. This would receive confirmation from the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the *Rāmāyaṇa* if we could accept the identification of the *Gauḍadhvaja* Gāṅgeyadeva mentioned in it with the Tripurī ruler of that name. The colophon runs as follows: *Saṁvat* 1076 (A.D. 1019) *Āṣāḍha vadi* 4, *Mahārājādhirāja puṇyāvaloka Somavaṁśodbhava Gauḍa-dhvaja Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva-bhujyamāna-Tīrabhuktau Kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye.*[1] Similarly it is not impossible that he may have attacked the rulers of Orissa from some base in the Bilaspur district by following the downward course of the Mahanadi.[2] In his hostility to the kings of the Kanarese districts (Kuntala) he was carrying on the policy laid down by his predecessor Yuvarāja II. The defeated Kuntala king was most probably Vikramāditya V Tribhuvanamalla (*c*. 1009-1011 A.D.), the grandson of Taila II. The only recorded instance of the defeat of Gāṅgeyadeva is probably found in the statement of the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana which tells us that (the Paramāra king) Bhoja (*c*. 1010-55 A.D.) "had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgeya" (*Gāṅgeya-bhang-otsava*).[3] Hultzsch rightly identified this prince with the Tripurī Kalacuri Gāṅgeya.

The success of Gāṅgeya as a ruler is probably better

1 *JBAS*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, Part I, p. 18; see also R. P. Chanda, *Gauḍa-rāja-mālā*, p. 41, fn. R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālar Itihās* (second Ed.), Vol. I, p. 252; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Vol. 2, p. 202, fn. 1; also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 317.

2 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 406.

3 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 98 & 101, line 2, V. 3; *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

illustrated by the evidence of his coins. He was the first, and, so far as our present knowledge goes, also the last, in his dynasty to strike his own coins. Their design is very simple. The obverse is occupied by the legend containing the king's name, while the reverse shows the limbate figure of *Lakṣmī* seated cross-legged. His coins in gold, silver, and copper form, in the opinion of Cunningham, 'a perfect monetary system,' which 'must have been very useful and convenient.'[1] The only record of the building activity of Gāṅgeya is probably contained in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī, which tells us that he 'made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods by raising (on it) a *Meru* without equal.'[2] According to the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* Meru denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances).'[3] It is difficult to determine whether this was dedicated to a Śaiva or a Vaiṣṇava deity. It was probably a Śaiva temple, for there is some evidence to show that Gāṅgeya was a devotee of Śiva. His only inscription, that of Piawan which mentions the name of *Maheśvara* seems to have been a Śaiva record. But what appears to be conclusive evidence on the point is the statement of his son's Benares grant, that the latter meditated on the feet of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Vāmadeva.*[4] From A.D. 1042, the date of this record, onwards several successors of Lakṣmī Karṇa also refer to themselves in their records as meditating on the feet of Vāmadeva.[5] The custom was later on adopted from the Kalacuris by some of the later Candellas of Jejāka-bhukti.[6] As the name of Vāmadeva does not

[1] *CMI*, p. 72, Plate VIII, Nos. 1-5; *CCIM*, pp. 251-53, Plate XXVI, No. 7.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 11 and 15, V. 9.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 6. fn. 42. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. LVI, 20. As Meru is the name of a mythical mountain of enormous height, it is likely that the temples called by that name were also very lofty and big in size.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 309, lines 33-34.

[5] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 789, 793-94, 797-98.

[6] *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 232, lines 4-5. Here Vāmadeva is also given the additional title of *Parama-māheśvara*. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 724 and 725, fn. 1.

occur in the genealogical lists of either the Kalacuris or the Candellas, the question of the identification of Vāmadeva appeared to present an insoluble problem.[1] Vāmadeva is of course a well-known name of Śiva; but as he is given the epithets *Pb.-M.-P.* and in some even designated *Parama māheśvara* it is unlikely that Śiva was meant by this name. From the epithets used, there is no doubt that in every case the predecessor of the reigning prince is meant by the name of Vāmadeva. The solution of the difficulty may perhaps be found in the suggestion of Dr. Barnett that these princes who are called Vāmadeva, were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that god that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself. The only instance of such deification of kings hitherto recorded in Indian history is provided by an inscription from Kurgod, a village in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. In this record the Sinda *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rācamalla I, the grandfather of Rācamalla II, a feudatory of the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV of Kalyani (*c.* 1183-89 A.D) is said to have reappeared after his death in the form of a *liṅga*. The inscription states that

"Even after attaining a place in the world of Śiva he formed a *liṅga* for the earth by union therewith.

So having come and stood at the western side of (the temple of) the god Svayambhū of the town of Kuṟugōḍu, and arisen in the form of a *liṅga* so as to delight the whole world, he became very famous under the title of 'the god *Udbhava-Rācamalleśvara*.'"[2]

Some time before 1042, the earliest recorded date of his successor, Gāṅgeya 'found salvation (*mukti*) with his 100 wives

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 298-99.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XIV. pp. 280 and 283, lines 19-20. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins of the Godavari Kistna and Guntur districts (Madras) describe themselves as meditating on the feet of the holy lord of *Śrī-Parvata* (*Śri-Parvata svāmi-pādānudhyāta*). See *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 193-98; XVII, pp. 334-37. *Śrī-Parvata* is identified with Srisailam in the Kurnool district.

(*gṛhiṇīs*)' at Prayāga (Allahabad).[1] As his *Saṁvatsara-śrāddha* was performed in that year, he seems to have died in 1041 A.D.[2] He was succeeded by his son Karṇa begotten on queen Dematī,[3] also called *Lakṣmī-Karṇa*.[4] The names of his two immediate successors, Yaśaḥ-Karṇa and Gayā-Karṇa, perhaps show that Lakṣmī-Karṇa was his real name. In the records of his own family however he is always known by the shortened form Karṇa. Such abbreviations of names are by no means an uncommon feature of the records of this period.

According to Indian tradition and epigraphic evidence Lakṣmī-Karṇa was one of the greatest Indian conquerors. The *Rās Mālā* gives the following description of this prince :

" At this time the raja, named Kurun, reigned in Dāhul land, the modern Tipera, and over the sacred city of Kashee or Benares. He was the son of Queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus feet of Kurun." The same tradition tells us that Karṇa, in league with the Caulukya Bhīma of 'Unhilwārā' (*c*. 1029-64 A.D.), defeated ' Bhoj the lord of Oojein, (*c*. 1019-21 A.D.), destroyed ' Dhār,' and 'took possession of the royal treasury' there. King Bhoja is said to have ' attained paradise ' during this war.[5] This joint attack of the Gurjara and Cedi kings on Bhoja is also supported by a verse in the

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 12 ; Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 12 ; *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 11.

[2] Fleet calculated that he died on 22nd January, A.D. 1041. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 303; Vol. XII, p. 206, fn. 3 ; Vol. XI, p. 146.

[3] *PC*, p. 72.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 222, V. 26 of a Candella inscription from Mahoba.

[5] *Ras*, pp. 89-90. Forbes apparently took this account from Merutuṅga. See *PC*, p. 72. This authority gives the name of Karṇa's mother as Dematī. See also *ibid*, pp. 73-75. Merutuṅga tells us that there were differences about the division of the spoil between Bhīma and Karṇa after the capture of Dhārā and death of Bhoja. Ḍāmara, Bhīma's minister, we are told, for some time imprisoned Karṇa. See *infra*, *DHNI*. Vol. II, chapters on the *Paramāras* and the *Caulukyas*.

Prabandhacintāmaṇi.[1] In the east, according to Tibetan tradition, Karṇa is said to have attacked Magadha and destroyed numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries.[2] This traditional picture of Karṇa is fully sustained by epigraphic evidence. Thus the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī gives the following account of his victories : " While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence, the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga, the Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, (and) the Hūṇa left off being merry."[3] The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasiṁha tells us that Karṇa was waited upon by Coḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara, and Kīra princes.[4] These claims of the Kalacuri inscriptions are supported by the records of their contemporaries. Thus the Nagpur stone-inscription of the Paramāras tells us that when Bhojadeva 'had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.'[5] The Candella records also admit that their kingdom was for a time completely destroyed by the invasions of Lakṣmī-

1 *PC*, pp. 74-75; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 163.

2 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 326 ff,

3 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 11 and 15, V. 12. Most of these geographical names and their location are well-known. *Kira* was probably located in the Kangra valley, while *Kuṅga* is taken by some to correspond to the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore. Murala is sometimes located in Malabar. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, 576, fn. 1. See also *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 215. *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 292; *GDI*, p. 134. It is difficult to find out the location of the Hunas during this period. *MASI*, No. 13, p. 20, places them in the Punjab.

4 *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215 and 217, lines 11-12. *MASI*, No. 23, p. 29, suggests that Vīrarājendra (*c.* 1062-67 A. D.) was the Coḷa king defeated by (Lakṣmī)-Karṇa. See *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 201-02, No. 83, where the Coḷa king claims to have 'recovered [Kaṇṇa]kucci (*i.e.* Kanyakubja).

5 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32; on this point see also the Udaipur *praśasti*, *ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 236 and 238, Vs. 21-22. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

Karṇa.[1] This fact seems to be referred to by Bilhaṇa, the court poet of the Cāḷukya king, Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.) who describes Karṇa as the 'death to the lords of Kālañjara mountain.' The records of the dynasties of Bengal and Bihar also refer to the intimate relationship of Karṇa with the princes ruling there. Two of his daughters, Yauvanaśrī and Viraśrī, appear to have been married to the Pāla and Varman kings Vigrahapāla III and Jātavarman, respectively. The *Rāmacarita* refers to conflicts between Karṇa and Vigrahapāla III. The discovery of a decorative pillar-inscription of Karṇa at Paikore in the Birbhum district of Bengal seems to substantiate his claim to victory over the kings of Gauḍa.[2]

It is clear from the above, that for a time Karṇa occupied a position of marked predominance. The complete destruction of the Paramāras and the Candellas gave him effective control over the whole of the region now known as Central India. When we also take into account the findspots of his inscriptions at Paikore, Benares, and Goharwa (Allahabad district), his close relationship with the Gurjara, Karṇāṭa and Gauḍa kings, and the significance of his assumption of the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, we may well believe that for a time at least he dominated the whole region extending from the sources of the Banas and the Mahi rivers in the west to the estuaries of the Hooghly in the east, and from the Ganges-Jumna valley[3] in the north to the upper waters of the Mahanadi, Wainganga, Wardha and Tapti. Thus the mantle of imperialism which had fallen from the shoulders of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras upon the Candellas and the Paramāras was at last seized by the Kalacuris. The achievements of Karṇa have sometimes been compared to those of Napoleon;[4] but the

1 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, pp. 695 ff. The Candella ruler defeated by Karṇa was Devavarman (1051 A.D.).

2 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 326-27, 330, 334-35; Vol. II, p. 698.

3 *MASI*, No. 23, p. 17, interprets lines 1-5 of the Basahi plate of Govindacandra (*IA*, XIV, 102-03) to mean that (Lakṣmī)-Karṇa 'ruled over Kanauj.'

4 *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 292.

comparison is misleading. Unlike Napoleon, Karṇa's achievements were not the results of a single generation; on the contrary, they were the culmination of a policy which had been systematically pursued by several predecessors, *viz.*, Yuvarāja I, Lakṣmaṇa-rāja, Yuvarāja II, and Gāṅgeya. The victorious career of the last of these rulers is sufficiently illustrated by his revival of the title of *Vikramāditya* and the epithet 'world-conqueror' given to him by his own enemies. But if Karṇa's rise was not Napoleonic, his fall may have been to some extent meteoric, like that of the French emperor. There is evidence that he was overwhelmed by a series of defeats towards the latter part of his career. In the extreme east, the *Rāmacarita* and the Tibetan tradition tell us that Karṇa was defeated by Nayapāla and his son Vigrahapāla III. Nearer home the Candella Kīrtivarman, under the able guidance of his Brāhman general Gopāla, claims to have recreated the lost kingdom by defeating Karṇa. In the west Udayāditya appears to have revived the Paramāra kingdom in Malwa by ousting the forces of the Kalacuri emperor. Further westward, the Caulukya king Bhīma I, of Anahilwad is praised by the Jaina monk Hemacandra for having conquered Karṇa in battle.[1] In the South Bilhaṇa records the defeat of the Kalacuri monarch by Someśvara I, the Cāḷukya king of Kalyani.[2]

This war with the *Karṇāṭas*, who had allied themselves with Karṇa in their attack on the Paramarās, may have been occasioned by the alliance which Someśvara I subsequently formed with the defeated Malwa rulers. Bilhaṇa refers to the assistance, which in his reign his son prince Vikramāditya rendered to the *Mālavendra* who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom.[3] The Sitabaldi stone inscription dated in 1108 Ś. (A.D. 1087) seems to show that the hostilities between the two

[1] *EI*, Vol. II p. 303; Bühler, *Uber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemacandra*, p. 69; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 163.

[2] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, Ed. by Bühler, I, 102-03.

[3] *Ibid*, III, 67.

dynasties continued during the reign of Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1055-1126 A.D.).[1] As the *Mahāsāmanta* Dhāḍibhaṁḍaka of the *Mahārāṣṭrakūṭa* lineage, who ruled round the present Nagpur, owed allegiance to the Cāḷukya king, it is certain that the Kalacuri power in A.D. 1087 had been driven out from the headwaters of the Wainganga, Warda, and Tapti into the Mahadeo hills. It was probably during these northern expeditions of the Cāḷukyas that the Nāgavaṁśī rulers of Bastar were established in the C. P. These rulers claim to belong to the Nāgavaṁśa and the Kāśyapa *gotra*, to have a tiger and a calf as their crest, and to be the lords of Bhogavatī the best of the cities (*Nāgavaṁśodbhava-Bhogavatī-pura-vareśvara-sa-vatsa-vyāghra-lāñchana-Kāśyapa-gotra*). At the end of some of their inscriptions occur the figures of the sun, the moon, a cow and a calf, a dagger and shield, and a *liṅga* in its socket 'exactly of the shape in which *Lingāyats* wear them.' The dates on their records run from *c.* Śaka 1033 to 1147 (*c.* A.D. 1111 to 1224). They are evidently connected with the Nāgavaṁśī Sindas of Belgutti (Belagavatti = Bhogavati in Honnali Taluq of the Shimoga District, Mysore), who appear as feudatories of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyani, at the end of the 10th and the first half of the 12th century A.D.[2]

[1] *EI*, Vol. III, p. 304 ff.

[2] For the history and inscriptions of these *Nāgavaṁśīs of Bastar* and the various branches of the Sindas see the following :—

(1) *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 160-66, 311-16.
(2) *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 314-18.
(3) *Ibid*, Vol. X, pp. 25-38, 40-43.
(4) *Ibid*, Vol. VII, *Appendix*, Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 144, 156, 189, 218, 224, 233, 234, 238, 243, 247 (and perhaps 253).
(5) *IGI*, 1908, Vol. VII, p. 144, the article on Belagutti.
(6) Dr. L. D. Barnett's note on the *Sindas* in *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 268-70. He notices the following branches of the family : Sindas of (1) Bāgaḍage (mod. Bāgalkoṭ), (2) Erambarage (mod. Yelburga), (3) Bijapur, (4) Karhāta (Satara District), (5) Bellary District, and (6) Bastar.
(7) *Pṛithvīrāj Rasāo*, (I. 54); Chindas (= Sindas) one of the 36 *Agnikula* Rajputs.
(8) *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 572-78.

It appears likely that these Nāgavaṁśī (Sinda) princes of Bastar were supplanted about

I have elsewhere[1] calculated from the data contained in the Basahi plate of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra that Karṇa must have suffered defeats sometimes before *c.* 1090-1104. This conclusion is confirmed by the discovery of the Khairha grant of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa dated in (K.) S. 823 (A.D. 1073). It is therefore certain that Karṇa's reign came to an end about the beginning of the third decade of the second half of the 11th century A.D.

Karṇa, like his father, was a worshipper of Śiva. He is also reported to have built a temple of the *Meru* type at Kāśi, which came to be known as *Karṇameru*.[2] The only other recorded instance of his building activity was his foundation of the city of Karṇāvatī (mod. Karanbel),[3] on a site about a mile from Tripurī.

The following inscriptions have so far been discovered for his reign :

(1) *Benares grant.*—This was found at the bottom of a well in the old fort of Benares. It consists of 48 lines and is engraved on two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the royal seal containing the figure of the four-armed *Gaja-lakṣmī* sitting cross-legged. Below the goddess the seal contains the legend—*Śrī-Karṇa-deva* and below the legend was engraved the figure of a bull. Excepting a verse in line 13 which is in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, it is written as usual in Sanskrit verse

the beginning of the 15th century by the Kākatīyas of Warangal when the latter were driven to the north by the Muslims. The *Danteswar stone-inscription of Dikpāladeva* (1702 A.D.) gives us the genealogy of the Kākatīyas of Bastar for 10 generations beginning from Annamarāja who is stated to have first settled in Bastar from 'Orangal.' Annamarāja is said to have been the brother of Pratāparudra of the lunar race. Hiralal is probably right when he suggests that this Pratāparudra is not the earlier prince of that name who ascended the Warangal throne in *c.* 1294 A.D., but the prince of the same name who was defeated by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī in 1422 A.D. See *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 242-50.

[1] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 699.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 14; XII, p. 212, V. 14.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 13; XII, p. 212, V. 13; *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 12.

and prose. The inscription opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and a verse in honour of Śiva. It then traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Kārtavīrya down to Karṇa. In the prose part of the inscription (lines 33-41) we are told that *Pb.-M.-P.*-Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta* - *Pb.* - *M.* - *P.-Paramamāheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati*-Karṇadeva from his *Vijaya-skandhāvāra*, situated at Svasāga (?), after having bathed in the river Veṇī, worshipped the god Trilocana (Śiva), and performed the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, granted *Kāsi-(bhūmy)-anta(rga)ta Susi-grāma*, to the learned Viśvarūpa, whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. The date, (K.) *Saṁvat* 793 (A.D. 1042), comes at the end of the inscription.[1]

(2) *Goharwa grant.*—It was found in a field in the old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur *Tahsīl* of the Allahabad district (U.P.). The inscription consists of 49 lines written on two copper plates which were originally held together by a ring. The seal, which was found detached from the plates, bears in relief in its upper part, the seated figure of the goddess *Gaja-Lakṣmī*. At the bottom is a bull couchant. Across the centre is engraved—*Śrīmat Karṇadevaḥ*. The inscription opens with *Oṁ Brahmaṇe namaḥ* and a verse in praise of Śiva. Then in 30 verses the

[1] The inscription was first noticed by Captain Wilford in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI, p. 108. Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. IX, pp. 82 ff., also gave an account of the grant. It was fully edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 297-310. For the date of the grant see also *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 206, fn. Kielhorn suggested the identification of Veṇi with Wen-Gaṅgā of the C.P. This seems to be wrong. It should be identified with the river Veṇī, which flowed near Allahabad. In his Kamauli grant dated in V. S. 1228 (A.D. 1172 A.D.) the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra is found bathing in the Veṇī at Prayāga; see *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 122. In *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 58, fn. 4, Kielhorn suggested the reading *Prayāga* for Svasāga. On the significance of the word *Trikaliṅga*, see G. Ramdas in *QJAHS*, Vol. I, Part I, July 1926, pp. 16 ff. He tried to prove that the affix means not *three* but *high* : so according to him *Trikaliṅga* means high or hilly Kaliṅga, *i.e.*, the highland intervening between Kaliṅga proper and Dakṣiṇa-Kosala or Chattisgarh (the tract now occupied by the Kalahandi State, Sambalpur district and Goomsur). But see the foot-note of the editor on p. 19, where he points out that *Tiru* (or *Tri*) is taken to be a corruption from Sanskrit *Sri* and cannot signify 'high.' Pliny mentions *Macco-Calingae, Gangarides*

genealogy of the dynasty is traced from the moon and the 'thousand-armed Haihaya emperor.' The historical part of the genealogy begins with Lakṣmaṇarāja, and ends with Karṇa. In the prose part we are told that *Pb.-M.-P.* Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhīpati* Karṇadeva, while (residing) at the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* situated in Karṇatīrtha, after having bathed in the Gaṅgā and the holy Arghatīrtha and worshipped the divine lord Śiva, granted the village of Candapahā in the Kośamba-*pattalā* to the *paṇḍita* Śānti Śarman. It is dated in the 7th year of the administration of Karṇa (*Śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśe Vyavaharaṇe*),[1] 'on the full-moon *tithi* coupled with a Thursday, of the month of Kārttika.' (This date perfectly agrees with Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047.) It was written by the *Karaṇika* Sarvānanda, and engraved by Vidyānanda. It ends with *mangalam-mahāśrī*.[2]

(3) *Paikore decorative pillar-inscription.*—It was discovered at Paikore in the district of Birbhum, Bengal. It is incised 'on a small decorative pillar,' and records that 'the image of a goddess was made by an order of the king himself.'[3]

(4) *Sarnath stone-inscription.*—It was found at Sarnath 'in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of the Dhamekh.'

Calingae and Calingae. Macco may signify the *Mekalas* who lived near the Maikal range. As the *Purāṇas* state that the Narbada drains the western half of Kaliṅga (Amarkaṇṭak in the Maikal range), Kaliṅga may have in its wider sense extended from the estuaries of the Ganges to the hills of Amarkaṇṭak in the west and possibly to Godavari in the South. But can *Macco* be the Dravidian *Muk*=three? See Barnett, *JRAS*, 1926, p. 157, fn. 1. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 392 fn. 1.

[1] Dr. Barnett suggests: "Can this mean administration under the immediate eye of Karṇa?"

[2] Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 139-46; on the date see the remarks of Fleet, *ibid*, p. 146. The *Kosambā-pattala* is mentioned in a grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra dated in (*V.*) *S.* 1233. See *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 137; also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 538. *Kośamba-maṇḍala* is mentioned in the Karra inscription of Yaśaḥpāla, discovered near Kosam (Allahabad Dist.): see *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 694 ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 609.

[3] Noticed in *ASI*, 1921-22, p. 115. *Paikore* is sometimes spelt *Paikor*.

It is 'broken and fragmentary' and contains 14 lines written in 'corrupt Sanskrit.' It is dated in the victorious reign of *P.M.P.-Śrī*-Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-P. M. Paramamāheśvara- Tṛ (Tri)-kalingādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit - Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati-Śrīmat*-Karṇadeva in the (*K.*) *Saṁvat* 810 (1058 A. D.). It records that the *Mahājān-ānujāina-Paramopāsikā* Māmaka, wife of one Dhaneśvara caused 'a copy of the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā* to be written in the Saddharmacakrapravarttana Mahāvihāra. It ends with the 'usual imprecations.'[1]

(5) *Rewa stone-inscription.*—This inscription is now 'in the store of the office of the Home Member of the Council of Regency,' Rewa State. Its find-spot is at present unknown. 'The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sandstone, the left half of which is missing.' It is dated in the (K.) S. 812 (A.D. 1060-61), in the 9th year of the reign of Karṇa. The inscription begins with a verse containing an invocation to Śiva. The record is so mutilated that it is very difficult to follow the details mentioned in it. But it seems to refer to a line of chiefs[2] who were servants of the Kalacuri kings. It mentions two battles, a battle of the horses (*ghoṭaka-vigraha*) and a battle in the valley of the Yellow mountain (*pīta-parvata-tala*), in which Vapullaka (also called Vapula), one of these chiefs, seem to have shown his valour. In the second conflict (*samara*) he defeated the forces of one Trilocana and a holy person (*muni*) named Vijjala. The proper object of the inscription is to record some donation of land to (Śiva) Vapuleśvara, who was named after Vapula, 'a devoted worshipper of the feet' of Karṇadeva. The *praśasti* was composed by one Viruka. Line 19 contains 'a supplementary record which mentions the donation of an image of *Maheśvarī* by a lady named Pravarā, *alias* Nayanāvalī, who was apparently the wife of Vapula.[3]

[1] *ASI*, 1906-07, pp. 100-01.

[2] One of these is called *Rāṇaka*, see line 7.

[3] Noticed in *ASI, WC*, 1921, pp. 52-53. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 130-33; Trilocana is

The term used here in connection with the regnal year is: "*Śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa-Vyavaharaṇāya,*" which probably means 'according to law or according to custom or practice regulating the public appearance of Karṇa.'[1] As we know from his Benares grant that he was ruling in 1042 A.D., this record shows that either he was crowned a second time as an universal ruler (*Cakravartin*) or that his formal coronation was deferred for about 11 years. But unfortunately the acceptance of this involves a conflict with the date of the Goharwa grant, which is dated exactly as in this inscription, in the 7th year, and which was calculated by Fleet to be in perfect agreement with 1047 A.D. Unless it can be shown that the date of the Goharwa grant also agrees with 1058-59 A.D., we must conclude that the reading of the date in one of the inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 5) is wrong.

Lakṣmī-Karṇa was succeeded some time before 1073 A.D. by his son Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, begotten on queen Āvalladevī of the Hūṇa stock (*Hūṇānvaya*).[2] The Jubbulpore and Khaira grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa seem to indicate that he was crowned as king while his father was still living. The verse which describes his coronation runs as follows:

"Of this law-abiding (son), the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed the great inauguration ceremony (*mahābhiṣekam*) in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun."[3]

As the verse quoted above distinctly says that Karṇa himself took part in his son's coronation we may perhaps conclude

identified with the Lāṭa Caulukya Trilocanapāla (A. D. 1051). See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

1 See above, p. 784, fn. 1.

2 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 15; XII, p. 212, V. 15. *JASB*, Vol. XII, p. 480, V. 13.

3 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 4 and 6, V. 16; XII, p. 212, V. 16.

that after his serious defeats, like the Śāhi king Jayapāla,[1] he abdicated his throne in favour of his son. This event, as we have seen, must have occurred some time before 1073 A.D, the date of the Khairha grant.

In the Kalacuri records, Yaśaḥ-Karṇa is generally praised vaguely for his victories. In his own grants he is called the *Jambudvīpa-ratna-pradīpa* who had 'erected high pillars of victory near the ends of the earth.'[2] The only definite statement about his victories in his own grants is contained in the following verse:

"Extirpating with ease the ruler of *Andhra*, (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy *Bhīmeśvara* with many ornaments. The *Godāvarī*, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo."[3]

The *Bhīmeśvara* of the above passage has been identified with some probability with 'the rather handsome two-storeyed shrine of the god Bhīmeśvara-svāmin at Drākshārāma' (Godavari District). This temple is reported to contain 'a particularly big *liṅgam*, some fourteen or fifteen feet high' and also inscriptions, dated from A. D. 1055.[4] The Andhra king is probably to be identified with the Calukya Vijayāditya, who ruled in Veṅgi from about 1064 to 1074 A. D.[5] The only other reference to his victory is contained in the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Alhaṇadevī. V. 14 of this record tells us that Yaśaḥ-Karṇa became famous by devastating *Campāraṇya*.[6] Kielhorn suggested

1 *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 87.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 4, Vs. 17 and 19; Vol. XII, p. 212, Vs. 17 and 19.

3 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 23; Vol. XII, p. 213, V. 23.

4 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 7, fn. 48; Vol. XII, p. 208.

5 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 454. Vijayāditya was a son of Someśvara I (c. 1044-68) and a brother of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1076-1126). He was probably a feudatory of these two rulers.

6 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 11, V. 14.

that this place should denote a tract of country near the Godavari river; but it is more likely that the place is to be identified with the modern Champaran district of Bihar. We have already seen that there is some evidence to show that Gāṅgeya, one of the predecessors of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, ruled in Tīra-bhukti which included Champaran.[1] This area may have been lost to the Kalacuris after the defeats which overwhelmed Karṇa during the latter part of his reign. Yaśaḥ-Karṇa may have therefore undertaken an expedition into that province to punish its rebellious tribes. That he succeeded in making no permanent impression in Tīra-bhukti is clear from the inscription of Alhaṇadevī. It was only a raid. At present we do not know the last date of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, but as the first recorded date of his successor, so far known, is (K.) S. 902 (A. D. 1151), it is not impossible that his reign may have extended well into the beginning of the 3rd decade of the 11th century. In that case the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas in *c.* 1090 A.D. and their occupation of the whole area from Benares to Kanauj must have robbed Yaśaḥ-Karṇa of some of his fairest provinces in the Ganges-Jumna valley. This conclusion is supported by a grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, which in *V. S.* 1177 (A. D. 1122) sanctions the transfer of some land which was previously granted by the (Kalacuri) king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.[2] As the reign of Lakṣmī-Karṇa ended before 1073 A.D., we can safely conclude that the Ganges-Jumna *Doab* was conquered by Candradeva (*c.* 1090-1104) from the Kalacuris in the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.[3] Another serious defeat that Yaśaḥ-Karṇa appears to have suffered came from the revived Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman tells us that the illustrious Lakṣmadeva (*c.* 1070-1100 A. D.) attacked Tripurī and annihilating his warlike spirited adversaries encamped on

1 For the area indicated by *Tīra-bhukti*, consult Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1872, p. 376.

2 *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp 123ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 519 and 530 ff

3 *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 102-03, lines 3-5 See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 508 ff.

the banks of the Revā.[1] Yaśaḥ-Karṇa probably also suffered defeats in the hands of the Candella Sallakṣaṇavarman[2] and the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI.[3] There are reasons to believe that the hold of Tripurī on Tummāṇa also grew precarious during this period.[4]

The following records have so far been discovered for the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa.

(1) *Khairha grant*—This was found in a large stone chest at Khairha (N. Lat. 23° 12′, Long. 81° 30′ E), a village in the Rewah state about 11 miles S. E. of Sohagpur, the headquarters of a *tahsīl* of the same name.[5] The inscription consists of 44 lines, and is incised on two plates. The bell-shaped seal which is attached with a heavy ring has the usual figure of *Gaja-lakṣmī*, and the bull, and between them, the legend *Śrīmad-Yaśaḥ-Karṇadevaḥ*. It opens with *Oṁ namo Brahmaṇe*, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalacuris from the mythical *Viṣṇu* down to Yaśaḥ-Karṇa. In the prose part of the inscription we are told that *Pb.-M.-P.*-Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati* Yaśaḥ-Karṇadeva granted the village of Deülā-paṁcela in the Devagrāma-*pattalā* to a Brāhman named Gaṅgādhara Śarman. The inscription is dated in (K.) *Saṁvat* 823 (1073 A.D). It was written by *Dharmalekhin* Vaccuka.[5]

(2) *The Jubbulpore grant*.—This was found deposited in the Nagpur Museum. Its find-spot is unknown. It was

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 186, V. 39. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 337, V. 4; also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 702.

[3] *Belgami inscription* of Vikramāditya VI, dated in A D. 1081. See *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1929, pp 133 and 137, line 33. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Ganguli for this reference.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 803, 806 and 808.

[5] Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 205-17. The date of the inscription appears to be irregular; see *ibid* p. 206. The editor is inclined to think that the Devagrama-*pattala* is to be identified with modern Deogavān, close to Khairha.

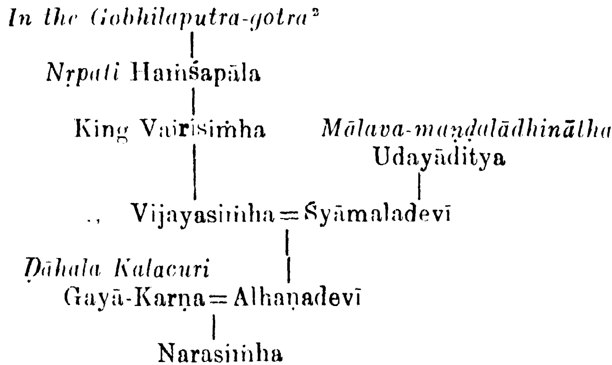
originally inscribed on two plates; but the second is now lost. The preserved plate contains the historical portion of the grant, which opens with *Oṁ namo Brahmaṇe*, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalacuris from the Moon down to Yaśaḥ-Karṇa. In the Nagpur Museum transcript of the inscription, which was made before the second plate was lost the date is given as 'Monday, the 10th of the dark-fortnight of Māgha 829, at the time of the *Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti*,' the details work out for 'Monday the 31st December, 1078 A.D.' The preserved portion of the grant ends with *Pb.-M.-P.-Śrī*-Vāmadeva.[1]

Yaśaḥ-Karṇa was succeeded by his son Gayā-Karṇa. The only record so far known of this king is the *Tewar stone-inscription*. It was found on a light green stone which appears to have been found at Tewar (Tripurī), a village about 6 miles to the west of Jubbulpore (C.P.). The inscription contains 22 lines. It opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*; then follows the genealogy of the princes of the *Ātreya-gotra* from (Lakṣmī)-Karṇa to Gayā-Karṇa. In lines 4-5 the wish is expressed that this last prince together with his son, the *Yuvarāja* Narasiṁha, may rule the earth for ever. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Pāśupata (or *Pañcārthika*) ascetic named Bhāvabrahman, a disciple of the ascetic Bhāvatejas, of the Ananta *gotra*. It is dated in line 21 in the Cedi year 902 (*Nava-Śata-Yugalābdādhikya-gē Cedi-diṣṭe*), corresponding to A.D. 1151.[2]

1 I call this plate the Jubbulpore grant because it is so called by Cunningham and Kielhorn. It has been edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 1-7. He did not know that the Nagpur Museum transcript contains the year—*Saṁvat* 829. This is given by Hiralal in *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 207. Kielhorn, on the data available to him, fixed upon A.D. 1122 as the date of the grant. The first plate of the grant is now in the Nagpur Museum.

2 Edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, XVIII, pp. 209-11. The editor has pointed out that the word *diṣṭa* means *kāla*; *Cedi-diṣṭa* therefore means Cedi-kāla (*cf.* Mālava kāla). The local name of Śiva appears to have been *Gāhuṇḍa* (line 15). A naked colossal Jaina image dedicated in the reign of Gayā-Karṇa was discovered at Bahuriband in the Jubbulpore District (C. P.). It mentions the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* the Rāṣṭrakūṭa 'Golhana.' See *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 40.

Gayā-Karṇa married the Guhila princess Alhaṇadevī. The Bheraghat stone-inscription of this queen gives us the following genealogy of her ancestors :[1]



Alhaṇadevī was therefore a relative of the Paramāra kings of Malwa. We have seen that Yaśaḥ-Karṇa was severely defeated by the Paramāra Lakṣmadeva. But during the first half of the 12th century the Paramāras appear to have been driven westward across the Betwa by a revival of the Candella power under Madanavarman (*c.* 1129-63 A.D).[3] In the Mau inscription of the Candellas we are told that before Madanavarman the Cedi king always fled vanquished in fierce fight.[4] I have pointed out elsewhere that this Cedi king was probably Gayā-Karṇa.[5] The discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins [6] of Madanavarman seems to indicate that Baghelkhand, to the North of the Kaimur range, was probably annexed by the Candellas.* The Kalacuris had already lost some of their fairest provinces in the Ganges valley to the Gāhaḍavālas in the reign of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa. During this reign they fully lost their

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 12, Vs. 17-25.

[2] This branch ruled in Medapāṭa (Mewar). Politically they were not an important power at this period. See *infra*, chapters on the *Guhila-putras*, *Paramāras*, and the *Caulukyas*.

[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, p. 711.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 15.

[5] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, p. 711.

[6] *Ibid*; *JASB*, 1914, pp. 199-200.

hold on South Kosala, the Tuṁmāṇa branch of the family having become completely independent.[1] The victories of the Candellas must have made their condition still worse. Common danger and the instinct of self-preservation may have therefore compelled the Paramāras and Kalacuris to forget their old hatred. The marriage of Gayā-Karṇa with the grand-daughter of Udayāditya may in that case be regarded as a tangible symbol of friendship between the Paramāras and the Kalacuris.

The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga[2] seems to contain a story of an attack on Gujarat by Gayā-Karṇa. We are told that once when the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Aṇahilapāṭaka had started on a pilgrimage "he was informed by a couple of posts (*Yugalikā*), who came from a foreign country that Karṇa, king of Ḍāhala was marching against him. His forehead was beaded with drops of perspiration, and he abandoned, out of fear, his desire of being head of the congregation, and came with the minister Vāgbhaṭa, and blamed himself at the feet of Hemacandra." The story runs that the Jain sage assured his disciple that "in the 12th watch from this time your mind will be relieved." At the appointed time Kumārapāla was informed that 'Karṇa had gone to heaven.' "Karṇa," we are told, "was making a march at night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, and allowed his eyes to close in sleep, and while he was in this state, a gold chain, that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan tree, and hanged him, and so he died." It is difficult to say whether this story has any foundation in fact. But the date of Kumārapāla (*c*. 1144-73 A.D.), makes it almost certain that by 'Karṇa,[3] king of Ḍāhala' Merutuṅga meant Gayā-Karṇa (*c*. 1151 A.D.).

Gayā-Karṇa was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha, who had been already associated in government with his father for some

[1] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, section on the Tuṁmāṇa branch, p. 808.
[2] *PC*, p. 146.
[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 777, fn. 4. *Lakṣmī-Karṇa* was also called *Karṇa*.

time before 1151 A.D., the date of the Tewar inscription. The following inscriptions have so far been found for his reign :

(1) *Bheraghat stone-inscription.*—The block of green stone which bears this was found at Bheraghat on the Narbada, in the Jubbulpore district of the C P. It contains 29 lines and opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and 6 verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī. Then follows a pedigree of the Kalacuris from Arjuna (Sahasrārjuna, V. 7) to Gayā-Karṇa, who married the Gobhila princess Alhaṇadevī. The latter bore him Narasiṁha, and Jayasiṁha. The former of these two princes was reigning when the inscription was set up. The proper object of the inscription is to record the foundation of a temple of Śiva (*Indu-mauli*), with a *maṭha*, a hall of study and gardens attached to it, by the widowed queen Alhaṇadevī. For the maintenance of these institutions and the temple, the queen 'assigned the two villages of Nāmaüṇḍi, in the Jāulī-*pattalā*, and of Makarapāṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills. The management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāśupata ascetic of Lāṭa lineage'. All the aforesaid buildings were planned by the *Sūtradhāra* Pīthe, who knew 'the rules of Viśvakarman.' The *praśasti* was composed by Śaśidhara of the Mauna *gotra*, and written by his elder brother Pṛthvīdhara. It was engraved on stone by the *Sūtradhāra* Bālasiṁha. The date (K.) *Saṁvat* 907 (A.D. 1155) comes at the end.[1]

(2) *Lal-Pahad rock-inscription.*—This is 'rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called Lāl-Pahāḍ,' near Bharhut in the Nagod State, C.I. (Lat. 24°27′N., Long. 80°55′E.) It contains 8 lines. It begins with *Svasti Śrī* ; then follows *Pb.*-

[1] First edited by Dr. F. E. Hall in *JAOS*, Vol. VI, 1860, pp. 499-532. The text of Dr. Hall was then printed with a photolithograph in *ASWI*, *Memoranda*, No. 10 (*Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*), pp. 106-09. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *EI*. Vol. II, pp. 7-17.

M.-P. Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati-Śrīmān*-Narasiṁhadeva-*caranāḥ*. In lines 5-6 the inscription seems to record the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by the *Rāuta* Ballāladevaka, son of Keśavāditya, the *Mahārājaputra* of Vadyavā-grāma. The date, (K.) *Saṁvat* 909 (A.D. 1158) is given in line 5.[1]

(3) *Alha-Ghat stone-inscription.*—" This inscription together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of Alha-Ghāt, 'one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the tableland of Rewah to the plain of the Ganges' " (Lat. 24°55′N., Long. 81°27′E.). It contains 7 lines, and opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1216 (A.D. 1159), in the victorious reign of the *Ḍāhālīya-mahārājādhirāja* Narasiṁhadeva. The object is to record (lines 2-5) that the *Rāṇaka* Chīhula, son Jālhaṇa, the *Mahārāṇaka* of Pipal-[oau?]durga, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near Ṣaṭaṣaḍikā Ghāṭ. Line 6 seems to mention some person from Kauśāmbī who had something to do with the *Rāṇaka's* orders. The record was written by *Ṭhakura* Kamalādhara. It ends with the name of *Sūtradhāra* Kamalasīha and 4 others, who were probably artisans engaged in the work mentioned above.[2]

Nothing definite is recorded of this king's reign; but the find-spots of the Lal-Pahad and Alha-Ghat inscriptions seem to indicate that in the course of it the Kalacuris may have recovered some portions of Baghelkhand from the Candellas.

1 It was first noticed by Cunningham, who also published a photozincograph of the record in *ASR*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 and 94 and plate II. It was next edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-13. For the words *Rājaputra* and *Mahārājaputra* as titles of officials see *ibid*, fn. 3 on p. 212.

2 A transcript of the text together with a photolithograph of the inscription was published by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 115 and plate XXVIII. It was then edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.

Narasiṁha was succeeded by his younger uterine brother Jayasiṁha. The following records are known for his reign :

(1) *Rewah grant.*—This is reported to have been discovered in Rewah. It contains 19 lines, incised on a single plate. It opens with *Oṁ svasti* and a verse in honour of Helamba (Heramba, *i.e.*, Gaṇeśa ?). It then refers itself to the victorious reign of *Pb.-M.-P.*-Vāmadeva-*pā dānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgād hipati-nija-bhuj-opārjit-Āśvapati-Gajapati Narapati-rāja-tray ādhip ati* Jayasiṁhadeva. Then in line 4 begins the genealogy of the feudatory *Mahārāṇakas* of Kakkareḍikā (mod. Kakreri, Long. 81°17′E., Lat. 24°56′N.). It is as follows :—

In the Kakkareḍikā-*nagarī*
in the Kaurava-*vaṁśa*
(*i*) *Mahārāṇaka* Jayavarman
|
(*ii*) „ Vatsarāja
|
(*iii*) *Mahā-māheśvara* „ Kīrtivarman.

In line 14 we are told that this last chief in (K.) *Saṁvat* 926 (A.D. 1175), on the occasion of making the funeral oblations in honour of his deceased father (No. *ii*), granted the village of Ahaḍāpāḍa, situated in the Khaṇḍagahā-*pattalā*, to two Brāhmans, the *Ṭhakura* Gayādhara and the *Ṭhakura* Caturbhuja. In lines 18-19 we are told that the inscription was written, with the consent of the *Ṭhakura* Ratnapāla, by the *Ṭhakura* Vidyādhara, and engraved by the *Lohakāras* Kūke and Kīkaka.[1]

(2) *Nagpur Museum Inscription.*—Kielhorn notices this in a footnote of his *List of Northern Inscriptions*. It is 'much effaced' and is 'apparently' dated in the (K.) *Saṁ*. 926 in the reign of Jayasiṁha. It was composed by the same Śaśidhara who composed the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Alhaṇadevī.[2]

[1] The grant was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 145-46. Edited by Kielhorn in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224-27.

[2] *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 60, fn. 4.

(3) *Tewar stone-inscription.*—The stone which bears this was procured from the village of Tewar (Tripurī), in the district of Jubbulpore (C.P.). The inscription consists of 9 lines and opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva. Then comes the names of the king Gaya-Karṇa and his two sons Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha. It records the erection of a temple of Śiva (*Īśvara*) by the *Nāyaka* Keśava in (K.) *Saṁvat* 928 (A.D. 1177). Keśava was a resident of the village of Śīkhā in Mā(la)vaka or Mālava.[1]

(4) *Karanbel stone-inscription.*—The stone which bears this inscription was found at Karanbel, 'now a heap of ruins, a few miles from Bheraghat near Jubbulpore in the C. P. Though the stone was found broken, hardly a single *akshara* has been lost. The inscription contains 25 lines; but it appears to have been left incomplete. For there is nothing in it to show why it was engraved, and we miss at the end the names of the author and the engraver which in a carefully executed inscription like the present one, had it been finished, would hardly have been omitted. In consequence the inscription is also left undated. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, and 6 verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gajānana, and Sarasvatī. The contents of the genealogical portion are 'almost identical' with those of the introductory portion of the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadevī. Among the differences may be mentioned the following: (*i*) the (Gobhila) Haṁsapāla is here called *Bṛigupāla* [illegible] (*ii*) the (Paramāra) Udayāditya is called *Dhārādhīśa*; (*iii*) the genealogy is here [illegible]ed from Yuvarāja II. The inscription 'probably was intended to record the erection of a temple of Śiva.'[2]

[1] First edited by Dr. F. E. Hall in *JAOS*, Vol. VI, pp. 512-18. His text with a photo-zincograph was then printed by Dr. Burgess, *Memoranda*, *ASWI*, No. 10, p. 110, and his translation in Cunningham *ASR*, Vol. IX, pp. 95-96. Kielhorn finally edited it in the *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 17-19.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215-18. Kaṅga of the Bheraghat inscription is spelt here K[illegible] clearly the [illegible] of Southern India.

These inscriptions of Jayasiṁha do not supply us with any finite information about his reign. But it is perhaps significant that he is designated a *Samrāṭ* in his Tewar inscription (line 4). This may indicate some measure of military success. His Rewah grant shows that the fortune which apparently attended his brother in his struggle against the Candellas was continued in his reign. He must at any rate have ruled over the whole of Baghelkhand. Our inference regarding Jayasiṁha's success in war seems to be confirmed by his son's Kumbhi grant, which tells us that on hearing his coronation 'the king of Gurjara deserted his weak kingdom, so also the Turuṣka; while the chieftain of Kuntala neglected amorous dalliance; other kings too, daffing the world aside, fled beyond the ocean.'[1] The Gopalpur stone-inscription of his son Vijayasiṁha gives us the name of one of his queens, Gosaladevī.[2]

Vijayasiṁha succeeded his father some time before 1180 A. D. The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

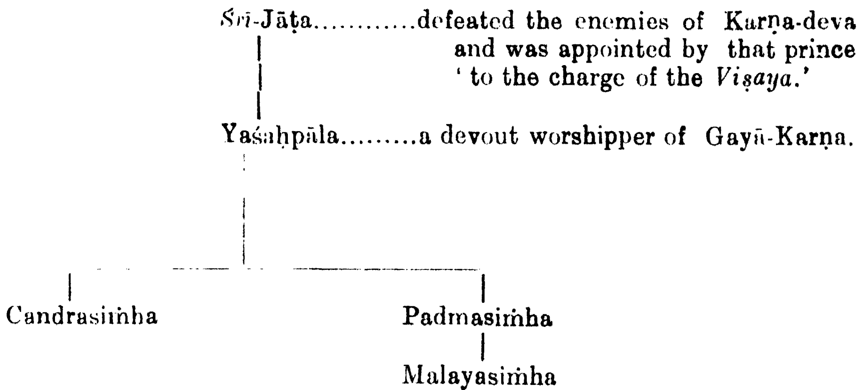
Kumbhi grant.—This was dug up at Kumbhi, on the right bank of the Herun river, 35 miles N. E. of Jubbulpore. The inscription is incised on two plates of copper. The seal on the ring has the usual figures of *Gaja-Lakṣmī* and the bull. Between the two figures is the legend *Śrīmad-Vijayasiṁhadeva.* The inscription opens with *Oṁ namo Brahmaṇe*, and then gives the genealogy of the dynasty from *Brahmā* down to Vijayasiṁha. In the prose part of the inscription we are told that with the permission of *Pb.-M.-P.*-Vāmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjit-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati* Vijayasiṁhadeva, his mother Gosaladevī granted in (K.) *Saṁvat* 932 (A. D. 1180) the village of Coralaya, in the Saṁvala-*pattalā*, to the Brāhman Sīṭha

1 *JASB*, Vol. VIII, pp. 485 and 491, V. 23.

2 See also the Kumbhi plates, *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 481-95, and the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Vijayasiṁha, *MASI*, No. 23, p. 142.

Sarman. The inscription was written by Vatsarāja and engraved by *Sūtradhāra* Lema.[1]

(2) *Rewah stone-inscription.*—The thin slab of Kaimur sand stone on which this is incised was discovered in one of the small guard-rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure of Rewah town. The inscription consists of 27 lines. It opens with an invocation to Mañjughoṣa, 'the Buddhist god of learning,' and then gives the following genealogy of a line of chiefs who served under the Kalacuris of Tripurī :



The inscription then gives the genealogy of an officer of Malayasiṁha, whose name appears to be Harisiṁha. Its proper object is to record the excavation of a tank, by Malayasiṁha under the superintendence of Harisiṁha, 'at a cost of 1,500 *tankakas* stamped with the figure of Buddha (*Bhagavat*).' The inscription is dated in (K.) *Saṁvat* 944 (A. D. 1192), in the reign of Vijayasiṁha.[2]

[1] *JASB*, 1839, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 481-95. Through a mistake Gosaladevī was taken by the editors as the wife of Vijayasiṁha; see *ibid*, p. 481; but see page 486. She is distinctly termed *mātā* in the text of the inscription on p. 492 (*mātṛ-Śrīmad-Gosaladevyā pradattaḥ*). On this point see also the Gopalpur stone-inscription, in the *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 219, and the Bheraghat (Vaidyanāth temple) inscription in *MASI*, No. 23, p. 142. In this latter inscription the name of the queen seems to be Gosalā-devī. The name of the village granted is wrongly given as 'Coralaga,' on page 486 (*JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I).

[2] *ASI*, WC., 1921, p. 52; also *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 133-41.

(3) *Rewah grant.*—This is reported to have been found in Rewah. It is a single plate, containing 20 lines of writing. There is a ringhole in the upper part, but all trace of the ring and the seal which may have been attached to it has been lost. The inscription opens with *Oṁ svasti* and two verses in honour of Brahman and of Bhāratī. In lines 2-4 it refers itself to the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-*Vāmadeva*-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhuj-opārjit-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati* Vījayadeva. It then gives the following genealogy of Sallakṣaṇavarman, the feudatory chief of Kakareḍi :

In the capital of Kakareḍī a person named
(*i*) Dāhilla, after him came
(*ii*) Vājūka ,,
(*iii*) Dandūka ,,
(*iv*) Khojūka ,,
(*v*) Jayavarman. His son was
|
Vatsarāja
|

(*vi*) *Sāmanta-śiromaṇi* Kīrtivarman.

(*vii*) *Sāmanta-śiromaṇi-Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda* Sallakṣaṇavarman.

In lines 7-14 is recorded the grant of the village of Chhiḍauḍā in the Kūyīsavapālisa-*pattalā* to certain Brāhmans, descendants of *Ṭhakura* Mādhava. The inscription is dated in line 13 in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1253 (A.D.1195). It appears to have been engraved by Kūke.[1]

(4) *Gopalpur stone-inscription.*—This inscription was discovered at the village of Gopalpur, about two miles to the south of Bheraghat, where it is said to have been brought from Karanbel. The stone which bears it is broken, and the record has been much

1 First noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 146. Properly edited by Kielhorn in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227-30.

damaged in consequence. It contains 21 lines, and opens with *Oṁ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya.* The proper object is to record (lines 16-21) the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a member of the Kāśyapa family. By way of introduction it gives the genealogy of the Kalacuri kings of Tripurī from (Lakṣmī-Karṇa) down to Vijayasiṁha. The preserved portion does not contain any date.[1]

(5) *Bheraghat stone-inscription.*—It 'was found on the lintel of a doorway of the temple of Vaidyanātha at Bheraghat in the Jubbulpore district.' It contains four lines and records that the *Mahārājñī Śrī-mad-*Gosalādevī, *Mahārāja* Vijayasiṁhadeva and *Śrīmad-*Ajayasiṁhadeva daily saluted the feet of the god Vaidyanātha.[2]

We know nothing of the political incidents of Vijayasiṁha's reign. The dates of his extant inscriptions extend from 1180 to 1195 A.D. It is not known definitely how long he ruled after 1193, or who succeeded him. The Kumbhi inscription mentions as one of his sons *Mahākumāra* Ajayasiṁha,[3] who possibly succeeded his father after the latter's death. No records of Ajayasiṁha or any of his successors have so far been discovered. The Rewah grants of Trailokyavarman dated in 1240 and 1241 A.D.[4] however, show that the northern portion of Baghelkhand at least had passed under the control of the Candellas in the first half of the 13th century. In the S.E., from the last quarter of the 11th century, the Chhattisgarh division had formed an independent state under the Tuṁmāṇa branch of the Haihayas.[5] North of the Bhanrer range the Muslim power gradually advanced into Saugor and the Damoh districts in the 13th century. This is shown by the *Batihagarh stone-inscription* dated in (*V.*)

1 Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 218-19. First noticed by Dr. F. E. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 113, and then by Cunningham in *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 99, No. XV.

2 *MASI*, No. 23, p. 142.

3 *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 492. See also Bheraghat stone-inscription, *MASI*. No. 23, p. 142, lines 2-3.

4 *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230-36; also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 724-26.

5 *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75-81; see also *supra*. *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 789, 791-92 and *infra* pp. 805-06

Saṁvat 1385 (A.D. 1328). This inscription was originally found at Batihagarh, a village 21 miles N.W. of Damoh. It is written in Sanskrit and records the construction of a *gomaṭha*, a garden and a well in the town of Batihāḍim by the order of a local Muḥammadan ruler Jallāl Shojā (Jalāl Khwājah), son of Isāka (Isḥāq)-rāja. This Jallāla is stated to have been appointed as his representative by Hisāmadīṇ (Ḥisām ud-Dīn) also called Chipaka, son of Malik Julacī, who was made commander of the Kharpara armies and lord of Cedi (*Cedi-deśādhipa*) by the *Śakendra Suratrāṇa* (Sulṭān) Mahamūda (Maḥmūd) of Yoginīpura (Delhi). The inscription further states that Jallāla appointed his servant Dhanau as manager of the institutions mentioned above. The principal architects (*Sūtradhāra*) were Bhojūka, Kāmadeva and Hāla of the *Śilapaṭṭa-vaṁśa*. The composer of the record was the *Māthurānvaya-Kāyastha* Baijūka.[1]

Rai Bahadur Hiralal has identified the Delhi Sulṭān Mahmūda with Nāṣir ud-Dīn Maḥmūd (1246-66 A.D.), who is reported to have subdued Bundelkhand region and appointed a governor about 1251 A.D.[2] The name of the governor is not mentioned by the Muslim writers. Hiralal may be right in thinking that he was apparently Malik Julacī of the Batihagarh inscription. 'Between the conquest of Maḥmūd and the record of our inscription there is an interval of 77 years spread over three governors, the Malik, his son Hisām ud-Dīn, and Jalāl ud-Dīn, giving a fair normal average duration of administration for each.'[3]

We may conclude from this inscription as well as the *Bāmhni Sati record* of the reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn, dated in A.D.1309[4] that

1 Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 44-47. Dr. Barnett suggests that 'Chipaka' is probably an Indian name. The editor's suggestion that it stands for 'Safiq' is according to him wrong.

2 *Ibid*, p. 45. The regions subdued were Gwalior, Chanderi, and Malwa; see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 351; *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 239.

3 *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 45.

4 *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 2. I have already mentioned this inscription; see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 734-35.

the Muslims had extended their power in the second half of the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries as far as the Bhanrer Range. It is difficult to say how far their dominions extended south of that range. But it is likely that the Kalacuris of Tripurī may have lingered on as a minor power in the Jubbulpore division for a considerable time. The Muslims never succeeded in effectively subjugating this region, known in later history as Gondwana. Possibly this dynasty was ousted finally by the extension of the power of the Gonds into Jubbulpore about the beginning of the 15th century.[1]

(3) *Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa*[2] (*C. P.*)

The Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa claim to be descended from Kokkala I, the founder of the Tripurī branch of the family. They trace their pedigree to one Kaliṅgarāja, who claimed descent from one of the 17 younger sons of Kokkala I. We are told that 'in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya he abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of *Dakṣiṇa-Kośala*. Since *Tuṁmāṇa* had been made a royal residence by his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies.'[3] Though Tritasaurya has not yet been identified, there is no doubt that it was the name of a portion of the original territories of the Kalacuris round about Tripurī.[4] Dakṣiṇa-Kośala is generally taken to represent roughly the

[1] *IGI*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 208. Bishop Chatterton records a tradition that Jadurāi, the founder of the Gond kingdom of Garha (mod. village about 3 or 4 miles from Tewar) was at first a servant of the last Kalacuri Rajah, but later on overthrew his family and usurped the royal power; see his *Story of Gondwana*, pp. 15 ff. Dalpat, who married Durgāvatī, was the son of Sangrām Shāh, a descendant of Jadurāi. Durgāvatī was killed by Akbar's (1556-1605 A.D.) general Āṣaf Khān.

[2] Usually called *Kalacuris of Ratnapura*; but see *supra*, p. 742, fn. 2.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff., Vs. 6-7. *Tuṁmāṇa* is sometimes spelt Tummāṇa (*EI*, I, P. 41, V. 12.)

[4] Kielhorn took it to be the name of the 'residence or country' of Kokalla. See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 33. For a guess by Hiralal see *IA*, 1924, pp. 269-70. He tries to show that it was a tribal name and identical with the Vedic tribal name Tṛtsu (?).

modern division of Chhattisgarh of the C. P., while Tuṁmāṇa has been identified with the modern village of Tumana in the Lapha Zamindari of Bilaspur District.[1] As the earliest certain date of Pṛthvīdeva I, the great-grandson of Kaliṅgarāja, is 1079 A. D., we may fix upon the first quarter of the 11th century as the approximate date of the latter. It is likely that he was a contemporary of *Vikramāditya* Gāṅgeyadeva, and may have acted as his viceroy in the Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. The Kalacuris of Tripurī had already crossed over the Maikal Range into Chhattisgarh before the time of Kaliṅgarāja, for a Ratnapura stone-inscription tells us that Tuṁmāṇa 'had been made a royal residence by his ancestors' before he left Tritasaurya and came to reside there. It seems likely that the family of Kaliṅgarāja remained feudatories to the Ḍāhala branch till about the seventh decade of the 11th century, which probably saw the defeat and death of Karṇa.[2]

Kaliṅgarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja. According to the Amoda plates of his grandson Pṛthvīdeva I, he is said to have defeated the *Utkala-nṛpa*, and endeavoured to equal Gāṅgeyadeva in prosperity.[3] It is interesting to find that Gāṅgeya himself is also credited with victory over the ruler of Utkala,[4] and it is not unlikely that his relatives in Tuṁmāṇa may have substantially helped him in his South-Eastern campaign. Kamalarāja in that case must have been a younger contemporary of Gāṅgeya.

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja, also called Ratneśvara.[5] This prince is said to have 'ornamented

[1] Tumana is situated in 22°35′ N., and 82°45′ E. *Ibid*, XIX, p. 77. *IA*, 1924, pp. 267 ff. *Tuṁmāṇa* is referred to as a *deśa* in a Muhammadpur epigraph; see *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84 ff.; see also *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff., 45 ff. In another inscription Jājalladeva II is described as *Tuṁmāṇādhipati*; see *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff. *S. Kosala* sometimes comprised portions of Sambalpur, Patna and Ganjam. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 393 ff.

[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 780 and 789.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 79, Vs. 8-9.

[4] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 771 and 774.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 35, Vs. 10-11

Tummāṇa with the temples of the gods Vaṅkeśa, Ratneśvara and other gods and also with gardens of flowers, and fruits, palatial dwellings and a charming high mango grove.'[1] We are also told that he founded the 'extensive' city of Ratnapura, which became 'like the city of (Kuvera) the lord of riches,' and decorated it with many temples.[2] The only other interesting event of this reign appears to have been his marriage with Nonallā.[3] She was the daughter of Vajuvarman or Vajjūka, the prince of *Kōmō-maṇḍala*, which has been identified with the Pendra Zamindari in Bilaspur district, where there is still a village named Komo.[4] The existence of a separate principality so close to the capital of Ratnarāja shows that as yet his power was extremely limited. As this marriage alliance is mentioned with pride by almost all the records of his successors, we may conclude that it marked a definite stage in the evolution of the Tummāṇa Haihayas as an independent power.

Ratnarāja was succeeded by his son Pṛthvīdeva, also called Pṛthvīśa.[5] Recently a land-grant of this king was discovered in the Bilaspur district of the C. P. This was the *Amoda grant*. It was dug out of a field in the village of Amoda, which is 'about 10 miles from Jānjgir, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in Bilaspur.' The inscription contains

1 *Ibid.* The god *Vaṅkeśa* 'the lord of vagabonds' is taken by some to be an aboriginal local deity; but it was probably a name of Śiva who was always accompanied by an army of vagabonds; see *ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 77.

2 *Ibid*, Vs. 11-12.

3 *Ibid*, V. 13. In Vol. XIX, p. 79, V. 12, the name is spelt *Vonnalā*. But the former name is given in *IHQ*, September, 1925, p. 410, V. 8; p. 413, V. 8. Also in *IA*, 1925, p. 44. The name of the queen may be an inflation of *Nōni*, which in the Chhattisgarh dialect of Hindi means a maiden. Hiralal suggests that the termination *allā* was added to the names of ladies of rank; *cf.* Āvallā, Lāchallā, Rājallā, Rambhallā, etc. See *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78.

4 *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 77. Note the name Vaju. As the Tummāṇa region of Bilaspur is still largely inhabited by aboriginal tribes, it is not unlikely that Vaju was a powerful non-Aryan chief.

5 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 35, Vs. 14-16.

41 lines and is incised on two plates. Each of the plates has a hole, 'the first at the bottom and the second at the top,' but the ring and the seal are lost. The grant opens with *Oṁ namo Brahmaṇe*. In the introductory portion the genealogy is traced from Kārtavīrya, Kokkala, and Kaliṅgarāja to Pṛthvīdeva. The prose part of the inscription records the grant of the village of Vasahā (mod. place of the same name in Bilaspur *tahsīl*), in the *Yayapura-maṇḍala* (the region round mod. village of Jaijaipur, 10 miles from Amoda) to a Brāhman named Keśava, son of Caṭṭa and grandson of Thīrāica, on the occasion of the dedication of a four-pillared hall (*Catuṣkikā*) to the god Vaṅkeśvara at Tumāṇaka. The donor was *Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-Vaṅkeśvara-vara-labdha-prasāda Eka-viṁśati-sahasraikanātha-Mahā-pracaṇḍa-Sakala - Kosalādhi-pati-Parama-māheśvara - Kalacurivaṁśodbhava-Samasta-rājāvali-virājamāna-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Pṛthvīdeva*. The grant is dated *Cedīśasya Saṁ*. 831 (A. D. 1079).[1]

(2) *Lāphā (spurious) grant*.—This grant is in possession of a Zamindar at Lapha in Bilaspur district. It consists of 9 lines, incised on a single rectangular plate. The style of writing is Oriya. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. The grant opens with '*Śrī-Kṛṣṇacandra*.' In the first verse it mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Pṛthvīdeva. In verses 3-4 it records a gift of 120 villages with the Laṁphā-durga to a person named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi. The grant ends with the date *Saṁvatsare* 806 (which if referred to the Kalacuri era would approximately correspond to 1054 A. D).[2]

The titles of Pṛthvīdeva shows that he was still a feudatory of their relatives of Ḍāhala. But it is significant that the issue

[1] Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75-81. The editor has argued from the word *Cedīśasya* that the name 'Chhattisgarh' was derived from *Cedīśa-gaḍha*, meaning 'forts of the lord of Cedi,' and not from *Chhattīsa-gaḍha* (36 forts), which on philological grounds is unacceptable.

[2] Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 293-95. Hiralal shows good reasons to prove that this grant is a forgery. But there is no difficulty about the date which is only removed by a period of 25 years from the Amodā grant. It is not impossible that Pṛthvīdeva may have ruled for about that period.

of this grant synchronises with the period of confusion which followed the death of Karṇa. It is not impossible that he may have co-operated with Yaśaḥ-Karṇa when the latter invaded the banks of the Godavari. But the serious reverses which Yaśah-Karṇa suffered during his reign from his western and northern neighbours probably made his hold on Kosala precarious, and allowed the Tuṁmāṇa branch to become virtually independent.[1]

Pṛthvīdeva built temples for the god Pṛthvīdevesvara and others at Tuṁmāṇa and a 'tank like the sea,' at Ratnapura.[2] He married Rājalladevī[3] and had by her a son named Jājalladeva, who succeeded him. So far only one record has been discovered for the reign of this prince. This is his *Ratnapur stone-inscription.* The reddish brown stone which bears this inscription was found at Ratnapur in the C. P. It consists of 31 lines and opens with a verse in praise of Śiva. Then follows the usual genealogy (as in No. 1 above). Pṛthvīdeva's son was Jājalla. The proper object of the inscription appears to be to record the establishment of a monastery for ascetics (*tāpasa-maṭha*), the making of a garden and a lake and probably also the foundation of a temple at Jājallapura and the grant of the villages of Sirulī and Arjunkoṇasarana (?) etc., by king Jājalladeva. The inscription ends with the date (K.) *Saṁvat* 866 (1114 A. D.).[4]

There is reason to believe that this Kalacuri branch became completely independent during the reign of this king. We are told in the inscription mentioned above that he was 'allied with the ruler of Cedi (*Cedīśa*) and honoured by the princes of Kanyakubja and Jejā-bhuktika.[5] He defeated and captured in battle one Someśvara and he had either annual tribute paid or presents given to him by the chiefs of the *maṇḍalas* of (Dakṣi)ṇa-Kośala, Andhra Khimḍī, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura,

[1] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 788-89.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 35, V. 17. Ratnapura was probably at times used as a second capital.

[3] *IHQ*, September, 1925, p. 413, line 13, and p. 410, line 14. She is sometimes simply called Rājalla, see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 35.

[4] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 32-39. It is now in the Nagpur Museum.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 33 and 35, V. 21.

Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa.[1] A Kharod stone-inscription further tells us that Jājalladeva defeated the lord of Suvarṇapura.[2] Kielhorn appears to have been right in suggesting the identification of the rulers of Kanyakubja, Jejā-bhuktika, and Cedi with the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra (*c.* 1114-1154 A. D.), the Candella Kīrtivarman (*c.* A. D. 1098) and the Kalacuri Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c.* A. D. 1073-1125), respectively. But he could not identify Someśvara. This prince, however, seems to me to be the same as the Nāgavaṁśī (Sinda) prince Someśvara, the father of Kanharadeva (Śaka 1033=A. D. 1111).[3] I have elsewhere[4] suggested how these Nāgavaṁśī rulers came to hold that portion of the C. P. which is now occupied by the state of Bastar. It appears that the Tuṁmāṇa and the Bastar kings carried on that policy of hostility which they inherited from their former masters, *viz.*, the Haihayas of Ḍāhala and the Cālukyas of Kalyani. The identification suggested above seems to be confirmed by the Kuruspal stone-inscription of the Nāgavaṁśī king Someśvara which refers to the chiefs of Lañji and Ratnapura as his rivals or contemporaries.[5] It is certain that this Lañji, which has been identified with a well-known tract of that name in the district of Balaghat (C. P.) is the same as the Lañjika-*maṇḍala* of the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva. Vairāgara was identified by Kielhorn with Wairagarh in the Chanda district. The same scholar also suggested that 'we may possibly have to read Andra-khimiḍī in the Ratanpur inscription and Jājalladeva and not Andra and Khimiḍī. If this is accepted then this place may possibly be the same as Kimedi, or Khimiḍe situated in the Ganjam district (Madras).[6] Talahāri is probably the same as the *Talahāri-bhumi* which was

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 33 and 35-36, Vs 21-23.

[2] *IA*, Vol XXII, pp. 82-83.

[3] Nārāyanpal stone-inscription, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 160-61; *ibid*, Vol. X, p. 26. Others identify this Someśvara with Kumāra Someśvara of Sonpur grant; see *ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 239.

[4] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 781 and fn. 2 on the same page.

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. X, pp. 25-31. *Vajra* mentioned in this inscription is identified by Hiralal with Vairagara of the Ratanpur inscription.

[6] *IA*, Vol. XVI, p. 131.

acquired by a minister of Ratnadeva II, the son of Jājalladeva.[1] Suvarṇapura appears to be the same place from which the Orissa Somavaṁśīs issued some of their grants and which has been identified with Sonpur, the capital of the Sonpur State.[2] The other places whose chiefs Jājalladeva claims to have defeated cannot at present be identified. But it looks certain that the power of the Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa, which was gradually increasing since the days of Ratnarāja, had at last reached its acme in the reign of his grandson. Jājalla was no longer a feudatory of Tripurī, but an ally of the lord of Cedi.

According to a Rajim stone-inscription, Jājalla was materially assisted in his victories by his minister Jagapāla *alias* Jagasiṁha. We are told that he helped Jājalladeva in conquering a country (?) and 'afraid of him the *Maṇḍaleśvaras* of Māyurika and the Sāvantas betook themselves to the mountains.'[3] The same inscription gives us the name of Devarāja who appears to have served Jājalla as his chief minister (*pradhāna*).[4]

Jājalla was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva II. In the grants of his son he is called the lord of the whole Kosala country (*Sakala-Kosala-maṇḍanaśrī*). In the Malhar stone-inscription of Jājalladeva II he is described as 'a fierce cloud to extinguish the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the prowess of prince Coḍagaṅga' (*c.* A.D. 1078-1135).[5] This fact is also mentioned by a Kharod inscription of the time of Ratnadeva III.[6] The Rajim inscription of the time of Pṛthvīdeva II tells us that Jagapāla and Devarāja, the ministers of Jājalladeva, continued to serve under his son. The former of these two claims to have acquired the Talahāri-bhumi

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, p. 135 ff. This minister was Jagapalla who also served under Jājalla. Talahāri-*maṇḍala* is also mentioned in a Ratanpur inscription of the (K.) *S.* 915. See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 33.

[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 396, 401, 402, 408 and 413.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 137, lines 15-16.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 40, V. 4; see also *Errata and Corrigenda* under p. 40 at the end of the volume. For Coḍagaṅga, see *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 461 ff.

[6] *IA*, Vol. XXII, pp. 82-88.

and another district for his second master. No grant of this king has so far been discovered but the Malhar inscription referred to above records grant of the village of Koṣāmbī to a Brāhman named Gaṅgādhara.[1] The context of the passage wherein this grant is mentioned seems to indicate that the village was situated in the *Tummāṇa-deśa.*

Ratnadeva II was succeeded by his son Pṛthvīdeva II. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Kugda stone-inscription.*—It is said to have been found at Kugda near Bachhaudgaḍh, 5 miles to the west of Baloda in the district of Bilaspur. The inscription is much damaged and fragmentary and seems to have contained 25 lines. In line 2 it mentions *Mahiṣī* Lācalladevī, in line 3 we can read the name Śrī-Ra(tnadevaḥ?); and in line 7 the name Vallabharāja. It is dated in Kalacuri-*Saṁvatsare* 893 (A.D.1141-42) in the reign of Pṛthvīdeva.[2]

(2) *Rajim stone-inscription.*—The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Rāmacandra at Rājim, in the Raipur district, near the junction of the Mahanadi and the Pairi. The inscription contains 19 lines and opens with *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya.* It then gives the genealogy of Jagapāla who served as an officer under Pṛthvīdeva II, and his two immediate predecessors. His ancestor '*Ṭhakkura* Śrī-Sāhilla, the spotless ornament of the Rājamāla race, which gave delight to the Pañca(ha)ṁsa race,' is stated to have come from the Vaḍahara-*deśa* and as gladdened by the attainment of the *Pañca-mahāśabda.* One of his sons named Svāmin is said to have conquered the Bhaṭṭavila and Vihāra countries. Svāmin had two sons named Jayadeva and Devasiṁha. The former is said to have acquired the district of Dāṇḍora while the latter took the Komo-*maṇḍala.*[3] A wife of one of the latter was probably the *Ṭhakkurājñī* Udayā. The son appears to have been

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 41, V. 13.
[2] Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. [3] See *supra DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 804

Jagapāla also called Jagasiṁha. The eulogy was composed by *Ṭhakkura* Jasānanda, son of *Ṭhakkura* Jasodhara of the Ayodhyā-purīya family and written and engraved by the *rūpakāra* Śrī-Ratnapāla. The inscription is dated in lines 18-19 in K(u)lacuri *Saṁvatsare* 896 (A.D. 1145).[1]

(3) *Amoda grant (i).*—It was discovered in the village of Amoda, 40 miles S.E. of Bilaspur (C.P.). The inscription contains 32 lines and is engraved on two plates. The seal attached to the ring contains the figure of the goddess *Gaja-Lakṣmī* and the legend *Rājā-Śrīmat-Pṛthvīdevaḥ*. The grant opens with *Oṁ oṁ namo Brahmaṇe*. The introductory portion then gives the usual genealogy of the dynasty from Kārtavīrya, Kokkala and Kaliṅgarāja down to Pṛthvīdeva. "In the formal part of the inscription we are told that this last king granted to the Brāhman Śīlaṇa, who had emigrated from Takārī, the village of Āvalā in the Madhya-*maṇḍala*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The inscription was written by Śrī-Vatsarāja of the Vāstavya family and engraved by Lakṣmīdhara. It ends with the date (K.) *Saṁvat* 900 (A.D. 1149).[2]

Amoda grant (ii).—Found with No. 3. Contains 35 lines engraved on two plates. Same seal. In this grant Pṛthvīdeva grants the village of Buḍubuḍū in the Madhya-*maṇḍala* to the donee of No. 3 and his two brothers Pīthana and Lakhnū. It was written by the same as in (No. 3) and engraved by one Cādārka. The date (K.) *Saṁvat* 905 (A.D. 1154) completes the grant.[3]

[1] A transcript and a kind of translation of the inscription was published by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. xv ff. It was then noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XVII, p. 18. Finally edited by Kielhorn in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135-40. Cunningham traced the name of the town of Rajim to the tribal name Rājamāla.

[2] Edited by Hiralal, *IHQ*, September, 1925, pp. 409-11. The Editor identifies Madhya-*maṇḍala* or the 'Central circle' with the division which contained the capital of the kingdom. Āvalā according to him is Aurābhāṭā in the Lapha Zemindari in which "Tummāna" the old capital of the Haihayas is situated.

[3] Edited by the same, *ibid*, pp. 412-14. The village granted is identified by the editor with Burbur in the Lāphā Zamindari.

(5) *Ratanpur inscription.*—The inscription is dated in Kalacuri *Saṁvatsare* 910 (*c.* A.D. 1158) in the victorious reign of King *Śrīmat*-Pṛthvīdeva.[1]

The only record of the incidents of this king's reign is contained in the Rajim inscription of his officer Jagapāla. Lines 15-16 of this inscription seem to indicate that 'this chief and his two brothers Gājala and Jayatasiṁha together with the prime-minister Devarāja, subdued the earth.' In lines 10-11 we are told that Jagapāla 'not only took the forts of Saraharā-gaḍh and Mavakāsiha(vā), and conquered the Bhramaravadra country, but also took Kāntāra, Kusumabhoga, Kandāse(hva)ra and the district of Kākayara.'[2] Most of these places have not yet been properly identified. But Kielhorn accepted Cunningham's identification of Kākayara-*deśa* with modern state of Kanker in the C.P. The same scholar was also disposed to regard Kāndāse(hva)ra 'with Sehāwā or Sihoa situated to the east of Kanker, Brahmaravadra with Bamra and Saraharāgaḍh with Sarangarh to the east of Raipur.[3] The identification of Kākayara with Kanker makes it possible that the Somavaṁśī princes of Kanker, for whom we have inscriptions dated from 1191 to 1320 A.D., may have been originally feudatories, of the Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa. Rai Bahadur Hiralal has approximately fixed 'the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th' as the date of Siṁharāja the founder of the Somavaṁśīs of Kanker.[4]

[1] Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XVII, plate X; No. 417 in Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (*EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*). The Ratanpur inscription dated in (K.) S. 915 which mentions Talahāri-*maṇḍala* may also belong to this reign. This inscription was first noticed by Sir R. Jenkins in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 504, and then by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 33. Hiralal notices in the *IA* (1925, pp. 44-45), a grant of Pṛthvīdeva (II) dated in *Saṁ*. 1000, which he believes to be spurious.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 137 and 140.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 137.

[4] For the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśīs of Kanker, see

(*a*) *Sihawa stone inscription of Karṇarāja*, Śaka year 1114, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 182-87.

(*b*) *Kanker plates of Pamparāja*, (K.) years 965 and 966. *Ibid*, pp. 166-70.

(*c*) *Kanker inscription of the time of Bhānudeva*, Śaka (?) year 1242. *Ibid*, pp. 123-30.

(*d*) *Gurur stone-pillar-inscription of Vāgharāja*, *IA*, 1926, p. 44.

Pṛthvīdeva II was succeeded by his son Jājalladeva II. The following two records are known for his reign :

(1) *Āmoda grant.*—It was found in the village of Amoda, in the district of Bilaspur (C.P.). The inscription contains 37 lines incised on two massive plates. The ring and the seal are lost. The inscription opens with *Oṁ oṁ namo Brahmaṇe.* In the introductory portion the donor's genealogy is traced from Kārtavīrya, Kokalla, and Kaliṅgarāja. In the formal part it records the grant of a village named Bunderā to the astrologer Rāghava and the royal priest Nāmadeva. It was written by the *Vāstavya Kāyastha* Citrabhānu in (K.) *Saṁvat* 91(2) which is equivalent to A.D. 1161.[1]

(2) *Malhar stone-inscription.*—It is reported to have been brought from Malhār in the C.P. It consists of 28 lines and is incised on a piece of black stone. It opens with *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and two verses invoking the god Śambhu and Gaṇapati. Then comes the genealogy of Jājalladeva (II), 'the ruler of Tummāṇa,' traced from Ratnadeva (II) of the lunar race. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection, at the town of Mallāla (probably mod. Malhar or Malar), of a temple of the god Kedāra (Śiva) by the Brāhman Somarāja, the son of Gaṅgādhara who settled in Tummāṇadeśa from the village of Kumbhaṭī in Madhyadeśa. The inscription was composed by Ratnasiṁha, son of Māme of the Vāstavya race. The date (K.) *Saṁvat* 919 (A.D. 1167-68) comes at the end.[2]

Nothing definite was so long known of the reign of this prince. But his recently discovered Amoda grant supplies us with a piece of important information for his reign. This grant we are told 'was made by way of thanksgiving on an

[1] Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 209-14.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 39-45. The inscription is now in the Nagpur Museum. The donee of the inscription is described as 'the eye of the teaching of Akṣapād and the *Cārvāka-viśāla-malana.*' He is also reported to have delighted the pitcher-born (Agastya) by drinking the difficult to be restrained Bauddha Ocean and appeared as the god of death to the Digambaras. Note the spelling *Tummāṇa* a variant of Tuṁmāṇa (l. 14).

escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle with one Dhīrū who is described as a huge alligator clutching his victim.' [1] According to Hiralal Dhīrū is a non-Aryan name. If this is accepted then it appears that there was a serious rebellion of the aboriginal tribes under the leadership of Dhīrū which was only suppressed with difficulty by Jājalladeva II.

Jājalla II was succeeded by Ratnadeva III, his son by his queen Somalladevī. [2] Only one record has so far been discovered for his reign. This is his *Kharod stone-inscription.* This inscription is inside a Śaiva temple at the small village of Kharod, 3 miles north of Seori Narayan (on the northern bank of the Mahanadi in the Bilaspur district, C.P.). The inscription contains 28 lines and gives a complete list of the Tuṁmāṇa princes down to Ratnadeva III. It is dated in line 28 in *Cedi-Saṁvat* 933 (A.D. 1181-82). [3]

It is difficult to say definitely who succeeded Ratnadeva III. From a *Ratanpur stone-inscription* dated in (*V.*) *Saṁ.* 1247 (?) which refers itself to the reign of king Pṛthvīdeva, it is generally assumed that this prince was the successor of Ratnadeva III. This inscription was discovered within the fort of Ratanpur in the C.P. It consists of 24 lines and is incised on a black stone. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and two verses invoking the gods Rudra and Gaṇapati. Then follows the usual genealogy. In the lunar race Jājalladeva: His son Ratnadeva who was 'a submarine fire of the unique ocean of the array of the difficult to be subdued armies of the Cedi princes,' and who defeated the champions of Coḍagaṅga (V. 5). His son Pṛthvīdeva. The rest of the inscription gives the genealogy of the Vāstavya Devagaṇa who originally came into the Tuṁmāṇa

[1] *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 21. Can Dhīrū be an apabhraṁśa of a Sanskritic name like Dhīrendra? We still use such abbreviations in modern Bengal.

[2] *AI*, Vol. XXII, p. 83. A mutilated Amarkantak inscription also mentions the name of Somalladevī, see *ibid*, p. 83. fn. 14.

[3] First noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. VII, p. 201, and Vol. XVII, p. 43; then by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XXII, pp. 82-83.

country from Cedi-*maṇḍala*. This person erected a Śaiva temple at the village of Śāmbā. The inscription which was composed by Devagaṇa himself is dated at the end in (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1247 (?) (A.D. 1189-90).[1] The date agrees with the ascription of the inscription to Pṛthvīdeva III. Another fact also supports this conclusion. The father of the Vāstavya Devagaṇa of this inscription is named Ratnasiṁha, son of Māme. This Ratnasiṁha seems to be identical with the person of the same name who composed the Malhar stone-inscription of Jājalladeva II (1167-68 A.D.). But there are unfortunately also some difficulties in accepting this conclusion. The ascription of victory over Coḍagaṅga to Ratnadeva of this inscription reminds us of a similar victory credited to Ratnadeva II by the Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II. Coḍagaṅga must be taken to be the same as the great Orissa king Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga (*c.* 1078-1135 A.D.), who must have been dead long before the accession of Ratnadeva III (A.D. 1181-82) but was certainly a contemporary of Ratnadeva II (*c.* 1120-35). Thus if Ratnadeva of this inscription really fought with Coḍagaṅga then he must be Ratnadeva II. This inscription in that case has to be referred to the reign of Pṛthvīdeva II. Kielhorn noticed that the date of the inscription 'has not been written by the writer of the inscription who forms his numeral figures differently. He suspected that the inscription was originally ' dated in a year of the Cedi year.' [2] But the following table inclines me to think that the inscription really belongs to Pṛthvīdeva III :

Vāstavya Māme
|
Ratnasiṁha ...composed Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II. (1167-68 A.D.)
|
Devagaṇa ...composed Ratnapur inscription dated in 1189-90 in the reign of Pṛthvīdeva.

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 45-52. See also *Errata and Corrigenda* at the end of the volume under page 47.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 49, fn. 41.

Thus it is possible that Devagaṇa was wrong in making Ratnadeva III the father of his patron Pṛthvīdeva III a contemporary of the Orissa king Coḍagaṅga.

It is difficult to trace the genealogy of the Tuṁmāṇa Kalacuris after Pṛthvīdeva III. A Bhuvaneswar inscription [1] gives us the name of king Paramardī or Paramāḍi of the Haihaya-vaṁśa who married Candrikā, the daughter of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anaṅga Bhīma II (c. 1211-38 A.D.). The Cāṭeśvar stone inscription of this Gaṅga prince tells us that his Brāhman minister fought with the lord of Tuṁmāṇa.[2] It is not unlikely that the Haihaya king Paramardī was the ruler of Tuṁmāṇa who was at first the enemy and then the son-in law of Anaṅga Bhīma. In the present state of our knowledge however it is impossible to connect him with the main line of the Kalacuris at Tuṁmāṇa.

The details of the history of this portion of the C. P. during this period is unknown. It is certain that the Muslims never succeeded in establishing their power in the Chhattisgarh division and there is evidence to show that the Kalacuris continued to figure as chiefs of Chhattisgarh right up to the 18th century. The Khalari stone-inscription of the Kalacuri king Haribrahmadeva is dated in 1415 A.D.[3] while the Arang plate of the Haihaya king Amarasiṁhadeva is dated as late as 1735 A.D.[4] The latter appears to have been ousted by the Bhonslas of Nagpur in c. 1750 A.D.

[1] *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.; *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 478 and 483-84.

[2] *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317 ff.; *ibid*, 1903, p. 119; also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 477-78.

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 228-31. Haribrahma traces his descent to the Kalacuri prince (1) Siṁhana of the *Ahihaya-vaṁśa*. Then came his son king (2) Rāmadeva. His son was Haribrahmadeva, a devotee of *Candracūḍa* (*Śiva*). The village of Khalari is 45 miles east of Raipur.

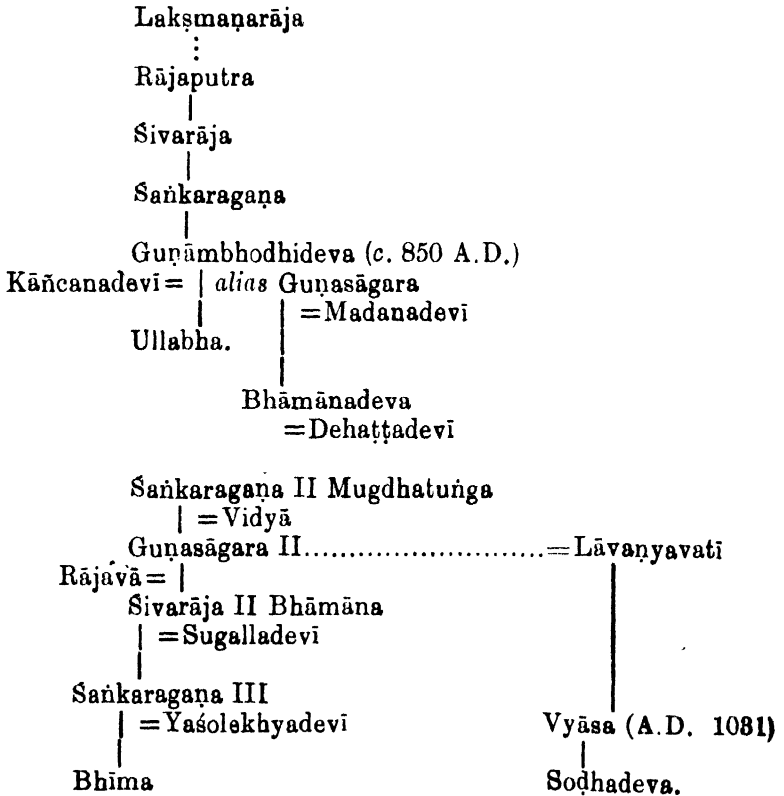
[4] *DLI*, p. 100; *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 56.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

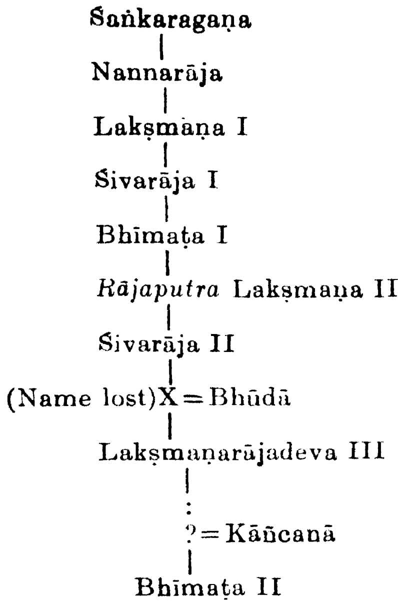
(Dates Approximate.)

I. *Kalacuris of Gorakhpur* :

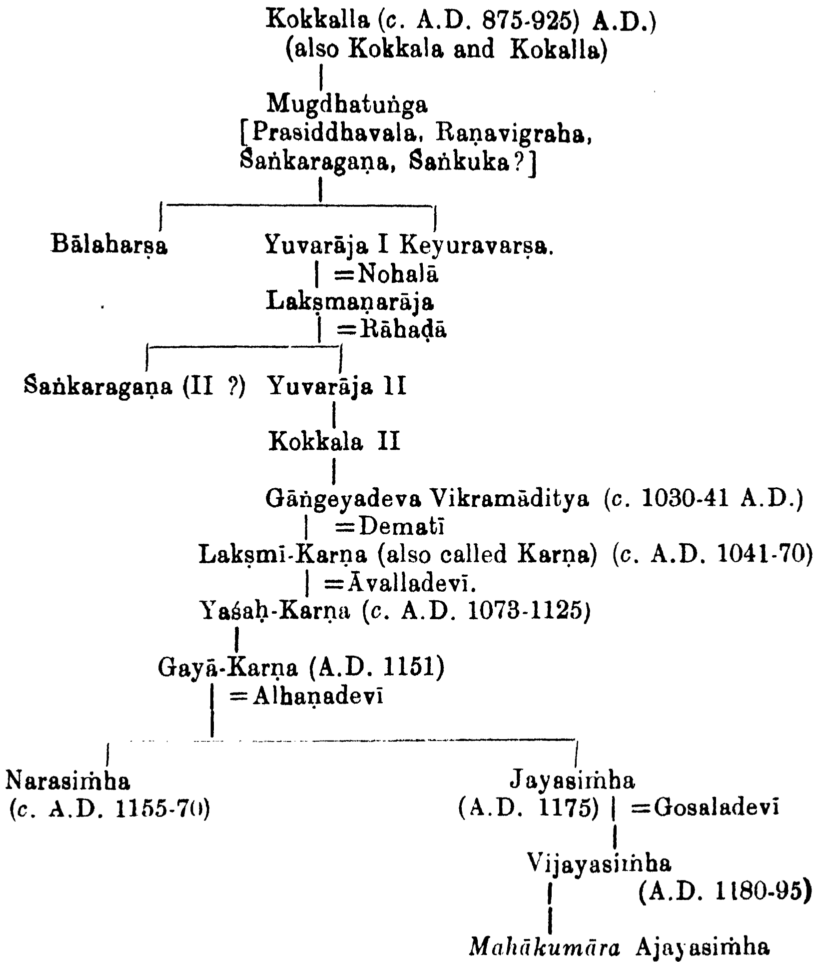
(*a*) *Kahla branch.*



(*b*) *Kasia branch* (c. 1025-1225 A.D.):

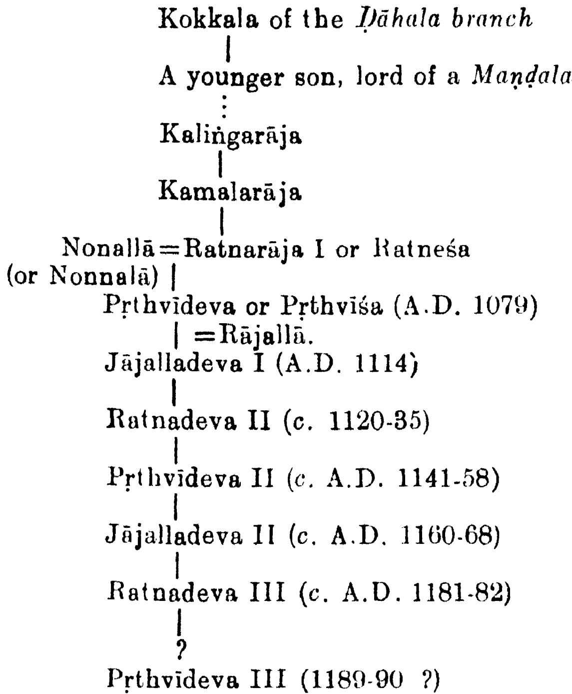


II. *Kalacuris of Ḍāhala*: [1]



[1] Usually known as *Kalacuris of Tripurī*.

III. *Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa* :[1]



Kokkala of the *Ḍāhala branch*
|
A younger son, lord of a *Maṇḍala*
:
Kaliṅgarāja
|
Kamalarāja
|
Nonallā=Ratnarāja I or Ratneśa
(or Nonnalā) |
Pṛthvīdeva or Pṛthvīśa (A.D. 1079)
| =Rājallā.
Jājalladeva I (A.D. 1114)
|
Ratnadeva II (c. 1120-35)
|
Pṛthvīdeva II (*c*. A.D. 1141-58)
|
Jājalladeva II (*c*. A.D. 1160-68)
|
Ratnadeva III (*c*. A.D. 1181-82)
|
?
Pṛthvīdeva III (1189-90 ?)

IV. *Kalacuris of Raipur* :

(*a*) Siṁhana
|
Rāmadeva
|
Haribrahmadeva (1415 A.D.)

(*b*) Amarasiṁhadeva (*c*. 1735-50 A.D.)

[1] Popularly known as *Kalacuris of Ratnapura*.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE KACCHAPAGHĀTAS (KACHWĀHAS) OF RAJPUTANA AND CENTRAL INDIA

The modern Rajput tribe which is known as Kachwāha claim to be the descendants of Kuśa, son of Rāma, the epic king of North Kośala. According to bardic tradition, after leaving their parental abode, they erected the famous castle of Rohtas on the Son and thence a section of the tribe in company of Raja Nal, 'migrated westward, and founded the kingdom and city of Narwar,' classically styled Naiṣadha, in (*V.*) *S.* 351 (A. D. 295).[1] The inscriptions of the tribe totally ignore this story, which was probably a later fabrication. Their earliest epigraphic records, unlike those of some other tribes of this period, contain no story of the family's mythical origin, but abruptly introduce the founders of the various branches as *Kacchapaghāta-vaṁśa-tilaka*[2] or *Kacchapaghātānvaya-saraḥ-kamala-mārtaṇḍa*.[3] It is moreover impossible to derive the word *Kacchapaghāta* or the modern *Kachwāha* from *Kuśa*. The statement that a section of the tribe settled in Narwar is however supported by the Narwar grant of Vīrasiṁha, which was actually issued from *Nala-pura-mahādurga* in *V. S.* 1177 (A.D. 1120).[4] Moreover, there are other epigraphic records which show that in the 10th and 11th centuries at least three families of Kacchapaghātas ruled in and around Eastern Rajputana and the region now known as Gwalior Residency. They may be conveniently designated as (1) *The Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior*, (2) *The Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund*, and (3) *The Kachapaghātas of Narwar.*

1 *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 56, 106-07, 161-62; Vol. III, pp. 1328 ff.

2 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 237, line 10; *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 36, V. 5.

3 *JAOS*, Vol. VI, p. 513, lines 3-4 from the top. In one inscription the last person in the pedigree is called *Kacchapāri-kula-bhūṣaṇa*, *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 39, V. 57.

4 *Ibid*, p. 542, line 2, text.

As the area over which they ruled was certainly included within the dominions of the imperial Gurjara-Pratīhāras, we may fairly assume that they were at first feudatories of these rulers of Kanauj. Definite evidence shows that a member of one of these families made himself master of the fort of Gwalior by defeating the ruler of Kanauj. As we have a record of this Kacchapaghāta prince dated in A. D. 977,[1] this king of Kanauj may almost certainly be identified with one of the successors of Mahīpāla I (*c.* 914-43). In the following pages I shall give a short account of the three branches of the Kacchapaghātas mentioned above.

(1) *The Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior.*

The existence of this branch is known from a number of records, the most important of which is the Sasbahu temple-inscription of Mahīpāla dated in *V. S.* 1150.[2] According to this inscription, the first prince of this line was Lakṣmaṇa. He is described as *Kacchapaghāta-vaṁśa-tilaka* and *Kṣauṇī-pati* and an 'object of reverence for all princes.'[3] Nothing definite is known about his reign. We are simply told that "Wielding his bow (and) promoting the welfare of his subjects, he unaided, like Pṛthu, made the earth obedient to his will, after he had by force extirpated even mighty princes (as Pṛthu had uprooted the mountains)."[4] The next prince in this line was his son Vajradāman.[5] We are told that "When by honest means he had put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara, his proclamation-drum, which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of Gopādri, conquered in battle by his

1 *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 393, plate I, No. 6.

2 *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 33-46.

3 *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 41, V. 5.

4 *Ibid.*

5 See *Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas, etc.)* by Rapson, London, 1908, *Introduction*, p. cliii. The names of many of the W. Kṣatrapas end in *dāman*. Rapson suggested that *dāman* 'may well be a Sanskritised form of a Persian word (*cf.* Spalaga-dama);' *ibid*, p. cv.

irresistible strong arm."[1] Vajradāman has been generally identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vajradāman of a fragmentary *Jain image-inscription of Gwalior* dated in (*V.*) *Saṁ.* 1034 (A.D. 977).[2] It is difficult to identify exactly the prince of Gādhinagara who was defeated by this Kacchapaghāta and from whom apparently he captured the fort of Gwalior. His date, A.D. 977, however indicates, as I have already suggested, that this ruler of Kanauj must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla I (*c.* 914-43 A.D.), possibly Vijayapāla, for whom we have the date 960 A.D.[3] It is likely that Vajradāman at first enjoyed some measure of sovereignty. But the rising power of the Candellas, which in Dhaṅga's reign (*c.* 954-1002 A.D.) reached 'the mountain called Gopagiri '[4] seems to indicate that he may have soon after acknowledged the hegemony of his more powerful eastern neighbour. That the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, in this period, was not 'inconsistent with feudatory rank, is shown by the Rajor stone-inscription of Mathanadeva dated in V. S. 1016 (A.D. 960).[5]

The next prince[6] mentioned by the Sasbahu inscription is Maṅgalarāja, who is said to have "scattered his enemies as the thousand-rayed (sun) does the darkness. As he for ever paid worship to the lord (*Īśvara*), so he was worshipped by thousands of great lords."[7] Maṅgalarāja is probably to be identified with the prince of that name who is mentioned in an '*Ukha-Mandar*' *stone-inscription* at Biana, 'the chief town of the *tahsīl* of the same name in the Bharatpur State in Rajputana.' This

[1] *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 41, V. 6.

[2] *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 393, plate VI and pp. 399-400. It contains a single line and is incised on the pedestal of the image.

[3] *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 263 ff.; also my chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 594.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 129, V. 45. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 593, and my chapter on the *Candellas*, *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 678.

[5] *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 263 ff.; also my chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 592-93.

[6] *Tato* = ' then came.'

[7] *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 41, V. 7.

inscription is incised at the foot of a pillar in the 'Ukha-Mandar,' an old Hindu temple, now used by the Muslims as a Masjid. Unfortunately, a portion of the stone being permanently built in below the bottom of the pillar, only 'the first 27 or so letters of each of the 23 lines of which it consists are visible.' The script of the record is older than the Biana inscription of *Adhirāja* Vijaya dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1100 (*c*. A.D. 1043).[1] The inscription is a Vaiṣṇava *prasasti*, and shows that the temple was 'originally one of the god Viṣṇu.' In line 12 it mentions Maṅgalarāja, to whose reign it apparently belongs.[2]

The next[3] Kacchapaghāta ruler was Kīrttirāja. We are told that he conquered in battle the countless hosts of the prince of Mālava. "When that (Mālava prince) had met with defeat, the villagers surrounded their houses with the multitude of spears, which through fear had fallen from the hands (of his soldiers) in every direction."[4] As Mahīpāla of the Sasbahu inscription (A.D. 1093) is the fourth in lineal descent from Kīrttirāja, we can approximately assign the latter to the period *c*. 1015-35 A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghazni (998-1030 A.D.), the Candella Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.), and the Paramāra Bhoja (1021 A.D.). These synchronisms lead us to conclude that the *Mālava-bhūmipa* who was defeated by the Kacchapaghāta prince was probably Bhoja. They also indicate that Kīrttirāja was possibly a feudatory of the Candellas, whose power during this period had reached its height. The Dubkund inscription[5] shows that Arjuna, the local Kacchapaghāta prince, was a contemporary of the Paramāra Bhoja, and a vassal of Vidyādhara. The synchronisms mentioned above also indicate

[1] According to Fleet it is 'probably a century, or perhaps two centuries, older than the inscription of *Adhirāja* Vijaya.' *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 9.

[2] The record was first noticed by Carlleyle in *ASR*, Vol. VI, pp. 50 ff. He also gives a description of the temple, *ibid*, pp. 50-51. It was then noticed by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

[3] *Tato*='then came.'

[4] *IA*, Vol. XV, pp 36 and 42-43, V. 10.

[5] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 232 ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 689.

that it was probably Kīrttirāja who commanded the fort of Gwalior when Maḥmūd besieged it in 1022 A.D. I have already mentioned elsewhere that the reference by Niẓām ud-Dīn to this prince of Gwalior at the time of Maḥmūd's invasion as *hākim* (حاکم), coupled with the statement that the Yamīnī invader reached the fort of Gwalior after invading the territories of 'Nandā,'' indicate the subordination of the Gwalior ruler to the prince of Kalinjar.[1] As a Candella inscription tells us that the (Paramāra) Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara 'full of fear, like a pupil,'[2] we may infer that Kīrttiraja's success against the powerful Mālava prince was attained not without the moral and material assistance of the mighty Candella king.

The only other recorded achievement of Kīrttirāja is his building of 'a wonderful temple of the lord of Pārvatī, which shines like a column of fame' at the town of Siṁhapānīya.[3] He was succeeded by his son Mūladeva, also known as Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla.[4] Nothing definite is known about this prince. But his sudden assumption of two additional names and the statement in the Sasbahu epigraph that 'his body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign' may indicate his freedom from the hegemony of the Candellas. I have already shown that the period between the reigns of Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.) and Kīrttivarman (1098 A.D.) is one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Candellas.[5] If our suggestion for Kīrtirāja's date (*c.* 1015-35) be correct, his son's reign must have fallen in *c.* 1035-55 A.D. It is thus likely that Mūladeva, taking advantage of the disastrous defeats of the Candellas by the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa, asserted his complete independence.

1 See *supra*, my chapter on the *Candellas*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 692 fn. 2; also *TA*, Trans. p. 14 and text p. 15. Al-Bīrūnī (*KH*, Vol. I, p. 202) says that between Kajurāha and Kanoj 'there are two of the most famous fortresses in India, Gwāliyar (Gwalior) and Kālanjar.' This occurs in the passage where al-Bīrūnī describes Jajāhuti and its capital Kajurāha. The fort of Gwalior is called 'the pearl of the necklace of Hind' by *Tāj ut-Ma'āthir*, *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 227.

2 *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 689 and 831.

3 *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 43, V. 11. This town has not yet been identified.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 36 and 42, Vs. 12-13; p. 202, V. i.

5 *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 694 ff.

Another interesting point in this reign seems to be raised by the king's name Trailokyamalla. It may not be without significance that these names in *malla* occur in the family of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi.[1] In fact, Āhavamalla Someśvara I (A.D. 1044-68), during whose reign his son Vikramāditya is said to have carried on extensive raids in Northern India, had actually the same *malla* name as Mūladeva. At present we have no evidence to form any conclusion; but we may point out that both the Kacchapaghāta and Cāḷukya princes were contemporaries.[2]

A fragmentary Gwalior inscription dated in *V. S.* 1161 (A.D. 1104) gives us the name of one of Mūladeva's officers: Stanzas 11-13 tell us that Manoratha of Mathurā, who belonged to the Kāyastha-*vaṁśa*, served as the 'Secretary' of Bhuvanapāla.[3]

Mūladeva was succeeded by Devapāla, his son by the queen Devavratā. Devapāla appears to have been also known as Aparājita.[4] The Sasbahu inscription tells us that this prince 'surpassed Karṇa by his generosity, the son of Pṛthā by his knowledge of the bow, and Dharmarāja by his truthfulness.'[5] His son was Padmapāla, who was like Māndhātṛ 'the ornament of universal sovereigns.'[6] He is said to have invaded the various quarters of the globe, and after subduing them, marched to the southernmost point of India.[7] During his reign he is reported to have built a temple of Hari (Viṣṇu), who was named after him *Padma-nātha*.[8] Padmapāla when 'still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat on the lap of Saṁkrandana (Indra).'[9] Then his 'brother' Mahīpāla, also styled Bhuvanaikamalla, son of Suryapāla, became king at Gopādri.

1 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, table facing p. 428.

2 See *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 42, V. 17, where Mūladeva's grandson is said to have marched to the *southern region*. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 828.

3 *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 202.

4 *Ibid*, p. 202, V. 2.

5 *Ibid*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 42, V. 15.

6 *Ibid*, V. 16.

7 *Ibid*, pp. 35-36 and 42, Vs. 16-17.

8 The temple where the Sasbahu inscription was put up, *ibid*, p. 35.

9 *Ibid*, pp. 37 and 43, V. 30.

The relationship between Mahīpāla and his predecessor is not clear. In some passages his father Sūryapāla is referred to as *nṛpa*.[1] But as he is called a brother of Padmapāla, we may infer that his father Sūryapāla was a son of Mūladeva and uncle of Padmapāla. In that case Mahīpāla was the first cousin of his immediate predecessor.

For the reign of this prince we have the long and interesting *Sasbahu inscription*. This is incised on a slab inside the larger of the two temples, near the middle of the eastern wall of the fortress of Gwalior, which the people call *Sās bahū kā dehrā*. It contains 42 lines of writing and 112 Sanskrit verses. It opens with '*Om namaḥ Padmanāthāya*' and 4 verses invoking Aniruddha, the lord of Uṣā. Then comes the genealogy of the Kacchapaghātas from Lakṣmaṇa down to Mahīpāla. Next follow verses praising the last in fulsome terms familiar to the Indian *praśastikāras*. The main fact recorded is that Mahīpāla soon after his coronation promised to complete the half-finished temple of Hari which was begun by his predecessors, and kept his vow (V. 70). A detailed list of the charitable institutions connected with the temple, the portions of his revenue devoted by him to the erection of the temple buildings, the idols that he gave to the shrine, the ornaments he presented to them, the arrangements he made and the implements he furnished for their worship, are fully stated in verses 71-102. V. 75 tells us that the income of the village of Pāṣāṇapallī was divided into 30 shares, of which a few were allotted to the god, and by far the greater number to Brāhmans. The letters of the inscription were written by Yaśodeva Digambarārka, 'a poet in all languages,' and engraved by the *Śilpis* Padma, Māhula, and Siṁharāja. The *praśasti* was composed by Maṇikaṇṭha by order of the king in (*V.S.*) 1150 (A.D. 1093), when the wise Gaura was serving as his (minister).[2]

1 *Surya-nṛpa-nandana*.

2 First edited by R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 411-18; errors and omissions of this edition pointed out by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 357 ff. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 33-46.

Nothing more definite is known about Mahīpāla's reign. The only noteworthy feature about him is his name Bhuvanaikamalla, which was also the *biruda* of Someśvara II (1069-76 A.D.), the son of the Cāḷukya Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.).[1] According to Dr. Barnett 'the two Cāḷukya *birudas* in this family strongly suggests alliance' between the rulers of Gwalior and the Deccan. The date of Mahīpāla's death is approximately settled by a fragmentary inscription discovered in the fortress of Gwalior. This record mentions the Kacchapaghāta princes from Bhuvanapāla to Mahīpāla, who is referred to as the *adhipati* of Gopālikeṛa, probably the original form and the immediate source of the modern name Gwalior. Stanzas 7-9 seem to refer to the death of Mahīpāla, and must have recorded the name of his successor ; but unfortunately the preserved portion does not contain this name. The inscription appears to have recorded the setting up of a *liṅga* when 1161 years had elapsed from the reign of Vikramārka (A.D. 1104). The record was composed by the *Nigrantha-nātha* Yaśodeva.[2] It is thus clear that Mahīpāla was dead some time before 1104.

According to Rajput tradition, the last Kachwāha king of Gwālior was Tej Karan, otherwise known as Dulha Rai (the bridegroom prince), who left his capital about 1128 A.D. "There are different stories as to the cause of his departure. Some say that he was expelled by his uncle, and others that he left in order to marry Maroni, the daughter of the Bargūjar Rajput chief of Daosa, leaving Gwalior in charge of his sister's son, who was either a Parihār or a Paramāra Rajput, and who repaid the confidence thus placed in him by usurping the principality. Both accounts, however, agree that Dulha Rai received from his father-in-law (who had no sons) the district of Daosa; and the Kachwāha dynasty in Eastern Rajputana may be said to date from about 1128, with the town of Daosa

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, table facing p. 428.

[2] First edited by R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 402 ff., p. 406. Re-edited by Hultzsch, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 201-2.

as its first capital..........About 1150 A.D., one of Dulha Rai's successors wrested Amber from the Susāwat Mīnās and made it his capital......Pajūn, fourth (or, as some say, fifth) in descent from Dulha Rai, is said to have married the sister of Pṛthwī Raj Chauhān, the last Hindu king of Delhi, and was killed with the latter in 1192 in a battle with Muhammad Ghori."[1]

(2) *The Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund.*

The existence of this branch is known mainly from one record, the Dubkund inscription of Vikramasiṁha dated in *V. S.* 1145 (A.D. 1088).[2] The genealogical portion of this record introduces the first two names of this line as follows :

"There was an ornament of the Kacchapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja, who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince (*bhūpati*) Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva (*Vidyādharadeva-kārya-nirataḥ*), fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea."[3]

[1] *IGI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 384-85; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff. Parmāl Deo (Paramardideva) according to some chroniclers, was the nephew of Tej Karan, who founded the Parihār dynasty of Gwalior, 'which ruled for 103 years, until the capture of the fortress by Iltutmish in A.D. 1232, from Sārang Deo, the 7th and the last prince of the line. According to the *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir*, Rāi Solankh Pāl was the ruler of Gwalior who submitted to Quṭb ud-Dīn in 592 H. (A. D. 1196). Cunningham identifies him with the Parihār Lohang Deo of the bards. See *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 227 28, and *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 378-79, and fn. on p. 379. For a list of Parihār kings of Gwalior from the chronicles of the bards, see *ibid*, p. 378.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 232-40.

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 233 and 237, lines 10-13.

The identification of Rājyapāla and Vidyādhara of this passage with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra (A.D. 1018) and Candella (A.D. 1019) princes of the same name is generally accepted.[1] It is clear that the Kacchapaghāta Arjuna was a feudatory of Vidyādhara, described by Ibn ul-Athīr as the most powerful Indian prince of his time. I have already referred to the Candella inscription which extends the limit of the dominions of Dhaṅga (*c.* 954-1002 A.D.) in the west to the hill of Gwalior.[2] It seems likely that the Dubkund branch first grew into importance in the service of the great Candella Vidyādhara. The fact that the family *praśastikāra* failed to give Yuvarāja any other honorific than *Śrī* is probably a sufficient indication that he was a man of no importance. The fame and prestige acquired by Arjuna as a successful military leader, specially his destruction of Rājyapāla, must have laid the foundations of his family's fortunes. As he is called *bhūpati*, he may have even carved out a small principality round about the present Dubkund (Long. 77° 5½′ E., Lat. 25° 43½′ N.) on the river Kunu.

Arjuna was succeeded by his son Abhimanyu, of whom the Dubkund inscription gives the following description :

" Having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, (he) valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella? "[3]

1 See my chapters on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, and the *Candellas*. *DHNI*, Vol. , pp. 603 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 689.

2 *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 593; Vol. II, pp. 677-78.

3 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 233 and 237-38.

The Bhoja mentioned in the above passage is generally identified with the Paramāra of that name (*c* 1010-55 A.D.). It is however difficult to know what relation existed between the Paramāra prince and Abhimanyu. It is wellknown that the relations between the Candellas and the Paramāras were not very friendly during this period. A Candella inscription describes Bhoja as worshipping Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil.'[1] We know for certain that Vidyādhara died some time before 1051 A.D., the only known date of his grandson Devavarman.[2] As the earliest known date of Bhoja's successor is 1055 A.D.[3] it is probable that Bhoja survived Vidyādhara at least by some years. It is therefore possible that, taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors, Bhoja may have extended his influence in the north up to Dubkund; and the statement of the *praśastikāra* possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhimanyu's subservience to the great Paramāra.

Abhimanyu was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla. Nothing definite is recorded of him in the Dubkund inscription. Some evidence of his military success may however be gathered if we accept his identification[4] with the *Adhirāja* Vijaya of the *Biana stone-inscription*. This record was discovered on a pilaster of a Jaina temple, now used by Muslims as a mosque, in the town of Biana (Lat. 26° 55′ N., Long. 77° 21′ E.), on the river Gambhir, in the State of Bharatpur in Rajputana. It contains 18 lines, opening with *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Siddhebhyaḥ*. It then records that in the kingdom of king *Adhirāja* Vijaya (line 5), at the city of Śrīpathā,[5] there was a Jain teacher (*Sūri*) named Maheśvara, a leader of the Śvetāmbaras belonging to the Kāmyaka-*gaccha* (or sect), who occupied the seat of Viṣṇu Sūri. In lines 6-11, it records that Maheśvara Sūri died when the (*V.*) year one thousand one hundred was drawing to its close. In

1 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22; see also *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 689.
2 *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-02 and 204-07; see also *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 694-95.
3 *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff. 4 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 235.
5 According to Fleet the ancient name of Biana, *IA*, Vol. XIV, p. 10.

lines 17-18 we are told that the *prasaśti* was incised by the *Sādhu* Sarvadeva in *V. Saṁ.* 1100 (A.D. 1043).[1]

The acceptance of this identification, first suggested by Kielhorn, would indicate that the Biana region was conquered by this branch some time before 1044 A.D. from the Gwalior branch, one of whose inscriptions, dated in the reign of Maṅgalarāja (*c.* 995-1015 A.D.), was discovered in the 'Ukha Mandar' at Biana.[2] Vijayapāla was succeeded by his son Vikramasiṁha, for whose reign we have the *Dubkund stone inscription* dated in *V.S.* 1145. It was discovered in the ruins of a temple at Dubkund in a dense forest on the left bank of the river Kunu, 76 miles to the S. W. of Gwalior. It contains 61 lines of writing, opening with *Oṁ oṁ namo Vītarāgāya* and 6 verses invoking the Jaina *Tīrthakāras* Ṛṣabha-svāmin, Śāntinātha, Candraprabha, the Jina (Mahāvīra), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of Scripture (*Śrutadevatā*) 'famous in the world under the name of *Paṅkajavāsinī*.' Then follows the genealogy of the Kacchapaghātas from Yuvarāja to prince Vikramasiṁha. The third part of the record gives the genealogy of Ṛṣi and Dāhaḍa, two Jain traders, on whom Vikramasiṁha had conferred the rank of *Śreṣṭhins* in the town Caḍobha.[3] The *Śreṣṭhin* Jāsūka, their grandfather, 'is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapura.' Lines 39-48 contain an account of some Jain sages belonging to the Lāṭavāgaṭa-*gaṇa*, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also induced the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. One of these sages, the *guru* Śāntiṣeṇa, father of Vijayakīrti, is said to have held a *sabhā* before the king Bhojadeva and defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. The prose passage, commencing

[1] First noticed by Carlleyle, *ASR*, Vol. VI, p. 52, Plate VI. Then edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 8-10.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10; see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 823-24.

[3] Identified by Kielhorn with mod. Dubkund, *EI*, Vol. II, p. 236.

in line 54, records that the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasiṁha "for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one *Vaṁśopaka* on each *goṇī* (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahācakra, capable of being sown with four *goṇīs* of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men." The *praśasti* was written on stone by Udayarāja, and engraved by the *Śilākūṭa* Tīlhaṇa. The date (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1145 (A.D. 1088) comes in the last line.[1]

Vikramasiṁha is the last known prince of this branch. The details of the political incidents of his reign and those of his possible successors are at present unknown.

(3) *The Kacchapaghātas of Narwar.*

The existence of this line is known from the *Narwar grant* of Vīrasiṁha, dated in *V.S.* 1177. This inscription opens with *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya* and then in the introductory portion gives the following genealogy of the donor :

In the *Kacchapaghāta* lineage

1. *M. P.*.........Gaganasimha-deva-*pādānudhyāta*
2. *Prabala-Pb.-M.-P.*..Saradasimha-deva ,,
3. *Pb.-P.-Parama-Vaiṣṇava-Parama-brahmaṇyo* Vīrasiṁha-deva.

The inscription was issued in the (*V.*) *Saṁvat* 1177 (A.D. 1120) from the Nala-pura[2] *mahādurga*. It records the grant of the village of Babāḍa to the Brāhman Govinda and others (names given). The grant was written by the *Paṇḍita* Salakṣaṇa. It ends with *M. Śrīmad-Vīrasiṁhasya vijayinaḥ svahastaḥ*.[3]

1 A small photolithograph of the record was given by Cunningham in *ASR*, Vol. XX, Plates XXI and XXII. Kielhorn edited it in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 232-40.

2 Mod. Narwar, on the bank of the Sindh in the Gwalior Residency.

3 Edited by F. E. Hall, *JAOS*, Vol. VI, pp. 542-47. The find-spot of the grant is not mentioned. The epithets of No. 3 are taken from lines 2-3 on p. 542.

Of all the three Kacchapaghāta families, it is only this branch which assumes imperial titles. As we have the date A.D. 1120 for the third of this line, we may with probability assign the three princes to the period *c.* 1075-1125 A.D. It is not unlikely that, taking advantage of the weakness of the three neighbouring dynasties, *viz.*, the Candellas of Jejā-bhukti, the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala, and the Paramāras of Mālava, this branch may have established a sovereign power in the valley of Sindh. Nothing is however known about the political incidents of the reigns of these Kacchapaghātas or any of their possible successors.[1]

[1] On the subsequent history of Nala-pura see : (1) Sarway inscription of Gaṇapati, V.S. 1348 (A.D. 1292), *IA*, Vol. XXII, p. 82. (2) *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 313 ff. Cunningham thought that Tejkaran, the last Kacchwāha king of the Gwalior region, was a son of Vīrasiṁha of Narwar (*ibid*, pp. 313-14). According to him, Narwar then fell into the hands of the Parihāras of Gwalior. The last Parihār prince, after the capture of Gwalior by Iltutmish in 1232 A.D., took shelter in Narwar. The Parihārs, according to Cunningham, were dispossessed by Malayavarman, for whom we have the dates from A.D. 1223-1233. He was probably succeeded or ousted by Cāhaḍa (A.D. 1246-54), the ' Jahir Deo ' of Firishta, who submitted to Sultan Nāṣir ud-Dīn of Delhi in A.D. 1250. (*TF*, Brigg, Trans., Vol. I, p. 239.) The dates of his son Āsalla on his coins range from A D. 1254 to 1279. A Narwar fort inscription dated in A. D. 1298, gives the names of Gopāla and Gaṇapati, the son and grandson of Āsalla. As no coins of these two last princes have yet been found, it is likely that they were feudatories of the Khaljī rulers of Delhi. The tribal name of this family was probably *Cāhamāna*, see *infra*, chapter on the *Cāhamānas* (of Ranastambhapura).

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(*Dates approximate*)

(1) *The Gwalior Branch (c. 950-1100 A.D.)*:

Lakṣmaṇa (c. 950-75).
|
Vajradāman (c. 975-95).
|
Maṅgalarāja (c. 995-1015).

Kīrttirāja (c. 1015-35).
|
Mūladeva, *alias* Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla (c. 1035-55).
| =Devavratā.
|
Devapāla (c. 1055-75).
|
Padmapāla (c. 1075-80).
|
Mahīpāla, *alias* Bhuvanaikamalla (c. 1080-1100).

(2) *The Dubkund Branch (c. 1000-1100 A.D.)*

Yuvarāja (c. 1000).

Arjuna (c. 1015-35 A.D.).
|
Abhimanyu (1035-44 A.D.).
|
Vijayapāla (c. 1044-70).
|
Vikramasiṁha (1070-1100).

(3) *The Narwar Branch (c. 1075-1125 A.D.)*

Gaganasiṁha (c. 1075-1090).
|
Śaradasiṁha (c. 1090-1105).
| =Lakṣmīdevī.
|
Vīrasiṁha (c. 1105-1125).

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5. *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta*, translated by Brigg, Vol. I.

6. '*Vestiges of the Kings of Gwalior*' by R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, 1862, pp. 391-424.

[1] In inscriptions the name is sometimes spelt *Pramāra*, see *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 10 ff: also *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1337 F. (1927-28 A.C.), pp. 23-24.

pursued them across the 'unfathomable Yamunā' and 'completely uprooted' their imperial city. In this unceasing struggle both the Northern and the Deccani powers realised the strategic importance of Gujarat and Malwa. These two areas, together with portions of Rajputana, had been the chief strongholds of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra power from the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. The three principalities of Mandor, Broach and Ujjayinī had withstood the vicissitudes of war and peace for a long time, till at last the rulers of the last seized the imperial crown of Northern India. But this success and the subsequent transference of their capital to Kanauj did not make the Gurjara-Prātihāras forgetful of the importance of Gujarat and Malwa. The Haddala grants of Mahīpāla and the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II seem to show that they tried to maintain their hold over the provinces till about the first half of the 10th century.[1] I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere,[2] that the Deccani powers from the time of the Sātavāhanas onwards always realised the strategic importance of Gujarat. As soon as Dantidurga (A.D. 754) overthrew the Calukyas of Badami, he seems to have invaded Southern and Central Gujarat and established Kakkarāja (747 A.D.), possibly his paternal cousin's son, in the Surat region as his feudatory. It would seem from the proximity of the dates of the last Broach Gurjara and Kakka that Lāṭa, roughly the region between the Mahi and the Narbada, was conquered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from Jayabhaṭa III (*c.* 706-36 A.D.).[3] But the Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛvaḍḍha II, dated in V. S. 813 (*c.* 756 A.D.), shows that the Gurjara Jayabhaṭa III must have been followed at Broach by this Cāhamāna feudatory of Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhata I.[4] It was probably from Bhartṛvaḍḍha II or one of his successors

1 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 582-83 and 585-87.
2 *JL.*, 1917, Vol. XIV, pp. 12-15.
3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 117 and 122.
4 *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.

that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas conquered Lāṭa. In the time of Nirupama-Dhruva Lāṭa appears to have been placed in charge of his distinguished son Govinda III. The latter after his accession to the throne made extensive raids into the Pratīhāra dominions in Northern India, and then appointed his younger brother Indrarāja as his viceroy in the Lāṭeśvara-*maṇḍala*. The grants of Indra's successors show that they not only held the territory between the Tapti and Mahi, but that their power also sometimes extended from the river Ambika to the Sabarmati. Many of their grants were made from places in the modern Kaira district. The unfortunate attempt of Dhruva I (*c*. 835-67), the grandson of Indra, to shake off the yoke of Malkhed, which involved the two branches in civil war, appears to have served as a check on the further expansion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power on this frontier for more than half a century. In the reign of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa II (*c*. 888-912 A.D.) the main line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seems to have re-established their control over Southern Gujarat. The Karda grant of Amoghavarṣa Kakka II informs us that Kṛṣṇa II's enemies, frightened by his exploits, abandoned Kheṭaka (mod. Kaira) 'with its *maṇḍala* and its forepart,' *i.e.*, the surrounding territory.[1] The identity of one of the chief enemies to which the Karda grant refers seems to be established by the Navsari plates of Indra III, 'which mention his grandfather Kṛṣṇa fighting with the roaring Gurjara' (*garjad-Gūrjara*). It is likely that this Gurjara power is to be identified not with the Lāṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as Bhagwanlal Indraji suggests, but with the mighty Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire, which now extended from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal. It is also possible that the attempt of the Lāṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭas to throw off the yoke of their kinsmen at Malkhed may have been undertaken with the active support of the northern Empire. But unfortunately for the Pratīhāras, the death of Mahendrapāla almost synchronised with the accession of Indra III, one of the most

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 128.

successful military leaders amongst the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. Soon after his accession, about 915 A.D., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch undertook his famous expedition against Kanauj. I have shown elsewhere that in this northern campaign Indra appears to have passed through Ujjain in Malwa [1] and it is not unlikely that he may have followed the reverse of the route pursued by the Muslims, which passed along the Betwa Valley through Chanderi and Bhilsa. The success of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas thus initiated by Indra's brilliant victories seems to have continued for some time. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV, as I have already suggested, may indicate that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas retained some hold over the Ganges-Jumna valley till c. 930 A.D.[2] Though the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 845-46) shows that the Pratīhāras had recovered possession of Malwa, including Mandu and Ujjain, yet there is evidence to show that they could not effectively checkmate the northern campaigns of their southern rivals. The claim of the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.) that during his father Amoghavarṣa-Vaddiga's reign, his angry glance caused the hopes about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa to vanish from the heart of the Gurjara, has been confirmed by the recent discovery of his inscriptions in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat and the Maihar State in Baghelkhand Agency (C.I.).[3]

I have already referred to the success of Kṛṣṇa II (c. 888-912 A.D.) and his son Indra III (c. 915-17 A.D.) against the local branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Lāṭa. Akālavarṣa-Kṛṣṇarāja (A.D 888) appears to have been the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of Southern Gujarat in the line of Indrarāja. When Bhagwanlal Indraji and Jackson wrote on the 'Early History of Gujarat' in 1896, they were unaware of any other feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed in Gujarat. But according to the traditional policy of the Deccani rulers it was naturally to be expected that

1 See chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 580.
2 *Ibid*, p. 581.
3 *Ibid*, pp. 588-90.

after the success of Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III, they should appoint a new viceroy to govern their possessions in Gujarat. The recent discovery of the Harsola plates of Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 949) has thrown welcome light on the Gujarat policy of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas by revealing the existence of a family of feudatories, who appear to have supplanted the line of Indra.[1] The *Mahā-maṇḍalika-cūḍāmaṇi-M.* Sīyaka, his father Vairisiṁha, and his grandfather Bappairāja, of this inscription have been rightly identified with the well-known Paramāra rulers Vākpati I, Vairisiṁha II, and Harṣa-Sīyaka II.[2]

Bardic and epigraphic traditions agree in tracing the origin of the Paramāras[3] from a fire-pit on Mt. Abu. European and Indian scholars have interpreted this myth to mean that the Paramāras belonged to the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock.[4] But the discovery of the Harsola plates seems to cast grave doubts on the reliability of this theory. The earliest reference to the fire-pit origin of the Paramāras is contained in records which belong to about the middle of the 11th century A.D.[5] The Harsola plates, which are nearly a century older, does not refer to this origin, but on the contrary seem to state that Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja) I was descended from the family (*kula*) of the (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa III). Messrs. Dikshit and Diskalkar, who have edited them, have suggested that 'the Paramāras may have been descended from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa, through a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.'[6] But unless it is proved that 'a portion of the original draft is missing' 'through the engravers' oversight,' the clear statement that Bappairāja was

1 *PTOC*, Madras, 1924, pp. 303-08 ; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.

2 *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff. ; *JBORS*, December, 1928, pp. 479 ff.

3 In bardic tradition and vernacular the name is spelt as *Pāvar*, *Paṃar*, etc.

4 I reserve the question of the origin of the Rajputs for the third volume. For the origin of the Paramāras see *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 112 ff. ; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 254 ff. ; *JBRAS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 428-29 ; *BG*, Vol. IX, pp. 484-85 ; *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 214-15.

5 *RMR*, 1927, pp. 2-3 ; *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff. ; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 10 ff. *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. L III, 1895, XI, 64 ff.

6 *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 239-40.

born in the family of Akālavarṣa, together with the assumption of the distinctive titles *Varṣa* and *Vallabha* by some of the Paramāras would seem to indicate direct descent from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa stock.[1] It is however more difficult to explain why the Paramāras later on omit to mention their descent from such an illustrious stock. It has been pointed out by an Indian scholar[2] that it is an undoubted fact that sometimes Indian dynasties neglected to mention the stock from which they sprang. Thus the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj never mention their Gurjara origin (?), and it was only the chance discovery of the inscription of a feudatory family which helped to establish the true origin of that imperial family. But it may be pointed out that in the case of the Pratīhāras, the motive for hiding their Gurjara origin was obvious. In the case of the Paramāras we can only suggest that the subsequent attempt of the Paramāras to establish their independence and the consequent hostility between the two families may have something to do with this suppression of fact. But even if this explanation is accepted, this case must remain unique. . For the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories of Lāṭa belonging to the family of Indrarāja, though they also endeavoured to become independent, did not try to suppress their relationship with the line of Malkhed.

The main line of the Paramāras was divided into several minor branches which can be conveniently grouped under the following heads, viz., (1) *Paramāras of Lāṭa and Mālava*, (2) *Paramāras of Candrāvatī and Arbuda*, (3) *Paramāras of Banswara (Vāgaḍa)*, (4) *Paramāras of Jalor (Jāvālipura) and* (5) *Paramāras of Kiradu (Kirātakūpa)*.[3]

[1] Note also the presence of thefigure of the *Garuḍa* symbol on both Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Paramāra grants.

[2] Dr. D. C. Ganguly; I read a paper by him on the origin of the Paramāras before the Seventeenth Oriental Congress at Oxford, and so far as is known to me he was the first to call attention to this interpretation of the genealogical information of the Harsola plates.

[3] The capital of this branch is at present unknown. I have supplied the name *Kiradu* (ancient Kirātakūpa) from the inscription of Someśvara of this branch. Recently Dr. Ganguly (*JBORS*, 1932, March, pp. 40 ff.) has suggested that Bhinmal (ancient Śrīmāla)

(1) *Paramāras of Lāṭa and Mālava.*

We have seen that the Paramāras appear in Gujarat as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas about the middle of the tenth century A.D. I have already suggested that they probably succeeded the feudatory line of Indra, whose latest date so far known is 888 A.D. A period of about 60 years intervenes between this date of Akālavarṣa-Kṛṣṇa, the last Lāṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and the earliest of Sīyaka, 949 A.D. This space of time approximately equals two generations, and it is not impossible that the first connection of the Paramāras with Gujarat may have begun in the time of Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja I) under the sovereignty of Kṛṣṇa II of Malkhed, whose reign saw the destruction of his rebellious Lāṭa kinsmen.

According to the Harsola plates the first name in the Paramāra genealogy is that of Bappairāja, rightly identified with Vākpatirāja I of other records. But the inscriptions of a later period trace their pedigree to the eponymous Paramāra. The earliest reference to him is probably found in the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* of Padmagupta (*alias* Parimala),[1] which was composed in the first quarter of the 11th century. There too we first become acquainted with the mythical origin of this personage from the firepit of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Arbuda. The story runs that when Viśvāmitra[2] forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha his cow[3] the latter created from his fire-altar this hero, and

was the headquarters of this family. But as I have not yet seen any facsimile of the much damaged Kiradu inscription and as known facts rather tend to include Bhinmal in the sphere of influence of the Paramāras of Abu, I have tentatively retained Kiradu as the name of one of the important centres of influence of the princes of this branch. The transcript of the Kiradu inscription of Someśvara published by Nahar (*Jaina Inscriptions*, Part I, 1918, pp. 251-53), the summary of Bhandarkar from his own transcript (*EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 47, No. 319) and Dr. Ganguly's version of the inscription seem to differ considerably from one another.

[1] XI, pp 64-72.

[2] Sometimes called 'the royal descendant of Kuśika,' *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 183 and 190, V. 13.

[3] Her name *Nandinī* is given in the Nagpur *praśasti*, *EI*, Vol. II, p. 183, V. 13.

when he had slain his enemies and brought back the cow that sage spoke 'thou wilt become a lord of kings called Paramāra.'[1] In a later period we are sometimes told that he 'received the appellation of Paramāra from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (*Para-māraṇa*).'[2] Sometimes the line of Paramāra is described as *Vahni-vaṁśa*.[3] The first historical person in the line of Paramāra appears to have been Upendrarāja. This name is given by Padmagupta and the Udaipur *praśasti*. But the land-grants of the family often trace the genealogy to one Kṛṣṇarāja. The identification of these two princes is generally accepted.[4] As Bühler rightly pointed out, the fact that Vairisiṁha II, the fifth prince of the line, is said in the grants to have meditated on Kṛṣṇa's feet, need not cause any difficulty, for the phrase *tatpādānudhyāta* does not always necessarily imply immediate descent.[5] Padmagupta mentions Upendra as the first king of the line, and tells us that he performed numerous Vedic sacrifices.[6] The same author related that a poetess named Sītā wrote a *praśasti* on his exploits.[7] Bühler has pointed out that Merutuṅga actually mentions a poetess named Sītā and her daughter Vijayā, though the Jain author through an evident mistake places her in the reign of Bhoja.[8] The Udaipur *praśasti*, the only other record which mentions Upendra, confirms Padmagupta's statements.

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 234 and 236, Vs. 5-6.

2 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 201 and 210, V. 32.

3 *EI*, Vol. II, p. 182, V. 4; see also *ibid*, p. 189, fn. 61.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 225. F. W. Hall, Cunningham and Bühler accepted this identification; but Messrs. Dikshit and Diskalkar suggest that Kṛṣṇa may be another name of Vākpati (I), see *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

5 *Ibid*, p. 225.

6 *Hema-yūpāṅkita-mahī*. XI, 78.

7 *Sadā-gati-pravṛttena Sītocchvasita-hetunā,*
Hanumateva yaśasā yasyālaṅghyata sāgaraḥ.—XI, 77.

"Whose fame that was ever moving on and the cause of [or 'caused by'] Sītā's song, crossed the ocean just as Hanumat, who was ever nimbly moving and whose motive (for jumping across the ocean) was to console Sītā.' Bühler, *EI*, Vol. I, p. 224.

8 *PC*, pp. 63-64; *EI*, Vol. I, p. 224.

The composer of this eulogy tells us that the fame of this prince "was proclaimed by the immortals, satisfied by the multitude of all sacrifices,—who was a jewel among the twice-born (*dvija-varga-ratna*) and gained high honour of kingship[1] (*tuṅga-nṛpatva-māṇaḥ*) by his valour." From these statements Bühler concluded that Upendra conquered Mālava, and he placed him shortly after 800 A.D. As Upendra is the 6th in lineal ascent from Sīyaka II (949 A.D.) we can safely accept the date proposed as the nearest approximation of the time of Upendra ; but the further suggestion that he conquered Mālava, which was at this time under the strong grip of the Pratīhāras, cannot be admitted without stronger evidence. About the next three princes, Vairisiṁha (I), Sīyaka (I) and Vākpati (I), nothing definite is known. It is only the Udaipur *praśasti* which mentions all the three names ; Padmagupta omits the first two. After Upendrarāja, he introduces Vākpati (I) with the statement "*tasmin gate narendreṣu tad-anyeṣu gateṣu ca.*[2] The Bappai-parāja[3] of the Harsola plates has been rightly accepted as the Prakrit equivalent of Vākpatirāja and identified with this Vākpati.[4] The Udaipur *praśasti*[5] tells us that Vairisiṁha " composed his own eulogy by (erecting) pillars of victory on the earth that is bounded by the four oceans. From him sprang the illustrious Sīyaka, a prince (standing) in the first rank of conquerors, whose footstool was resplendent and coloured by the rays of the jewels in the diadems of kings,—(he) the crowd of whose enemies was submerged in the waves of the water of the blade in his hand. From him sprang the illustrious Vākpati, a sun for those water lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti, who resembled Śatamakha (Indra) and whose armies

1 According to Bühler ' knighthood '.

2 'After him and after another (king) came.'—XI, 80.

3 Dr. Barnett suggests that ' Bappaī ' is the regular Prakrit equivalent of Vākpati ; but the syllable *pa* after it is inexplicable, and seems to be a mistake (perhaps for *ka*).

4 *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

5 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 234 and 237, Vs. 8-10.

drank the waters of Gaṅgā and of the ocean." Most of the above eulogy is so thoroughly conventional that to one familiar with the compositions of the Indian *praśastikāras* it would not mean anything. But the last statement about Vākpati that he was 'a sun for (those) water lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti,' deserves more than a passing notice. Bühler has placed these three rulers within the period *c.* 840-920 A.D.[1] If this is accepted, Vākpati would belong to about 895-920 A.D. This would make him a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Mahīpāla (*c.* 914-43 A.D.) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (*c.* 915-17). I have already suggested that Indra III, when he proceeded on his northern expedition, perhaps advanced by way of Ujjain.[2] It is not unlikely therefore that Vākpati's association with Avanti began during this campaign; and possibly he may have been left in charge of that region when the southern emperor advanced further northwards. This fits in well with the suggestion, already made that Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja I) was probably the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa governor of *Lāṭeśvara-maṇḍala* after the extinction of the local feudatory family in the reign of Indra's predecessor Kṛṣṇa II (*c.* 888-912). That Vākpatirāja was a more substantial figure than his two immediate predecessors is shown by the fact already pointed out that Padmagupta omits Vairisiṁha and Sīyaka, but mentions him as the first name after Upendrarāja. It is also not without significance that the Harsola plates, the earliest records of the Paramāras, so far discovered, trace the donor's descent to Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja I). I am therefore disposed to regard this prince as the real founder of the importance of the family.[3]

[1] *Ibid*, p. 225. [2] *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 580.

[3] See *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 289, where Dikshit and Diskalkar contend that Vākpati must be identified with Kṛṣṇa, who is placed immediately before Vairisiṁha II with the epithet *pādānudhyāta* in the grants of Vakpāti II. The identification of this Kṛṣṇa with Upendra of the Udaipur *praśasti* and Padmagupta, accepted by Hall, Cunningham and Bühler rests mainly on the sameness of the significance of the two names. If Dikshit and Diskalkar are right in their identification, it would strengthen my contention about Vākpatirāja. For in the grants of Vākpati II, Kṛṣṇa is given the imperial titles *Pb.-M.-P.*

Vākpatirāja was succeeded by his son Vairisiṁha II. Padmagupta has only vague praise for this prince; but the Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that people called him by another name, Vajraṭasvāmin and that by him 'famous Dhārā was indicated when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the sharp edge (*dhārā*) of his sword.'[1] Bühler understood by the last passage that smiting the foe with the edge (*dhārā*) of his sword the king indicated that Dhārā belonged to him.[2] This passage evidently shows that Dhārā and portions of Mālava continued to be in his possession for some time. The enemies whom he claims to have slain to prove his claim to Dhārā appear to have been the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj, who, it may be presumed, had somewhat recovered from the blow inflicted by Indra III. Since we have referred the three predecessors of this prince to the period *c.* 840-920, we can approximately assign Vairisiṁha to *c.* 920-45 A. D. This makes him a contemporary of the Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla whose Partabgarh inscription is dated in 945-46 A. D.[3] As this record shows that the Pratīharas had recovered possession of Mandu, Ujjain, and the region round Partabgarh and Mandasor[4] we are led to conclude that Vairisiṁha in the latter part of his reign was driven out of Mālwa into Gujarat by the pressure of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj.

Vairisiṁha II was succeeded by his son Harṣa, *alias* Sīyaka II, who according to Bühler was also known as Siṁhabhaṭa in Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi.* He accordingly made the plausible suggestion that "the complete name probably was Harṣa-siṁha (*Harakhsingh*), both parts of which were used as abbreviations, instead of the whole. The form Sīyaka is a half Prakṛtic corruption of Siṁhaka. For in modern Gujarāti and other dialects the termination of *Siṁha*

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. 11

2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 237, fn. 86.

3 *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff.

4 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 587.

becomes in names not only *Singh* or *Sangh*, but very commonly *Sī*, which is immediately derived from the Prākṛt Sīha. Thus we find *Padamsī* instead of *Padmasiṁha*, Narsī for *Narasiṁha*, *Arsī* for *Arisiṁha*, *Amarsī* for *Amarasiṁha*." [1] As against this view it must be pointed out that the name given by Merutuṅga is not *Siṁhabhaṭa*, but Siṁhadantabhaṭa. Bühler rejected this reading of the name given by Pandit Rāmchandra [2] but Tawney in his translation of Merutuṅga's work, published in 1901, retains it.[3]

The following published records are known for his reign.

(*1*) *Harsola grant* (*a*).—Found in the possession of a Brāhman in the village of Harsola in the Parantij taluka of Ahmedabad District, Gujarat. It contains 27 lines, incised on two copper plates. At the left-hand bottom of the second plate is incised the figure of a flying Garuḍa holding a snake in his right hand. The grant opens with an invocation to Nṛsiṁha (Viṣṇu); then follow the names: *Pb.-M-P.* Amoghavarṣa—*pādā nudhyāta—Pb.-M-P*-Akālavarṣa Pṛthvīvallabha—Śrīvallabha [4]—*narendra-pādānām*. Then follows: *tasmin kule* was king Bappaiparāja, whose son was Vairisiṁha; his son was king Sīyaka. In the formal part of the grant we are told that on his return from a successful expedition against Yogarāja, the *Mahāmaṇḍalika-cūḍāmaṇi-Mahārājādhirāja* [5] Sīyaka was encamped on the banks of the Mahī, where after worshipping Śivanātha, [6] at the instance of the ruler of the Khetaka-*maṇḍala*,[7] in (V.) *Saṁvat*

1 *EI*, 1892, Vol. I, p. 225

2 Bombay Ed., p. 55.

3 *PC*, p. 30.

4 Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III of Malkhed (*c*. 940-56 A.D.). The editors of the grant point out that the identical expressions are used to denote Kṛṣṇa III in his Karhad grant (Śaka 880; *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.) and with the addition of *Paramamāheśvara* in the Deoli plates of the same king (Śaka 862; *EI*, Vol. V, p. 188 ff.).

5 Dr. Barnett cannot reconcile these 'two discrepant titles.' But I beg to point out that the second title during this period also signified a feudatory rank; see *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 592.

6 According to the editors 'most probably the shrine of Sharnal.

7 Roughly the mod. Kaira District.

1005 (949 A.D.), he gave away the village of Kumbhārōṭaka in the Mohaḍavāsaka-*viṣaya* to the Nagar (Brāhman) Lallōpādhyāya of Ānandapura. The *Dāpaka* [1] was the *Ṭhakkura* Viṣṇu. It was written by the *Kāyastha* Guṇadhara. The last line contains the sign-manual of Sīyaka. [2]

(2) *Harsola grant* (*b*).—Found as in No. 1 above. The inscription contains 29 lines. There is no figure of Garuḍa on the plates. It records the grant of the village of Sīhakā in the Mohaḍavāsaka-*viṣaya* to Nīnā Dīkṣita (son of the donee of No. 1). Everything else, including the date and circumstances governing the grant, as in No. 1.[3]

(3) *Ahmedabad Grant*.—Obtained from a coppersmith of Ahmedabad. It is only an odd plate, being the second half of the grant. The first portion of the record is missing. In the left-hand corner of the plate is engraved the figure of a flying Garuḍa, holding a snake in his left hand and raising the right to strike it. The plate contains ten lines of writing of which eight are taken up by imprecatory verses. The ninth line contains the date (V.) S. 1026 (*c*. 970 A.D.) and the name of the *Dāpaka* Kaṇhapaika. The tenth line contains the sign-manual *Śrī-Sīyakasya svahasto'yaṁ*.[4]

These three grants, which are the earliest inscriptions so far discovered for the Paramāras, show that Harṣa-Sīyaka II ruled at least for 21 years. There is reason to believe, as we shall see, that Sīyaka ruled at least up to V.S. 1029. The title *Mahāmaṇḍalika* certainly shows that Sīyaka acknowledged the sovereignty of the Raṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, though the simultaneous assumption of the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, may perhaps

[1] Probably corresponding to the *Dūtaka* of other grants. The editors suggest 'person who caused the grants to be given.' See *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 178, fn. 2.

[2] Fist noticed by Diskalkar in *PTOC*, Madras, 1924, pp. 303 ff. Now edited by Dikshit and Diskalkar in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.

[3] Edited by Dikshit and Diskalkar in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff. First noticed in *PTOC*, Madras, 1924, pp. 303 ff.

[4] Edited by Diskalkar, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79.

indicate his semi-independent position.[1] The fact that all his three grants come from Gujarat and that the lands granted are presumably to be located in the same tract, confirms our suggestion that sometime before 945-46 A.D. the Paramāras were hurled back by a temporary revival of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra power into Lāṭa. According to the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* Sīyaka conquered the Raḍupāṭī-*pati* and a Hūṇa chief.[2] The Harsola grants inform us that Sīyaka was encamped on the Mahi after a successful expedition against one Yogarāja. It is uncertain whether this Yogarāja can be identified with either of the chiefs who were reported by Padmagupta to have been defeated by Sīyaka. Messrs. Dikshit and Diskalkar have suggested that possibly this Yogarāja may be one of the rulers of the Cāpoṭkaṭas or Cāvḍās of 'Aṇahilavāḍa-Pātan.'[3] Though there is not much to support this guess, yet the possibility of a conflict of Sīyaka with the Cāpas is shown by the Haddala grant (A.D. 914) of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Mahīpāla, which reveal the existence of a Cāpa principality, immediately to the west of the Mahi, in Eastern Kathiawar. In addition to these conflicts the Udaipur-*praśasti* supplies us with information about another military achievement of Sīyaka. This record tells us that Harṣa, "equalling the snake-eater (*Garuḍa*)[4] in fierceness, took in battle the wealth of king Khoṭṭiga.[5]" Bühler has rightly identified this Khoṭṭiga with the Malkhed Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the same name (*c.* 956-71 A.D.), the younger brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 940-56 A.D.). The same scholar also pointed out that Dhanapāla, the author of the Prakrit dictionary *Pāiya-lacchī*, who composed his work for his sister Sundarā in V.S. 1029 (972-73 A.D.), when Mānyakheṭa was looted by the people of

[1] *Cf.* Rajor stone-inscription of Mathanadeva, *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 263 ff.; also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 592 ff.

[2] *Hūṇ-āvarodhaṁ-vaidhavya-dikṣa-dānam.* The Hūṇa prince was probably killed.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

[4] The cognisance of the Paramāras.

[5] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. 12.

Mālava, must have been referring to this expedition of Sīyaka.[1] The Arthuna inscription of the Banswara Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja[2] reveals that one of his ancestors, Kaṁka-deva (Kakkadeva?), died a hero's death on the banks of the Narmadā after overthrowing the army of the king of Karṇāṭa. We are informed by the same record that he was fighting on the side of Harṣa of Mālava, no doubt the Harṣa-Sīyaka II of the main line. The place of the battle and the name of the Southern king are supplied by the Panhera inscription of Maṇḍalika[3] which tells us that Cacca died fighting against Khoṭṭika-deva at a place called Khalighaṭṭa on the Revā on behalf of Sīyaka, the great-grandfather of Jayasiṁha (V.S. 1116). There is no doubt that both the inscriptions are referring to one and the same campaign, which was connected with the great offensive of Harṣa-Siyaka II against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed. It is possible that Kaṁka (Kakka?) of the Arthuna inscription is the same as Cacca of the Panhera inscription?

This conflict with his sovereign shows that Harṣa Sīyaka II was also following in the footsteps of his predecessors the Lāṭa-Rāṣṭrakūtas. But he was more fortunate. The rapid decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed soon after the death of Kṛṣṇa III gave him ample opportunities to consolidate his power, and even to strike deadly blows against the inglorious successors of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa. But the destruction of his sovereign's family, to which Sīyaka appears to have materially contributed, indirectly brought him face to face with one of the greatest crises in the history of his family. The Cāḷukya Taila II, who overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kakka II in 973 A.D., following the traditional policy of the Deccani emperors, at once attacked Lāṭa and established Bārappa as his feudatory there. The Surat grant of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Kīrtirāja, Bārappa's grandson, is dated

[1] *Ibid*, p. 226.
[2] *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 295-96.
[3] *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20.

in Śaka 940 (c. 1018 A.D.).[1] In the north, Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.), who had established the Caulukya principality at Aṇahilapāṭaka in c. 961 A.D., became engaged in hostilities with the Cālukya feudatory of Lāṭa. The newly founded Paramāra principality of Sīyaka II was therefore placed between two millstones. Fortunately for him, the Gurjara-Pratīhāra power also rapidly declined during this period, and thus afforded him an outlet for escaping from a difficult position. He devoted his energies towards expansion in Malwa, from which his father Vairisiṁha II had been driven out by Mahendrapāla II (945-46 A.D.). The almost exclusive association of his successors with Malwa shows the wisdom and success of his policy.

Padmagupta supplies us with the name of Sīyaka's queen, Vaḍajā-devī. As the earliest known date of Sīyaka's successor, Vākpati II, is V.S. 1031, it is not improbable that the former's reign may have extended from c. 948 to 974 A.D. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Vākpāti II, the son and successor of Sīyaka II.

(1) *Dharampuri (now Indore) grant.*—The editor got this record 'from the archives of the Central India Agency.' It contains 34 lines incised on two plates. In the left corner of the second plate is incised the figure of a Garuḍa holding a snake, as in No. 3 of Sīyaka II. The inscription opens with two invocations of Śrīkaṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Murāri (Viṣṇu). Then comes the following account of the donor and his family :

(1) *Pb.-M.-P.* Kṛṣṇarājadeva-*pādānudhyāta*
(2) ,, ,, ,, Vairisiṁha-deva ,,
(3) ,, ,, ,, Sīyaka-deva ,,
(4) ,, ,, ,, Amoghavarṣa-*devāparābhidhāna* Vākpatirāja-deva-Pṛthvīvallabha Śrīvallabha-narendradevaḥ.

This last prince, while residing at Ujjayinī, in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1031 (c. 975 A.D.), after worshipping *Bhavānī-pati*, granted the

[1] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

taḍāra [1] named Pipparika, situated on the banks of the Narmadā (*Gardabhapānīya-bhoge Gardabhapānīya-sambaddhinī uttarasyāṁ diśi*),[2] to the *jñāna-vijñāna-sampanna* Vasanta Ācārya, the son of Dhanika Paṇḍita, an emigrant from Ahicchatra. The *Dāpaka* [3] of the grant was Kahnapaika.[4] It ends with the sign-manual of Vākpātirāja-deva.[5]

(2) *Ujjain grant.*—Found while digging in a ruin in the vicinity of Ujjain. It contains 30 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion is very similar to No. 1. In the formal part we are told that Vākpatirāja, while residing at Bhagavatpura, at the request of Āsinī, the wife of the *Mahāsādhanika* Mahāika, gratned the village of Sembalapuraka, belonging to Tiṇisapadra-dvādaśaka, to the Bhaṭṭārikā Bhaṭṭeśvarī-devī at Ujjayinī. The grant was issued in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1036 (A.D. 980), by the *Dāpaka* Rudrāditya, while residing at the *Mahāvijaya-skandhāvāra* at Guṇapura (lines 28-29). It ends with the sign-manual of Vākpatirāja-deva.[6]

(3 and 4) *Narwar grants.*—Found 'at Narwar, a village near Ujjain in Gwalior State' (C.I.). They 'record grants of villages to certain Brāhmans by Śrī-Vākpatirāja.' The inscriptions are reported to be dated in V.S. 1038 and V.S. 1047.[7]

The Dharampuri and Ujjain inscriptions noticed above give us a number of *birudas* of Vākpati II, *viz.*, Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvīvallabha, and Śrīvallabha. These were all exclusively Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles, and their assumption by Vākpati so

1 Hall read *Vaḍar*.

2 In the description of the boundaries occur the names : Agāravāhalā ; Cikhillikā (mod. lalkula Chikhaldā, in Holkar's State); Gardabha-nadī (mod. Kharjā); and Piśāca-tīrtha (remains to this day). The identifications are proposed by Kirtane, *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 50.

3 Kirtane reads *dāyaka*; but see grant No 3 of Sīyaka.

4 Same as in No. 3 of Sīyaka II.

5 Edited by Kirtane, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 48-53 first noticed by Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXX, pp. 195-210.

6 First noticed by R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, Vol. XIX, pp. 475 ff. Then edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIV. pp. 159-61. It is now in the India Office Library, London.

7 Noticed in the *Statesman*, 12th May, 1932.

soon after the extinction of the Malkhed branch not only seems to confirm the suspicion of the descent of the Paramāras from the Raṣṭrakūṭas, but also perhaps indicates that Vākpati now considered himself to be the legal successor of Amoghavarṣa-Nṛpatuṅga-Kakkala (Kakka II). This explains to some extent his persistent and bitter hostility to the Cāḷukyas of Kalyani and his repeated irruptions into the Deccan to oust the usurper Tailapa from the possessions of his ancestors. Besides these names Vākpati appears to have been known to his contemporaries by at least two others. One of these, Utpala-rāja, is supplied by the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita.*[1] The other name, Muñjarāja is found in the Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman.[2] Bühler pointed out that in Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpa* the same verse is attributed at one place to "the illustrious king Vākpatirāja" and in another to "the illustrious Muñja."[3] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* contains a story that Vākpati was known as Muñja because he was picked up as a foundling by Siṁhadantabhaṭa (Sīyaka) from the midst of a thicket of Muñja reeds.[4] Though Bühler rejected this story as unhistorical, it may be pointed out that it has found a place in Abu'l Faẓl's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī.*[5]

According to both literary and epigraphic tradition Vākpati II was a great warrior. The Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that 'his lotus feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Colas.'[6] He also 'conquered Yuvarāja, and, slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī.'[7] Scholars are agreed that this Yuvarāja is to be identified with the second prince of that name in the family

1 *XI*, 92 ff.
2 *EI*, Vol. 2, pp. 184 and 191, V. 23.
3 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 226; see also Hall's edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, pp. 184 and 186.
4 *PC*, p. 30.
5 *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 215, but the name of Muñja's foster-father is given as 'Bijainand.'
6 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. 14.
Ibid, V. 15

of the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala.[1] The attack on Lāṭa, which was now in the possession of the successors of Bārappa, was probably undertaken to recover his ancestral possessions on the western side. Bühler has expressed his doubts about the truth of the report of Vākpati's fight with the Keralas and Colas. "It is difficult to understand," says he, "how he could have come into contact with the latter two, whose countries lay at such a great distance from Mālvā." [2] He may however have fought with these chiefs when he was engaged in his struggle with Tailapa, the Karṇāṭa king. Merutuṅga tells us that Muñja had conquered Tailapa six times.[3] In the north and in the west Muñja's armies fought with the Caulukyas of Anahilwad, the Cāhamānas of Nadol, the Guhilas of Mewar and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi. The Sundha hill-inscription of the Marwar Cāhamāna Cāciga [4] tells us that one of his predecessors, Balirāja, 'defeated an army of Muñjarāja.' In his Bijapur stone-inscription dated in V. S. 1053 (A. D. 997),[5] the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala claims that he gave 'shelter to the armies of (a king whose name is lost) and of the lord of the Gūrjaras, when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghāṭa,[6] the pride of Medapāṭa (Mewāṛ) and caused them to flee.' The Gūrjara king was probably the Caulukya Mūlarāja (*c.* 961-96 A.D.)[7] while the other defeated prince whose name is lost may well have been one of the earlier Guhila princes of Mewar, possibly Śaktikumāra (977 A.D.), the son of Śālivāhana.[8]

Tradition also records that Vākpāti II was not only a successful military leader but also a poet and a generous patron of

[1] See *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 769.

EI, Vol. I, p. 228.

[3] *PC*, p. 33. But according to the Bombay ed., p. 53, 'sixteen times,' see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 227; *BG*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 432.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

[5] *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 18 and 20-21, V. 10. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 561.

[6] Mod. Ahar near the present Udaipur station from which the Guhilot clan Āhaḍiyā derives its name.

[7] Or his successor Cāmuṇḍarāja (*c.* 996-1010).

See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II., chapters on the *Caulukyas* and the *Guhilas*.

letters. The Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that 'cultivating eloquence, high poetry and the art of reasoning,' he 'completely mastered the lore of the *Śāstras*'[1] Padmagupta calls him the 'root of (that) creeper of Paradise, Sarasvatī'; he adds that 'after Vikramāditya departed, after Sātavāhana went, divine Sarasvatī found rest with this friend of poets.'[2] Apart from the verses ascribed to this king in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* and the *Bhoja-prabandha*, which Bühler regards as 'suspicious,' the anthologies and works on *Alaṁkāra* occasionally quote verses of this prince, 'which show that he possessed some talent.'[3] Padmagupta, *alias* Parimala, the author of the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, Dhanañjaya, the author of *Daśarūpa*, his brother Dhanika, the author of *Daśarūpāvaloka*, Halāyudha, the commentator on Piṅgala's work on metrics, and probably also Dhanapāla, the author of the *Pāiya-lacchī*, were among the ornaments that adorned the court of Vākpati-Muñja.[4]

According to Merutuṅga, the brilliant reign of Vākpati met with a tragic end. He tells us that "as the king of the Telinga country, named Tailapadeva, harassed Muñja, by sending raiders into his country, he determined to march against him, though his prime minister (*Mahāmātya*) Rudrāditya, who was seized with illness, endeavoured to dissuade him. The minister conjured him to make the river Godāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition, and not to advanee beyond it; but he looked upon Tailapa with contempt, as he had conquered him six times before; so in his overweening confidence he crossed the river and pitched his camp on the other side.[5] When

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. 13.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 227-28. *Atīte Vikramāditye gate' staṁ Sātavāhane.*
Kavi-mitre viśaśrāma yasmin devī Sarasvatī. (XI, 98.)

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 227.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] That the Paramāra dominions sometimes really extended beyond the Godavari in the south is proved by the recent discovery, near Adilabad in the Nizam's dominions, of the Jainad inscription of the Paramāra feudatory Arjuna. See *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1337 F. (1927-28), pp. 23-24. See also *ibid, Appendix*, p. 21.

Rudrāditya heard what the king had done, he augured that some mischief would result from his headstrong conduct and he himself entered the flames of a funeral pile. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja's army to pieces and took king Muñja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed (*muñja*). He was put in prison and confined in a cage of wood and waited upon by Tailapa's sister Mṛṇālavatī, with whom he formed a marriage-union. His ministers, who had arrived subsequently, dug a tunnel to the place where he was, and made an appointment with him." The story next proceeds to relate that Muñja urged by his love to Mṛṇālavatī, revealed his plans to her, and the latter betrayed him to her brother. As a result of this Tailapa 'had him bound with cords and taken about to beg from house to house' for his food. " Then the king had Muñja put to death and his head fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace, and by keeping it continually covered with thick sour milk, he gratified his anger." [1] Though this story reads like a romance and its details are probably worthless as sources of history, yet there is no doubt that the main fact recorded in it is true. That Vākpati had really a minister named Rudrāditya is proved by his Ujjain grant, where a person of that name is mentioned as the *Dāpaka* residing at the *Mahāvijaya-skandhāvāra* at Guṇapura in A.D. 980. The fact that Vākpati lost his life in a war against the Cālukya Tailapa is attested by the records of the Kalyani dynasty. Two inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1055-1126) tell us that Taila II killed the valiant Muñja.[2] The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* also records the tradition that Muñja 'ended his life in the wars of the Deccan.' [3] The date of this event has been fixed with tolerable certainty by Bühler.[4] As the colophon of Amitagati's *Subhāsita-ratna-saṁdoha* states that it was composed during the reign of Muñja in V. S. 1050 (A. D. 993-94), and as

[1] *PC*, pp. 33-36.
[2] *IA*, Vol. XXI, pp. 167-68.
[3] *AAK*. Vol. 2, p. 216.
[4] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 228.

Tailapa II himself died in Śaka 919 (A.D. 997-98), it is certain that Muñja's death must have occurred between *c*. 993-94 and 997-98 A. D. The same scholar also suggested that 'the beginning of Vākpati's reign is probably not far distant from A. D. 974, the date of his first land grant.'

Padmagupta tells us that 'Vākpati placed the earth in Sindhurāja's arms when he started for Ambikā's town.'[1] Considering the manner of Vākpati's death, this may indicate that Sindhurāja had become anointed as *Yuvarāja* some time before Vākpati's fatal expedition to the Godavari valley. The Jain Prabandhas however assert that Muñja was succeeded not by Sindhurāja but by the latter's younger son Bhoja. Thus Merutuṅga tells us that Muñja's younger brother named 'Sīndhala[2] out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja; accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time. That Sīndhala came to Gujarāt, and established his settlement (*pallī*) in the neighbourhood of Kāśahrada.'[3] While living there he was told by a ghost that king Muñja's destruction was drawing near and that the sceptre should descend into his line. He was therefore bidden by the ghost to return to Mālava. 'Being thus sent by the ghost he went there, and received from king Muñja a certain district, which brought him in revenue, but again displaying haughtiness, he had his eyes put out by Muñja and was confined in a wooden cage. He begat a son named Bhoja.' When Bhoja grew up, Muñja became apprehensive owing to the forecast of astrologers that his nephew was destined to rule 'Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa' for fifty-five years and three days; and fearing that if Bhoja lived, his own son would not inherit the kingdom, he ordered him to be put to death. But before the execution could take place, a verse from his nephew

[1] XI, 98.

[2] A Prakrit hypocoristic form of the name Sindhurāja, sometimes also Sindhula ; see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 228.

[3] Forbes suggested 'probably Kāsindra Pālaree about 14 miles from Ahmedabad.' *Ras*, Vol. II, p. 85.

induced Muñja to change his decision and honour him 'with the dignity of crown prince.' When the news of Muñja's death reached Mālava the ministers placed Bhoja on the throne.[1] Though Bühler has doubted [2] it, it is not impossible that these stories may have been based on possible differences between Muñja and Sindhurāja, a phenomenon not at all unusual in Indian history. But the further statement of Merutuṅga that Sīndhala was blinded and was passed over in the succession by his son Bhoja is certainly untrue, for it is contradicted not only by Padmagupta but also by epigraphic evidence. The Udaipur *praśasti* distinctly states that Vākpati was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Sindhurāja.[3] The same inscription gives him credit for having conquered a Hūṇa king (*rāja*) and gained glory by other victories. But naturally a fuller account of his career is supplied by the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*. According to the author of this *Kāvya*, Sindhurāja was also known as Navasāhasāṅka[4] and Kumāranārāyaṇa. He had a minister (*saciva*) named Yaśobhaṭa, *alias* Rāmāṅgada. The poem opens with a description of the city of Ujjayinī.[5] The author devotes his main attention to the description of the incidents which led to his hero's marriage with Śaśiprabhā, daughter of the Nāga king Śaṅkhapāla. To obtain his object he had to kill the Asura Vajrāṅkuśa, whose capital we are told was situated 'fifty *gavyūtis* from the Narmadā.' In his struggle against the demon prince the king

1 *PC*, pp. 31-33 and 36.

2 His doubts were mainly based on Padmagupta's silence and his statement: 'When his Majesty Vakpati was about to ascend to heaven, he placed a seal (*mudrā*) on my song. Sindhurāja, the younger brother of that brother of poets, now breaks it.' 'Had the brothers been deadly enemies,' says he, 'Padmagupta would certainly have been left in obscurity after his first patron's death' (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 230). But I do not see any reason why Sindhurāja, even if he was inimical to Vākpati, should have refused to patronise his brother's court poet when the latter was willing to write the eulogy of the new king by composing a *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, in which Vākpati's victories are passed over in silence while those of Sindhurāja are exaggerated.

3 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. 16.

4 Sometimes *Navīnasāhasāṅka*, VI, 11.

5 The city of Dhārā is also mentioned in the poem as *aparā purī*.

had the Vidyādharas as his allies. The story is mainly mythical; but Bühler long ago perceived that it may have a historical basis. The Nāgas were a well-known ruling tribe who held principalities in Rajputana and Central India. The minute description of the distance of Vajrāṅkuśa's capital also leads us to suspect that he was probably a historical figure. But in the present state of our knowledge it is hopeless to try to identify the family or locate the principality of the enemies and allies of Sindhurāja. The passages which are of real historical importance occur in the tenth *sarga*.[1] Here we are told that Sindhurāja gained victories over the Hūṇa king (*nṛpati*) and the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Murala, Lāṭa, and Kosala. Of these the first, as we have seen, is also mentioned by the Udaipur *praśasti*, and can therefore be accepted as a fact. It is however impossible to locate the area over which the Hūṇa chief ruled. Vāgaḍa, as Bühler pointed out, roughly correspond to modern Dungarpur State in Southern Rajputana.[2] As the region round about Dungarpur was the stronghold of a branch of the Paramāra stock, it is not unlikely that Parimala was referring to a conflict with some representative of the Banswara branch of that family. The Surat grant of Kīrtirāja,[3] dated in Śaka 940 (*c.* 1018), shows that Sindhurāja's opponent in Lāṭa was probably this grandson of Bārappa. In fighting against Kosala Sindhurāja was carrying on the policy of Vākpati II. The Kosala king against whom Sindhurāja made war was most probably the Kalacuri Kokalla II,[4] the son of Yuvarāja II, the contemporary and rival of Vākpati II. Sindhurāja's struggle with the Muralas, if the latter are located near Kerala,[5] looks rather improbable. But,

1 X, 14-20.

2 Ojha however holds that the whole area now occupied by Dungarpur and Banswara is known as Vāgaḍa; see *HR*, II, 458.

3 *WZKM*, 1893, Band VII, pp. 88-89. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 771.

5 See my chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 576, fn. 1. Muralā is identified by some with Narmadā. Can Muralas mean the tribes living on the Narmadā ?

as Bühler long ago suggested, this statement probably vaguely refers to a continuation of the conflicts with the Cāḷukyas of Kalyani.[1]

No inscriptions have so far been discovered for the reign of Sindhurāja. As the exact date of his successor's accession is also unknown, it is difficult to fix his reign period. From the number of victories ascribed to Sindhurāja in the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, Bühler guessed that the Paramāra prince must have reigned at least seven or eight years before the poem was composed. As Vākpati II died between 994 and 997 A.D. he assumed that the poem was composed about the middle of the first decade of the 11th century. 'How much longer Sindhurāja may have reigned, cannot be determined at present.'[2]

Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son Bhojadeva.[3] The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Banswara grant.*—Originally found in the possession of the widow of a *ṭhaṭherā* (coppersmith) living at Banswara, in Southern Rajputana. The exact find-spot is not known. It contains thirty-two lines incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. At the end of the grant, at the left-hand side of the second plate, in a rectangular border, there is the usual flying figure of Garuḍa, holding a snake in his left hand. The inscription opens with two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakeśa, Smarārāti*), and then traces the genealogy of the Paramāras from *Pb.-M.-P.*- Sīyakadeva (II) to *Pb.-M.-P.*-Bhojadeva. It then records that the last prince, 'at the anniversary[4] of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa' (*Koṁkaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi*), having worshipped *Bhavānīpati* (Śiva), granted 100 *nivartanas* of land at

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 229. Dr. Barnett doubts the correctness of this suggestion of Bühler.

2 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 230.

3 He appears to have had the *biruda* Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa. Bhoja built a temple of Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa in Citrakūṭa-durga (Chitor in Udaipur State) : see the Chirwa inscription of Guhila Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1330). *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.

4 *Parvaṇi* may also be translated as 'on the *festival* day,' *IA*, 1912, p. 201.

Vatapadraka,[1] included in the Ghāghradora-*bhoga* of Sthalī-*maṇḍala*, to the Brāhman Bhāïla, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chiñchā-*nagara*. The date is given in line 31 as (V.) *Saṁvat* 1076 Māgha Śudi 5 (3rd January, A.D. 1020). The writing in both the plates end with the sign-manual of Bhojadeva.[2]

(2) *Betmā grant.*—Found buried in a field at the village of Beṭmā, 16 miles to the west of Indore in Central India. It contains 27 lines, incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. The second plate contains, like No. 1, a flying figure of Garuḍa holding a snake. The introductory portion is as in No. 1. In the formal part of the grant we are told that Bhojadeva, on the occasion of the festival day of the victorious occupation[3] of Koṅkaṇa (*Koṁkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi*), granted the village of Nālataḍāga,[4] included in Nyāyapadra[5]-*saptadaśaka*, to the Brāhman *Paṇḍita* Delha, who came from Sthāṇvīśvara. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1076, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada (September, 1020 A.D.).[6]

(3) *Ujjain grant.*—Discovered by a farmer while digging in his field, which adjoins a small stream called Nāgajhari at Ujjain. It contains 31 lines, incised on two plates. Figure of Garuḍa as in No. 1. The introductory portion as in the two grants mentioned above. It records that when Bhojadeva was residing at Dhārā, he granted the village of Vīrāṇaka, situated in the Nāgadraha-*paścima-pathaka*, to the Brāhman Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa of the Karṇāṭa (country), an emigrant from Bādāvi attached to Belluvalla.[7] The date is given in lines 30-31 as (V.) *Saṁvat* 1078 (*c.* 1022 A.D.).[8]

1 Identified by some with mod. Baroda.

2 Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 181-83; also by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, pp. 201-02.

3 According to some 'subjugation,' *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 324.

4 May be mod. Nār (Nāl) in the Kaira District, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 322.

5 May be mod. town of Nāpad, in the Kaira District, to the S.W. of Indore, *ibid.*

6 Edited by Diskalkar, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 320-25.

7 The editor wrongly translated the passage as ' Who being an inhabitant of Rādhā Surasanga Karṇāṭa.' But see Fleet, *IA*, 902, p. 365. Belluvalla was situated close to Badami.

8 Edited by Kirtane (N. J.), *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 53-55.

(4) *Depalpur grant.*—Found at Depalpur. 24 miles to the north-west of Indore (C. I.). It contains 30 lines incised on two copper plates held together by two copper rings. Flying figure of Garuḍa and the introductory portion as in No. 1 above. It records that the last prince after taking his bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the slaughter of animals[1] and having worshipped the *Bhavānīpati* (Śiva) while residing at Dhārā,[2] granted 34 *aṁśas* of level land (*prastha*),[3] furnished with 4 ploughs (*halacatuṣṭayasaṁvṛttaṁ*) at Kirikaikā[4] in the western *Pathaka* of Ujjayinī to the Brāhman Vacchala, who had migrated from Mānyakheṭa.[5] The grant is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1079 on Caitra Śudi 14 (19th March, 1022 A.D.). The writing on both the plates end (as in No. 1 above) with the sign-manual of Bhojadeva.[6]

(5) *Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman.*—Discovered in the village near Kalvan, in the N. W. of Nasik District, Bombay Presidency. It contains 45 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The grant opens with an eulogy of the Paramāra[7] Bhojadeva of Dhārā and his ancestry from Sīyakadeva (II). We are then told that through Bhoja's favour the illustrious Yaśovarman had obtained the town (*nagara*) of Selluka and was enjoying 1,500 villages. The inscription then records that in the (village) Muktāpalī in the Auḍrahāḍi-*viṣaya*, the *Sāmanta*, the illustrious *Rāṇaka* Amma of the Gaṅga family, being convinced of the excellence of the *Jina-dharmā* from the teachings of the Śvetāmbara *ācārya* Ammadeva, gave some land at Mahiṣabuddhikā,

1 The editor plausibly suggests that this must indirectly refer to the river Carmaṇvatī (mod. Chambal). See in this connection the story of king Rantideva, *Mahābhārata, Droṇaparva*, 67. *IHQ*, 1932, pp. 308-09.

2 Modern Dhar, capital of the Dhar State, C. I.

3 I am not sure that *prastha* here does not mean a measure of land.

4 Modern village of Kirki, in the Depalpur Pargana on the Chambal about 6 miles from Depalpur.

5 Modern Malkhed.

6 Edited with plates by R. G. Ojha, *IHQ*, June, 1932, pp. 305-15. Note author's remarks on the numeral signs—the figure 7 (in the date, line 29), *ibid*, p. 308.

7 In the original plate *Pravāmra*, probably a mistake for *Pramāra*.

at the holy *tīrtha* of Kālakāleśvara.[1] The grant was made by Amma on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the *amāvāsya* day of the month of Caitra, after having washed the feet of (the *ācārya* ?) with water thrown from the hands of his wife *rājñī* Caccāī of the Cālukya family. This land measured 40 *nivartanas*. A second piece of land measuring 25 *nivartanas* was given by *Rāja* Kakkapāi. A third piece of land measuring 35 *nivartanas*, a flower-garden measuring 2 *nivartanas*, 2 oil-mills (*taila-ghāṇaka*), 14 shops (*Vaṇik-haṭṭāḥ*), and 14 *drammas* were given by the commercial community consisting of Vakaaigala and others.[2] The donee apparently was the temple of the Jina in the Śvetapada[3] (country), which was thoroughly repaired and dedicated (*nivedita*) to the illustrious *Muni* Suvratadeva. The grant was written by *Sāndhivigrahika* Jogeśvara. It is not dated in any era.[4]

(6) *British Museum image-inscription.*—Ani image of Sarasvatī, dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1091 (A.D. 1034-35) n the reign of Bhoja.[5]

(7) *Tilakwada grant.*—Found at Tilakwada, in the bed of the river Narbada, the headquarters of a *mahal* contiguous to that of Sankheda in the Baroda Prānt, Baroda State. The grant originally consisted of 3 plates, of which the first, containing the greater part of the introductory portion, is missing. The present portion of the grant practically begins with: 'From him (Sindhurāja ?) was born Bhojadeva.' We are then introduced

[1] Identified with the temple of Kālakāleśvara, which still exists about 10 miles from Kalvan. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 70.

[2] The editor translates *Vakaaigala prabhṛti-nagarena* as 'Vakaaigala and others of the town.' But Dr. Barnett points out that *nagara* is a regular term in the south for a 'commercial community.'

[3] Identified with the northern portion of Nasik district, *ibid.*

[4] Edited by R. D. Banerji, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 69-75. The editor's arguments that the grant must be referred to the period of confusion after the death of Bhoja do not appear to me to be convincing. I agree with Hirananda Sastri that Yaśovarman was a feudatory of Bhoja (*ibid*, p. 72, fn. 1) at the time of the grant. See also Diskalkar, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, .320, fn. 3.

[5] Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 320, fn. 3. Transcribed by Dikshit, *Rūpam*, 1924, p. 2.

to the *Narottama* (prince ?) Surāditya (Sūrādityа) of the Śravaṇabhadra-*vaṁśa*, who came from Kanyakubja and was a devotee of the lotus-like feet of Bhoja.[1] His son Jasorāja (Yasorāja), who resided in Saṅgamakheṭa-*maṇḍala*, having bathed in the Narmadā in V. S. 1103 (*c.* 1047 A.D.), in the temple of Śiva Maheśvara, situated at the confluence of the (river) Maṇā, granted to the god Ghaṇṭeśvara, the village of Viluhaja and also a hundred (measures) of land in the village of Ghaṇṭāpallī. The sage Dinakara was appointed a trustee for the administration of the endowment. The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* Sohika.[2]

The dates in the inscriptions noticed above range from V.S. 1076 to 1103, *i.e.*, from about 1020 to 1047 A.D. Two more dates for Bhoja's reign within these limits are supplied by literary tradition. One of these is supplied by al-Bīrūnī, who records that in *c.* 1030 A.D., when he composed his *Indica*, the king of Dhārā, the capital of Mālava, was Bhojadeva.[3] Another date, Śaka 964 (A.D. 1042-43), is supplied by the *Rājamṛgāṅka-karaṇa.*[4] Bühler, chiefly relying on the statement of Bilhaṇa that on his journey from Kashmir to various places in Northern India Dhārā cried out to him 'Bhoja is my king,'[5] placed the death of Bhoja sometime after the year 1062 A.D.[6] But the Mandhata grant of his successor Jayasiṁha shows that he must have died in or before V.S. 1112 (A.D. 1055-56).[7] The upper limit is more difficult to settle. The fact that his Banswara plates show that he had already conquered Konkan in 1020 A.D. certainly indicates that he ascended the throne some time before that date. Bühler has pointed out from the Cāḷukya records that Bhoja fought with

1 He is said to have fought with Sāhavāhana (?) and others and made the royal glory of Bhojadeva stable. *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 21, No. 128.

2 Edited by Kudalkar, *PTOC*, Poona, 1919, pp. 319-26.

3 *KH*, Trans. by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 191.

4 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 232.

5 *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, XVIII, 96.

6 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 233.

7 *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

the Cālukya Jayasiṁha some time between Śaka 933 (1011-12 A.D.) and Śaka 941 (A.D. 1019-20). As Padmagupta, who probably composed his work in *c.* 1005, does not refer to Bhoja, Bühler thought that Bhoja at that time had not reached the age of 16, the Indian age of majority. He therefore concluded that Bhoja's accession must fall *c.* 1010 A.D., or even somewhat later.[1] With this conclusion most scholars agree.

The Paramāra inscriptions are unanimous in praising Bhoja's great military talents. Thus the Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that he resembled king Pṛthu and "possessed the earth up to Kailāsa, up to the Malaya hills, and up to the two mountains of the setting and the rising sun ; he scattered in all directions the weighty crowd of earth-supporters (*urvībhara*), easily uprooting them with the shaft of his bow. Seeing the Karṇāṭas, the lords of Lāṭa, the king of Gūrjara, the Turuṣkas, chief among whom were the lord of Cedi, Indraratha,[2] Toggala[3] (?) and Bhīma, conquered by his mercenaries (*bhṛtya*)[4] alone, his hereditary warriors (*maula*)[5] thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the numbers of their fighters."[6] The Dhar *praśasti* of Arjunavarman designates Bhoja as a *Sārvabhauma*, and gives him credit for having defeated Gāṅgeya, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī[7] (*c.* 1030-41 A.D.). It is true there is much exaggeration in these statements of the *praśasti*-writers. But epigraphic evidence shows that there is a substantial basis for ascribing to Bhoja many of these conquests. The war with the Karṇāṭas was only another episode in the struggle which had taken so disastrous a turn

EI, Vol. I, pp. 232-33.

Kielhorn identifies him with the prince of the same name who was defeated by Rājendra Coḷa I, in his northern expedition (*EI*, IX, 229 ff.); *ibid*, p. 230; see *List of Southern Inscriptions*, p. 120, note 3; also *MASI*, No. 23, p. 18.

Not identified.

On this word see my *Notes on War in Ancient India*, *JL*, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 24ff.

Ibid.

EI, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, Vs. 17 and 19.

7 The *Pārijātamañjarī or Vijaya-śrī* of Madana; see *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 101, line 2, V. 3; p. 102, line 7; also p. 98. See also *supra*, *DHN*, Vol. II, p. 774.

in the reign of Vākpati II, and which was to prove in the end equally disastrous to Bhoja. But in the beginning of his reign Bhoja appears to have retaliated with success, and may have even avenged the death of Muñja. Merutuṅga refers to a story in which Bhoja, while attending a dramatic performance in which Tailapa II, was represented as imprisoned, was so stung by the sarcasm [1] of Dāmara, an emissary of the Caulukya king Bhīma I, that he at once 'proceeded to march to the country of Telinga.' [2] The same story, with additions, is found in the *Bhoja-carita*, which tells us that Bhoja 'captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected, and finally executed him.' [3] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggests that, as Tailapa was dead before Bhoja ascended the throne, his name is probably a mistake for Vikramāditya I,[4] of whom we know so little and put him to death.[5] Several scholars have recently agreed with this conclusion of Bhandarkar.[6] Whatever may be the value of this guess, it is certain that Bhoja gained some substantial successes against the Cālukyas of Kalyani before the Śaka year 941 (A.D. 1019). For the Balagamve stone-inscription of that date of the time of Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1018-42 A.D.) claims that he was 'a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja,' *i.e.*, he 'took away the glory of Bhoja just as the moon causes the water-lilies

1 He reminded Bhoja that Tailapa 'is recognised by having the head of king Muñja fixed on a stake'; *PC*, p. 45.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214.

4 Vikramāditya V (*c.* 1009-11 A.D.) according to Fleet's list, see *ibid*, table facing p. 428.

5 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214. *Bhoja-carita* of Rajavallabha, I, 50-56.

6 See *IA*, 1919, pp. 117-18; *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 321. Ojha however, relying on a verse (I, 86) of *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* which states that Jayasiṁha 'received a garland, culled from the Pārijāta tree, from Indra's own hands,' concludes that it was this prince who was killed by Bhoja. But see Venkatarama Ayyar, in *IA*, 1919, p. 118, fn. 54, where he argues that since in Hindu mythology it is usually the *Apsarases* and not Indra that are said to garland those who die on the battlefield, Jayasiṁha could not have died on the field of battle. But note *EI*, Vol. II, p. 192, where Bhoja, who possibly died fighting, is referred to as having become Indra's companion.

that bloom in the daytime to close their flowers at night.'[1] The same inscription also claims that Jayasiṁha 'searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Māḷava.'[2] There is no evidence to show who were the princes that were included in this 'confederacy of Māḷava.' The claim that the Cāḷukya king completely destroyed the power of Bhoja is most probably mere *praśasti*. That his success could not have been substantial is shown by the first three grants of the time of Bhoja. The first records the celebration of the festival-day of the conquest of Konkan in January 1020 A.D., which shows that the actual conquest must have taken place either in January 1019, or even earlier. The second grant, about 8 months later, again records gifts on the festival day of the victorious occupation of Konkan. That these are not mere vain boasts is shown by the Kalvan plates of his feudatory Yaśovarman, who appears to have held sway in the Nasik district, bordering on Konkaṇ.[3] Unfortunately this inscription is not dated in any era. But that the struggle continued unabated on this frontier till at least Śaka 946 (A.D. 1024) is indicated by the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha where he claims to have taken away everything belonging to the rulers of the seven-Koṅkaṇas (*Sapta-Koṅkaṇādhiśvarāṇāṁ sarvasaṁ gṛhītvā*).[4] Bhoja's success however was not permanent. The *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* tells us that Āhavamalla (Someśvara I, *c.* 1044-68 A.D.) 'stormed Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras in Māḷava, from which Bhoja had to flee.'[5] The Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman (V. S. 1161)

[1] *IA*, Vol. V, p. 17; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 436

[2] *IA*, Vol. V, p. 17.

[3] Note in this connection the indirect evidence of the Jainad inscription of a Paramāra feudatory of Udayāditya in the Warangal Division of Hyderabad. *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1927-28, pp. 23-24.

[4] *IA*, Vol. VII, pp. 18-19 and fn. 99 on p. 18. Fleet takes the passage as referring to 'the lords of the seven Koṅkaṇas.' But Sir R. G. Bhandarkar accepts it as referring to 'the ruler of the seven Koṅkaṇas.' See *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 213 and 436. But as *adhīśvarāṇām* is in the plural, Fleet seems to be right.

[5] I, 91-96.

makes it clear that the success of the Karṇāṭas was due to their alliance with the powerful Kalacuri king Karṇa.[1] The mention of Karṇa in this Nagpur inscription as one of the forces that brought about Bhoja's downfall shows that the Udaipur *praśasti* was right in mentioning the *Cedīśvara* as one of the adversaries of the Paramāra king. The same inscription also refers to the *Gurjara -rāṭ* as another enemy of Bhoja. There is little doubt that this Gurjara prince is to be identified with Bhīma I, who is mentioned in the same verse as one of the chief enemies of Bhoja, the other being the 'lord of Cedi.' Merutuṅga records stories of many conflicts between Bhīma and Bhoja. On one occasion, we are told, Bhoja's general, the Digambara Kulacandra, taking advantage of Bhīma's absence in Sindh, 'sacked the city of Anahilla, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory.'[2] On another occasion when worshipping his family goddess in a temple in the suburbs of Dhārā, Bhoja was surprised and nearly captured by a party of Gujarati cavalry.[3] The Jain chroniclers are agreed that Bhoja died during a joint attack on Dhārā by the Caulukya Bhīma I, and Karṇa, king of Ḍāhala.[4] Thus it seems that as an answer to the 'confederacy of Mālava,' the enemies of the Paramāras succeeded in forming another league, in which the Caulukya Bhīma, the Kalacuri Lakṣhmī Karṇa, and the Cāḷukya Someśvara were the chief partners. This league may have also included the Lāṭa prince Trilocanapāla, for whom we have the date Śaka 972 (*c.* 1051 A.D.). In the struggle that followed Bhoja was overwhelmed and lost his life when Karṇa's armies stormed the gates of Dhārā.[5] Bhoja's military activities were however not confined only to fighting with these adversaries. Before the Kalacuris of Tripurī could raise

[1] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32.

[2] *PC*, p. 46.

[3] *PC*, pp. 70-71.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapters on the *Haihayas* and the *Caulukyas*.

[5] *PC*, pp. 74-75. Bühler doubts the historicity of the Bhīma I-Karṇa combination against Bhoja. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 282, fn. 47.

themselves into a position of importance on his eastern frontier and bring about his downfall, Bhoja had been maintaining contact with the Candellas of Bundelkhand and their allies the Kacchapaghātas of the Gwalior Residency. The statement in the Candella inscriptions that Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara ' full of fear like a pupil,' shows that the relation between the two princes were probably not very friendly.[1] The victory claimed by Kīrtirāja, one of the Gwalior Kacchapaghātas (c. 1015-35 A.D.) of whom the Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahīpāla records that he conquered the countless hosts of Mālava, was probably gained with the assistance of his sovereign, the Candella Vidyādhara. I have elsewhere suggested that the defeated Mālava prince was possibly the Paramāra Bhoja.[2] The statement of the Dubkund inscription of the Kaccapaghāta Vikramasiṁha that the " highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja" had widely celebrated the skill shown in the management of horses and chariots of Abhimanyu (c. 1035-44 A.D.), one of his predecessors, may, as I have already suggested, contain a veiled hint of his subservience to the great Paramāra.[3] Bhoja possibly succeeded in extending his influence in the Kunu valley by taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors. It was prabably in this region that Bhoja met and defeated some detachment of the Turuṣka prince Maḥmūd of Ghazni, when the latter invaded Gwalior and Bundelkhand. In the N. W. Bhoja, following the policy of Muñja, maintained his pressure on the Cāhamānas of Nadol and the Guhilas of Medapāṭa. This is proved by the statement of the Sundha hill-inscription, which informs us that Aṇahilla slew Sāḍha, a general (*daṇḍ-ādhīśa*) of the Mālava king Bhoja.[4] The Chirwa inscription of the Guhila Samarasiṁha (V. S. 1330) indicates that Bhoja was in possession of the fort of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and built there a

[1] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 689.
[2] See *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 821.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 830-31.
[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

temple to Tribhuvana-Nārāyana.[1] It was probably for his assistance during these campaigns that the Banswara Paramāra Satyarāja received a fortune from Bhoja.[2]

Apart from all these military campaigns Bhoja is probably best remembered by his achievements in the domain of art and letters. The Udaipur *praśasti* calls him a king among poets (*kavirāja*),[3] and states that 'he made the world worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples, dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Suṁḍīra (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra.'[4] Bühler has pointed out[5] that his claim to literary merit is amply corroborated by the discovery of numerous works in poetics, astronomy, philosophy, architecture, and poetry which all bear the name of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhoja and are said to have been written by him, no doubt with the assistance of the numerous scholars who flourished under his patronage. An analysis of the list of publications ascribed to Bhoja in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*[6] shows that besides the above subjects there are other works on medicine, grammar,

1 *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

RMR, 1917, pp. 2-3.

EI, Vol. I, p. 235, V. 18.

Ibid, pp. 235 and 238, V. 20.

Ibid, pp. 231-32.

Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 418, and Part II, p. 95. As a medical writer Bhoja is quoted in the *Bhāva-prakāśa* and Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. As a grammarian and lexicographer he is noticed by Kṣīrasvāmin, Sāyaṇa, and Mahīpa. The folllowing list of Bhoja's work are given by Aufrecht and Bühler :

(1) *Āditya-pratāpa-siddhānta*. (2) *Āyurveda-sarvasva*. (3) *Campū-rāmāyaṇa*. (4) *Cāṇakya-nīti*. (5) *Cāru-caryā*. (6) *Tattva-prakāśa*. (7) *Nāma-mālikā*. (8) *Yukti kalpataru*. (9) *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa Yoga-sūtra-vṛtti*. (10) *Rāja-mṛgāṅka*. (11) *Vidyā-vinoda-kāvya*. (12) *Vidvaj-jana-vallabha Praśna-jñāna*. (13) *Viśrānta-vidyā-vinoda*. (14) *Vyavahāra samuccaya*. (15) *Śabdānuśāsana*. (16) *Śālihotra*. (17) *Śiva-tattva-ratna-kalikā*. (18) *Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra*. (19) *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. (20) *Siddhānta-saṁgraha*. (21) *Subhāṣita-prabandha*. (22) *Praśna-cintāmaṇi Vidvaj-jana-vallabha*. (23) *Bhojarāja-vārttika*. (24) *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-kathā*. (25) *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa* (*Jyotiṣa*). (26) *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa*. (*Vedānta* ?).

To these must be added the *Kūrma-Satako*, two P.akrit poems, each of 109 stanzas addressed to the tortoise-incarnation of Viṣṇu. They were discovered at Dhār, written with great care on a stone slab. Edited by Pischel. *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 241-60. No. 18 above has now been edited by Ganapati Sastri in *GOS*.

and lexicography which are attributed to the pen of the Paramāra king. It is true that all these works were probably largely written by the literary men living in his court; but a prince who had such wide sympathies and could inspire scholarship in so many varied fields of knowledge must ever remain a remarkable personality in the records of time. There is little evidence available to corroborate the extensive building operations which are ascribed to Bhoja in the Udaipur *praśasti* ; but as Bühler has remarked ' it is very probable that a prince so fond of display as he was adorned his capital and perhaps even foreign sacred places with architectural monuments.' But of these, thanks no doubt largely to the iconoclastic zeal of the early Turkish conquerors, very few specimens have survived to our times.

I have already referred to Bhoja's tragic end. The Udaipur *praśasti* states that "when that devotee of Bharga (Śiva) whose brilliancy resembled the sun (*i.e.*, Bhoja), had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness, his foes (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayāditya another sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour." [1] The Nagpur *praśasti* in referring to the same incident states that when "he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which the sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa,[2] who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy boar." [3] According to both these inscriptions Udayāditya was the successor of Bhoja. But the Mandhata

[1] *EI*., Vol. I, pp. 236 and 238, V. 21.

[2] Dr. Ganguly identifies this prince with the *Caulukya* Karṇa (*c.* 1064-94 A.D.) because the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* (Vs. 76-78) states that Udayāditya obtained the crown of Mālava by defeating the Gurjjara Karṇa. Without accepting this identification it is possible to agree that Udayāditya had to fight with the successor of the Caulukya Bhīma, the enemy of Bhoja, before he could securely grasp the sceptre of the Paramāras.

[3] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 780.

and Panahera inscriptions of Jayasiṁha conclusively prove that during the period V.S. 1112-1116 the ruler of Mālava was not Udayāditya but Jayasiṁha. As the earliest date of Udayāditya is V.S. 1116,[1] there is no difficulty in fitting in the reign of Jayasiṁha between those of Bhoja and Udayāditya. Kielhorn has pointed out instances where predecessors are sometimes omitted in the genealogical lists of Indian inscriptions. But in this particular case, a strong motive for omission may have been the fact that Udayāditya usurped the Mālava crown by ousting the lawful successor of Bhoja. As to the relationship of Bhoja with Jayasiṁha we have only to depend upon the expression *pādānudhyāta*, which separates the latter's name from that of his predecessor. Though this word does not necessarily indicate the relationship of father and son, yet in this particular case, in view of the fact that Bhoja died at an advanced age, it is quite likely that he may have left Jayasiṁha as his son and successor.[2] The two following records are known for the reign of Jayasiṁha.

(1) *Mandhata grant.*—Found at Mandhata, an island in the Narbada, attached to the Nimar District of the C. P. It contains 30 lines, incised on two plates. At the end of the grant, on the left-hand corner of the second plate, is the usual figure of the flying Garuḍa holding a snake. The inscription opens with two verses praising Śiva (*Vyōmakeśa, Smarārāti*); then follows the genealogy of the donor, which is traced from Vākpatirājadeva (II). It then records that *Pb.-M.-P.* Jayasiṁhadeva, while residing at Dhārā, granted the village of Bhīma, included in the Muktulā-*grāma-dvicatvāriṁśa* of Purṇapathaka-*maṇḍala*, to the Brāhmans of the Paṭṭaśālā at the holy Amareśvara,[3] for food and other purposes. The date V.S. 1112

[1] *JASB*, Vol. IX, pp. 545 ff.

[2] The *PC* (p. 41) supplies the name of the poetess Arundhatī as one of the queens of Bhoja. But it is unknown whether she or some other lady was the mother of Jayasiṁha.

[3] Same as Amareśvara-tīrtha of the Bhopal grant of Arjunavarman (V.S. 1272). It

(*c*. 1055-56), is given in line 29. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor.[1]

(2) *Panahera stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a slabbuilt into a wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara (Mahādeva) at Panahera in the Banswara State, South Rajputana. The record is damaged. It belongs to the feudatory Paramāra branch of Banswara. But in the beginning, after 5 verses in praise of Śiva, it mentions the Paramāras of Malwa from Sīyaka II to Jayasiṁha. Then it traces the genealogy of the feudatory line from Dhanika to Maṇḍalika.[2] The latter was a contemporary of Jayasiṁha. The record is dated in V.S. 1116 (*c*. 1059-60 A.D.).[3]

Nothing is definitely known about Jayasiṁha's achievements. But if the Nagpur *praśasti* is to be believed, Jayasiṁha may have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karṇa. The country was unprotected, and became the happy hunting ground of the Karṇāṭa and other enemies. At least these were the pretexts which Udayāditya appears to have urged to support his apparent act of usurpation. Is it likely that Udayāditya succeeded in ousting his rival with the assistance of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāni? The statement of Bilhaṇa that Āhavamalla 'utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, the king of Ḍāhala,' [4] probably shows that the alliance between the Karṇātas and the Kalacuris did not long survive the fall of Bhoja. Indeed Merutuṅga's reference to a struggle between the Caulukya Bhīma I and Karṇa over the spoils of Dhārā,[5] may indicate the outbreak of a general war amongst the allies after the destruction of the Paramāra king. In this connection Bilhaṇa's statement that

is situated 'near the island of Māndhātā on the southern bank of the Narmadā'; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 47.

[1] Edited by Kielhorn. *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 46-50.

[2] For details see the history of Banswara branch, *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 920 ff.

[3] *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20. *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

[4] *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, I, 102-103.

[5] *PC*, pp. 74-75.

during the reign of Āhavamalla his son Vikramāditya 'lent his assistance to the king of Mālava, who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom'[1] may be significant. The assistance was possibly given either to Udayāditya or more probably to his ousted rival Jayasiṁha.

For the reign of Udayāditya we have the following dates and records:

(1) A 'modern inscription' in vernacular at Udayapur, in Gwalior, gives the dates V. S. 1116 and Śaka 981 (corresponding to A.D. 1059-60), for the reign of Udayāditya and speaks of him as having built a temple of Śiva.[2]

(2) *Udayapur stone-inscription.*—'An apparently well preserved inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple' of Udayapur in Gwalior. It contains 6 lines. The inscription mentions king Udayāditya and gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1137 (*c.* 1080-81 A.D.). It was composed probably by *Paṇḍita* Mahīpāla.[3]

(3) *Jhalrapatan stone-inscription.*—Found at Jhalrapatan in the Jhalawar State, Rajputana. It records the erection of a temple of Śambhu by the *Paṭṭakila* (*i.e.*, Paṭil), Jānā, belonging to the *tailika* (oilman's) family. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1143 (*c.* 1086-87 A.D.) in the reign of Udayāditya.[4]

1 *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, III, 67.

2 Noticed by Captain Burt in *JASB*, Vol. VII, p. 1056; then edited in *ibid*, Vol. IX, pp. 545-50. Also noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1908, p. 37. Bühler was disposed to reject the date as spurious (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 233); but see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. III, p. 48, fn. 1. The date of the inscription is V.S. 1562 = S. 1429 = *c.* 1560 A.D.

3 Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

4 Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1906, p. 56. Edited by B. N. Shastri, *Journal* and *PASB*, Vol. X, pp. 241 ff., and Plate XXII. The ***Udayapur Praśasti*** of the Paramāras of Malwa, which is incised on a stone slab, 'at present lying in the courtyard of the great temple at Udayapur (Gwalior) may also belong to this prince. The record opens with verses in praise of Śiva, Pārvati, and Gaṇeśa, and may have recorded the erection of a Śaiva temple by Udayāditya. But unfortunately it is fragmentary; and though the last name in the preserved portion is that of Udayāditya we cannot be sure that the lost portion did not contain the name of one of his immediate successors. The record was first noticed by Dr. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, p. 114, note, and was edited with a valuable introduction by Bühler in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 222-38. It is one of the most important records for Paramāra history.

The inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V.S. 1116 to 1143 (*c.* 1158-60 to 1187 A.D.). Udayāditya was probably closely related to the family of Jayasiṁha. In the Nagpur *praśasti* he is referred to as the relation (*bandhu*)[1] of Bhoja. In the recently discovered Jainad inscription the Paramāra prince Jagaddeva is described as the son of Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja.[2] Udayāditya therefore appears to have been probably a younger brother of Bhoja[3] and possibly an uncle of Jayasiṁha.

Besides his victory over Lakṣmī-Karṇa and his re-establishment of peace and prosperity in the land of Malwa, the only other definitely known incident of Udayāditya's reign was the marriage of his daughter Śyāmaladevī to the Gobhila-putra Vijayasiṁha. Alhaṇadevī, the daughter of Śyāmaladevī, was again married to the Ḍāhala Kalacuri Gayā-Karṇa[4] (1151 A.D.). The Jainad inscription contains the name of one of his officers, Lalārka *alias* Arjuna, belonging to the family of Dāhimas. He had a powerful army and was a celebrated warrior and a great favourite of Udayāditya. Tradition as recorded in the *Rasmala* seems to contain a few more facts about Uday āditya. Thus it refers to a 'Raja of Mandoogurh, whose service Oodayāditya performed' and on whom when summoned, he was in the habit of offering 'speedy attendance.' 'Mandoogurh' is certainly modern Mandu, situated about 14 miles to the south of Dhar, and it is not unlikely that the chief of Mandu was an officer of the great Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1055-1126 A.D.), who in his father's reign may have been instrumental in placing Udayāditya on the throne of Dhārā. According to the

[1] Also means a *brother*. In an unpublished Kumbhalgaḍh Inscription (V. 148) of the Guhila Kumbha's reign (1460 A.D.), *bandhu* is actually used in the sense of a uterine brother, see *Udaypur Rājyakā Itihās* (Hindi) by G. H. Ojha, p. 142, fn. 3. Prof. S. Dutta drew my attention to this inscription.

[2] '*Yasy-Odayādītya-nṛpaḥ = pit = āsīd = devaḥ pitṛvyaḥ sa ca Bhoja rājaḥ*. *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1927-28, pp. 23 ff.

[3] *Pitṛvya* means a 'father's brother'; but it can also mean any 'elderly male relation.' Was Udayāditya a *cousin* or a more *distant relative* (*JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 35) of Bhoja? See *Modern Review*, 1932, pp. 96 and 171-72.

[4] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 12, Vs. 17-22. See also *ante.*, chapter on the *Haihayas*, *DHNI*. Vol. II, p. 791.

Rasmala, Udayāditya by his two queens, of whom one was of the Vāghela clan, and the other of the Solanki, had two sons. The Vaghela queen's son Rindhuwul (*i.e.*, Raṇadhavala), was the elder and the heir-apparent. The son of the Solanki queen was Jug-Dev (Jagaddeva), who was dark and handsome. On account of a palace-intrigue the latter left Malwa and entered the service of the Caulukya Siddharāja in Gujarat. He served him for 18 years, but when the Caulukya king 'advanced to attack Dhārā,' Jug-Dev quitted his service and returned to his father, who soon after invested him with 'the royal authority,' and died. He reigned for 52 years and 'went to Dev-lok' at the age of 85, after placing his son Jug Dhuwul (Jagaddhavala) on the throne.[1] Much of this bardic tale must be pure myth. For the date of Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144) makes it rather improbable that he could be a contemporary of Udayāditya (*c.* 1059-87) at all, much less for a period of 18 years. But the historicity of Jagaddeva is established by an inscription which has been recently discovered in the N.E. of the Nizam's dominions. This is the *Jainad* (*or Jainath*) *inscription* found some six miles to the south-east of Adilabad. It contains 28 lines and opens with (*Oṁ*) *namaḥ Sūryāya*. The first two verses are devoted to the invocation of the Sun and Śiva (*Sthānu*, *Tripuradahana*) respectively. It next refers to the birth of Pramāra (Paramāra) through the meditations of Vasiṣṭha, for the destruction of Viśvāmitra's valour. In his family (*tad-anvaye*) was born king (*kṣitīśa*) Jagaddeva. He was the son of king Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja. He conquered the Andhra king (*Andhrādhīśa*)[2] and subdued the king of Cakradurga (*Cakradurga-nṛpati*),[3] entered the city of Dorasamudra[4] and struck terror in the heart of Malahara (*Malahara-kṣonīśa*). The record

[1] *Ras.*, Vol. I, pp. 117-149.

[2] This prince may be identified with the Eastern Calukya Rājendra Coḷa II (1070-1108 A.D.).

[3] Probably the same as *Cakrakūṭa*, *Cakrakoṭṭa* or *Sakkarakoṭṭam* in C.P. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 470, 470 fn. 3, and 470, fn. 4; see also *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 25-31 and 31-34.

[4] The capital of the Hoysaḷas; mod. Halebid in Mysore.

also refers to the victory of Jayasiṁha over the Gurjaras, whose wives are stated to have sought refuge in the caves of the mountain Arbuda. The record then passes on to speak of Lalārka *alias* Arjuna, a great favourite of Udayāditya. He belonged to the family of Dāhimas and was the son of Guṇarāja and grandson of Mahendra. The inscription next records that his wife Padmāvatī founded a temple of Nimvāditya in an *agrahāra*. It was composed by the *Kavi* Aśvatthvāma.[1]

Jagaddeva therefore must have ruled for some time at least over a portion of the Paramāra territory. He seems to have been a vigorous ruler who claims to have raided the territories beyond the Tungabhadra and the limits of whose kingdom extended over the territories between the Penganga and the Godavari. It is significant that though he fought with the Eastern Calukyas and the Hoysaḷas there is no reference to his conflict with the successors of the Kalyana Cāḷukya Taila II. It is interesting to note that some of his enemies were also the traditional foes of the Karṇāṭa king Vikramāditya VI (*c.* 1076-1127 A.D.). It is therefore not impossible that he, like his father, may have been an ally of the great Cāḷukya emperor.

According to the Nagpur *praśasti*, however, the two immediate successors of Udayāditya were his sons Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman. It does not mention Jagaddeva. Is it likely that this name was a *biruda* of Lakṣmadeva. While this is possible we cannot rule out the possibility that Jagaddeva was a brother or half-brother of the more powerful Lakṣmadeva, who paid the penalty of deposition for his subservience to the Karṇāṭa overlord.

As many as twenty verses are devoted in his brother's Nagpur *praśasti* to describing the various military campaigns of Lakṣmadeva.[2] We are told that, "desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he proceeded to Hari's quarter (*i.e.*, the East)," and then, " just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa " (V. 38). ' In the course of (another ?) unchecked

[1] Deciphered by Krishnamacharlu. Published in the *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1927-28, pp. 23-24. (Transcript and plate.)

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 186-88 and 192-94, Vs. 35-54.

expedition......he had attacked Tripurī, and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries '; he (then) " encamped on the banks of the Revā, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains. The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revā a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river banks. Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains." (Vs. 39-41)..." He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses, the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land." (V. 42)...... " Even the troops of elhphants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain clouds, dark like herds of hogs, kept for pastime, —even they had to sue for mercy." (V. 43)......His praise was proclaimed by clever men near the eastern ocean, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully" (V. 44)......." When like the pitcherborn Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Colas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountain. The water of the Tāmraparṇī, which is famed all the earth over for pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles of their hips, behold, even to this day the water affords a livelihood to the Pāṇḍya chief." (Vs. 46-47)......" Informedby the people that the dam before him...was the bridge of holy Rāma...he scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army." (V. 48)......" Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings (*rājarājam-anyam*), he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of the Yakṣas (*i.e.*, North), the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they

abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of the Kuvera (*i.e.*, North)." (V. 52)......'Encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu,"[1] he was presented with 'teams of frisky horses' by the Turuṣka, 'whom he had eradicated with ease'; he also 'taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.' (V. 54.) Of this laudatory account Bühler accepted as 'tangible and probably true facts' the expedition undertaken against Tripurī, the well-known capital of the Ḍāhala kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turuṣkas or Muslim invaders, when the king was encamped on the bank of the river Vaṅkṣu.[2] I have suggested elsewhere that the Ḍāhala king defeated by Lakṣmadeva was the Kalacuri Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (*c.* 1073-1125 A.D.).[3] It is possible that Lakṣmadeva's victory over the Coḷas may contain a reference to his conflict with Rajendra Coḷa II Kulottuṅga (*c.* 1010-1118 A.D.)[4] The Turuṣkas who came into conflict with the Paramāra were probably the successors of the Yamīnī Maḥmūd who, as we know, made frequent raids into the Ganges-Jumna valley from their strongholds in the Punjab. But besides these two conflicts, I think there may be some historical basis for the other victories which are claimed for the Paramāra king. Though it is clear that much of these statements is mere *praśasti*, yet the references to the king's campaigns in all the directions of the compass may indicate a desperate attempt to revive the lost glory of the Paramāras. But unfortunately for the 'fire-born race' their attempts were, as we shall presently see, doomed to failure.

No inscription of Lakṣmadeva have yet been discovered; but the Nagpur *praśasti* records that on the occasion of a solar

[1] A small arm or branch of the Ganges; *EI*, Vol. II, p. 194, fn. 80.

[2] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 181.

[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Haihayas*, p. 788.

[4] *MASI*, No. 23, p. 25.

eclipse, he gave with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura-*maṇḍala*.[1] The inscription tells us that Lakṣmadeva was succeeded by his brother Naravarman. Of the latter's reign we have the following published records :—

(1) *Nagpur praśasti*.—Incised on a stone slab in the Nagpur Museum. It contains 41 lines. The inscription opens with *Oṁ oṁ namo Bhāratyai* ; then follow seven benedictory verses addressed to the 'goddess of speech,' Durgā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahman, and 'that form of the husbands of Umā and Lakṣmī' (*i.e.*, Viṣṇu-Śiva or Hari-Hara). Then follows the genealogy of the family from Paramāra, sprung from the fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Mountain Arbuda, to Naravarman. In V. 55 we are told that Lakṣmadeva granted two villages in the Vyāpura-*maṇḍala* on the occasion of a solar eclipse ; 'afterwards his brother the king Naravarmadeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka, at the request of the three places.' (V. 55.) The name of the donee is not specified but it was probably the temple which the king ordered (the architect) Lakṣmīdhara to build, and in which this inscription was put up. The record is dated in (V.) *Saṁ*. 1161 (*c*. 1104-05 A.D.). The *praśasti* appears to have been composed by the king himself.[2]

(2) *Madhukargadh* (Harouta, Rajputana) *stone-inscription*.—This opens with an invocation to Nīlakaṇṭha (Śiva), and then traces Paramāra genealogy from Sindhula (= Sindhurāja) to Naravarman, omitting both Jayasiṁha and Lakṣmadeva. It seems to record the construction of a Śaiva temple by Hara, the son of Mahādeva and grandson of the minister Rudrāditya.[3] It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1164 (*c*. 1108 A.D.).[4]

1 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 188 and 194, V. 55.

2 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 180-95. It had been previously twice edited by Bāl Gaṅgādhar Śāstrī in *JBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 259, and by Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. VII, p. 194.

3 Perhaps the grandson of the person bearing the same name in No. 2 of Vākpati II, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 853.

4 Substance given by Tod in *TRAS*, Vol. I, p. 226. Also called *Madhucara-ghar Inscription*, *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 28, No. 175.

(3) *Bombay grant.*—29 lines incised on two plates. The introductory verses are devoted to praise of Siva. Then follows the genealogy of the Paramāras from Sindhurāja to Naravarman (as in No. 2). The inscription records the grant of several pieces of land situated in the village of Kadambapadraka, which was being enjoyed by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Rājyadeva, in the *Pratijāgaraṇaka* of Mandaraka in the Upendrapura-*maṇḍala*, to the Brāhman Āśādhara. The date is *V. S.* 1167 (*c.* 1110-11 A.D.). But it also contains two more dates, *V. S.* 1154 (*c.* 1097-98 A.D.) and *V. S.* 1159 (*c.* 1102-03 A.D.), when some other pieces of land were granted by the king's wife Mahādevī and the king respectively.[1]

The above inscriptions give us dates from *V. S.* 1154 to 1167 (*c.* 1097-1111 A.D.) for Naravarman. Naravarman was apparently succeeded by his son Yaśovarman some time before *V. S.* 1191 (*c.* 1134 A.D.). For an Ujjain grant records that Yaśovarman performed the funeral ceremony (*Sāṁvatsarika*) in honour of *Mahārāja* Naravarman 'on the 8th lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika' of that year.[2] Another Ujjain copper-plate, which records some grants made by Yaśovarman in V. S. 1192, on the occasion of the funeral ceremony (*Sāṁvatsarika*) of Momaladevī,[3] probably indicates that the latter was the mother of the new king. The following dates and records are so far known for his reign:

(1) An Ujjain grant of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman records that in V. S. 1191, on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies in honour of *Mahārāja* Naravarman, the *M.-P.*-Yaśovarman at Dhārā granted the village of Vaḍaūda, belonging (*sambaddha*) to Surāsaṇī, and the village of Uthavaṇaka, belonging to

[1] Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1921, p. 51. Sometimes known as *Kadambapadraka plates* *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 29, No. 180.

[2] *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 353, lines 6-8

[3] *Ibid*, p. 349, lines 1 ff.

Suvarṇaprāsādika—both situated in Rājaśayana-*bhoga* in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala* to the Karṇāṭa Brāhman Dhanapāla.[1]

(2) *Ujjain grant.*—Obtained from the city of Ujjain : 'The plate which holds this fragmentary inscription is one of apparently two plates, the first of which has never been discovered.' The inscription records that the *Mahārāja* Yaśovarman granted the village of Laghuvaiṁganapadra and part of the village of Ṭhikkarikā [2] to two persons (names lost), probably instead of some other land connected with Devapāṭaka, which had been granted to the donees on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of Momaladevī. Lines 12-13 gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1192 (A.D. 1135). Line 15 gives the sign-manual of the donor.[3]

(3) *Jhalrapatan stone-inscription.*—Found in Jhalrapatan, in the Jhalawar State, Rajputana. It is highly weather-worn. 'In the body of the inscription can be read the names of the Paramāra kings Naravarmadeva and Yaśovarmadeva. An account of their ministers is apparently given.' Ends with the date V. S. 1199 (*c.* 1142 A.D.) [4]

The inscriptions noticed above give us the dates V. S. 1191 to 1199 (*c.* 1134-42 A.D.) for the reign of Yaśovarman. The Paramāra records say nothing about any incidents of the reign of these two princes. The reason for their silence is probably to be found in the statements of the Caulukya records. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that Jayasiṁha destroyed Dhārā and killed Naravarman.[5] According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, the Mālava king Yaśovarman once invaded and overran Gujarat, while Jayasiṁha was absent from his capital. It was with great

1 *Ibid*, pp. 351-53. The donee was an emigrant from Adrelaviddhavara ; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 891. Ujjain grant of Jayavarman.

2 Or, Ṭhikkarikā (line 3).

3 Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol XIX, pp. 348-49.

4 Noticed in *ASI*, W.C., 1905, p. 56, No. 2097. On account of the damaged condition of the record we cannot be absolutely sure whether the record really belongs to this reign.

5 V, 41

difficulty and humiliation that the Gujarat minister, after washing the Mālava king's feet and throwing 'into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the transference of merit' gained by his master by his pilgrimages, succeeded in persuading Yaśovarman to turn back. The chronicler then proceeds to state that as a result of this a war of 12 years' duration took place between the two kingdoms, at the end of which Jayasiṁha stormed Dhārā, captured Yaśovarman, and led him in triumph to Anahillapura.[1] The *Dvyāśraya*[2] and the *Vasantavilāsa*[3] substantially corroborate the statement of Merutuṅga. I have shown elsewhere that the statements of the chroniclers are supported by epigraphic evidence.[4] Jayasiṁha's assumption of the title of *Avantinātha*, which first appears in his Gala grant[5] shows that the Caulukya king must have achieved substantial success in his protracted campaign before V. S. 1193 (A.D. 1137). His Ujjain inscription shows that one of the capitals of the Paramāras was already in the hands of Jayasiṁha before V. S. 1195 (A.D. 1139). The Jhalrapatan fragmentary inscription of Yaśovarman possibly indicated that the Paramāra king had been forced to withdraw down the valley of Kali Sindhu, but succeeded in maintaining a precarious existence in the lower valley of that river up to V.S. 1199 (A. D. 1142). The Dohad and Udayapur inscriptions of Jayasiṁha unquestionably prove Caulukya occupation of the whole territory from the Panch Mahals to the Betwa. These repeated disasters to the fortunes of the Paramāras must have shaken the foundations of their power in Malwa. There is reason to believe that the Paramāras never fully recovered from the blow which destroyed Bhoja and his

[1] *PC*, pp. 85-88. In early Caulukya grants *Anahillapura* is called *Aṇahilapāṭaka*, see IA, Vol. VI, pp. 191-93; *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 75-79, etc. In the records of the Caulukyas of Vyāghrapalli the name of the city is given as *Aṇahillapāṭaka*; see *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 210-13; Vol. XI, pp. 241-45, etc.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 266.

[3] III, 22-23.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[5] *JBRAS*, Vol. XXV, 1917-21, pp. 322-24.

empire. This is shown by the *Ingnoda stone-inscription* of Vijayapāla This was found 'engraved on a slab of stone...... which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda, in the territory of the junior Rāja of Dewas.'[1] It contains 15 lines, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ*, after which follows the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1190 (*c.* 1133 A.D.). It then records that (here) in Iṁgaṇapaṭa,[1] *M.-P.*-Pṛthvīpāla-*pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.*-Tuhiṇapāladeva-*pādānudhyāta-M.-P.*-Vijayapāladeva, after worshipping *Bhavānī-pati* (Śiva), granted the village of Agāsiyaka to the god Gohādeśvara. It was written by the *Vālabhānvaya-Kāyastha* Kelhaṇa, and engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Sājaṇa.[2] This inscription reveals the presence of a kingdom within about 50 miles North-east of Ujjain, the princes of which, to judge from their titles, seem to have claimed an independent position. As the record supplies the date, V. S. 1190 for Vijayapāla, it may be concluded that his grand-father carved out this principality on the lower course of the Sipra not long after V. S. 1111-12 (*c.* 1054-55 A.D.), when Bhoja apparently met his doom at the hands of Karṇa and his allies. The presence of this independent kingdom shows the limitations of the jurisdiction of Udayāditya and his successors, and explains the reason why Jayasiṁha, apparently unaided by any powerful ally, was able single-handed to deal such heavy blows against his western neighbours. Jayasiṁha's victories had so paralysed the energies of the Paramāras that even when death relaxed the grip of the Caulukya king on Mālava, they apparently did not succeed in recovering their ancestral possessions in Avanti. On the evidence of the Dohad inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vāpanadeva, I have suggested

[1] *i.e.* Iṅgaṇapaṭa; identified with mod. village of Ingnoda, in western Malwa. "About 7 miles from Ingnoda there are to be seen on the banks of the Kshipra, the ruins of a Śaiva temple of large dimensions. I think this must have been the temple of Gohādeśvara named in the grant." *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 50.

[2] Edited by Kirtane, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 49-50 and 55-56. I think the editor is wrong in taking Sūtradhāra as the writer of the grant. Some accept this family (I think without sufficient reason), to be a *Kacchapaghāta* family; see *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 36, No. 229.

elsewhere[1] that some time between 1140 and 1146 the Caulukyas may have lost their hold on the Panch Mahals, which commanded one of the important strategic routes to Malwa. The intrigue and dissensions which became rampant in the Caulukya court towards the later years of Jayasiṁha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) and the difficulties which at first beset the path of his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) may have produced a 'troubled state' in the distant provinces 'apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or a usurper.' The significant omission of the name of Dhārā in the Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman, dated V. S. 1200 (A.D. 1244),[2] as his place of residence, while in the same grant it is mentioned as the place of residence of his father Yaśovarman in V. S. 1191 (c. 1134 A.D.), seems to indicate that the city, which had been lost some time before V. S. 1193 (A.D. 1137), had not yet been recovered by the Paramāras in V.S. 1200. The occurrence of the name of one Ballāla as ruler of Avanti Mālava, and Dhārā during this period in Jain chronicles and Caulukya inscriptions therefore shows, as Lüders long ago supposed,[3] that these territories had been conquered by this usurper of unknown lineage. I have shown elsewhere[4] how this Ballāla formed an alliance with the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Arṇorāja to attack Kumārapāla. But unfortunately for the enemies of the Caulukyas, the scheme failed. Arṇorāja was defeated, and Ballāla himself lost his life in the struggle that followed the submission of the Cāhamāna prince. An Abu inscription tells us that the Paramāra Yaśodhavala of Candrāvatī 'quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla.'[5] The evident identity of this 'lord of Mālava' whose

1 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

2 *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 352.

3 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 202. According to some Ballāla was "apparently a scion of the Hoysala family of Dvārasamudra;" see *IA*, Vol. LXI, p. 192.

4 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

5 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 211 and 216, V. 35.

head, we are informed by the Vadnagar *praśasti* (V. S. 1208),[1] Kumārapāla suspended at his gate, with Ballāla shows that the latter must have lost his life between *c.* 1144 and 1151 A.D. The Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla,[2] dated in V.S. 1220 and 1222, proves that sometime before *c.* 1163-66 A.D., Kumārapāla, like his predecessor, had re-established his grip on Malwa up to the banks of the Betwa in the west. There is no reason to suspect that this grip was relaxed before the end of his reign (*c.* 1173 A.D.)

The period between *c.* 1137 A.D., the date of the Ujjain inscription of the Caulukya Jayasiṁha, and *c.* 1173 A.D., the approximate date of Kumārapāla's death, roughly a period of 36 years, must have been one of very great difficulties for the Paramāras. I have already suggested that after losing Ujjain and his other southern dominions Yaśovarman may have lingered on till about V.S. 1199 (*c.* 1142 A.D.) as the ruler of a small principality in the lower valley of the Kali Sindhu. The difficulties of the Paramāras seem to have been further accentuated during this period by disunion and differences amongst the sons of Yaśovarman. This was first found out by Kielhorn[3] after a thorough analysis of the genealogical lists of the available grants of the Yaśovarman's successors. The facts from these grants[4] may be presented in tabular form as follows :—

According to—

(1)	Piplianagar grant of Arjunavarman		(V. S. 1267)
(2)	Bhopal (*i*) ,, ,, ,,		(V. S. 1270)
(3)	,, (*ii*) ,, ,, ,,		(V. S. 1272)

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 293 ff.
[2] *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-43; *ibid*, pp. 343-44.
[3] *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 345-48.
[4] For references to these grants see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II pp. 891 ff.

(a) Bhojadeva, succeeded by
(b) Udayāditya, succeeded by
(c) Naravarman, his son
(d) Yaśovarman, his son
(e) Ajayavarman, his son
(f) Vindhyavarman, his son
(g) Subhaṭavarman, his son
(h) *Mahārāja* Arjunavarman (V. S. 1267-72)

According to—

(4) Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman (V. S. 1200)

(a) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Udayāditya, succeeded by
(b) ,, ,, ,, Naravarman, succeeded by
(c) ,, ,, ,, Yaśovarman (V. S. 1191), succeeded by,
(d) *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman [apparently son of (c)] V. S. 1200.

According to—

(5) Ujjain grant of Jayavarman (undated)

(a) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Udayāditya. succeeded by,
(b) ,, ,, ,, Naravarman ,, ,,
(c) ,, ,, ,, Yaśovarman ,, ,,
(d) ,, ,, ,, Jayavarman

According to—

(6) Piplianagar grant of *Mahākumāra* Hariścandra (V. S. 1235 and 1236)

(a) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Udayāditya, succeeded by
(b) ,, ,, ,, Naravarman ,, ,,
(c) ,, ,, ,, Yaśovarman ,, ,,
(e) ,, ,, ,, Jayavarman ,, ,,
(f) *Mahākumāra* Hariścandra (V. S. 1235-36), son of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman

According to—

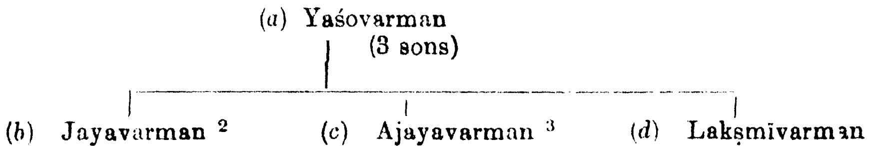
(7) Bhopal grant of *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman (V. S. 1256)

(*a*) *Pb.-M.-P.*-Yaśovarman, succeeded by
(*b*) ,, ,, ,, Jayavarman, ,, ,,
(*c*) *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman ,, ,,
(*d*) ,, Hariścandra
(*e*) ,, Udayavarman (V. S. 1256)

A comparison of the above lists will show that the genealogy as far as Yaśovarman is the same in all the grants, but that the two groups entirely differ after him. According to Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Ajayavarman. Since a lineal descendant of Ajayavarman retained the title *Mahārāja* which had been borne by Yaśovarman, Kielhorn concluded that the princes *e* to *h* of this list represented or pretended to represent the main line of the Paramāra family. According to No. 4 Yaśovarman was succeeded by *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman on or before V. S. 1200, while No. 5 places Jayavarman next to Yaśovarman. According to No. 6 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Jayavarman and the latter on or before V. S. 1235 by *Mahākumāra* Hariścandra son of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman, while in No. 7 the line of succession passes from Yaśovarman through Jayavarman, Lakṣmīvarman and Hariścandra to *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman (V.S. 1256). "Here we naturally ask why the *Pb.-M.-P.* Jayavarma-deva should have been omitted in grant No. 4 and why *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman similarly should have been omitted in grant No. 6. Some indications of how these questions may have to be answered, would appear to be furnished by certain expressions which occur in grants Nos. 4 and 6. In No. 4, we read—*Śrīmaj-Jayavarmadeva-rājye vyatīte nija-kara-kṛta-karāvāla-prasād-āvāptanij-ādhipatya......Mahākumāra-Śrīmal*-Lakṣmīvarmadeva,[1]

[1] *i.e.*, 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Lakṣmīvarmadeva, who had obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he had taken in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmadeva had passed away.'

and in No. 6, *Śrī*-Jayavarmadeva *ity-etasmāt pṛṣṭhatama-prabhoḥ prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyaḥ....Mahākumāra-Śrī*-Hariś-candradevaḥ." [1] Taking these expressions with what is otherwise known to us from the inscriptions Kielhorn conceived the succession in the family of Yaśovarman to have been as follows :—



At first No. (*a*) was succeeded by No. (*b*) ; soon after this succession, and certainly sometime between V.S. 1192 and 1200, No. (*b*) was dethroned by No. (*c*), who with his successors became the main branch of the Paramāras in Malwa. But the 3rd brother, No. (*d*), did not submit to No. (*c*), but, as stated above in grant No. 4, succeeded 'by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Malwa, which he, his son, and his grandson ruled as *de facto* independent chiefs. At the same time No. (*d*) and his son and successor looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful ruler of Malwa ; and in the opinion of Kielhorn it is for that reason that Hariścandra in grant No. 6 professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmīvarman and Hariścandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahākumāra* which was handed down to and adopted by even Lakṣmivarman's grandson Udayavarman.[4]

The above suggestions of Kielhorn, though not entirely free from difficulties, are under the present circumstances the best solution of the problem presented by the genealogical lists of the

[1] *i.e.*, 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Hariścandradeva, who has obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmadeva.'

[2] In the inscriptions not actually called son of No. (*a*).

[3] Fleet and Ganguli identify him with (*b*); see *IA*, Vol., XVI, p. 253 ; *ibid* Vol. LXI, p. 213. But Kielhorn rejects their identity ; *ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 347, lines 28-29 (from the top).

For a fresh discussion on the *Paramāra Mahākumāras*, see *IA*, Vol. LXI, pp. 192 ff. Ganguly thinks that there were two branches of the *Mahākumāras*, one founded by Lakṣmīvarman and the other by his son Hariścandra.

later Paramāras. It is however certain that the Paramāra dominions, already reduced by the Caulukya occupation, were after Yaśovarman's death still further dismembered by division amongst his successors. Of the reign of Jayavarman, who perhaps succeeded Yaśovarman we have only one undated inscription. This is his *Ujjain grant*, so named because it was obtained from that city in Malwa. Unfortunately one of (probably) two plates has been only discovered. It contains 16 lines, and opens with *Om svasti*, and two verses in eulogy of Śiva (*Vyomakeśa Smarārāti*), followed by the donor's genealogy.[1] It next records that *Pb.-M.-P.* Yaśovarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta Pb.-M.-P.*-Naravarmadeva, from his residence at Vardhamānapura, informs his officials and the people concerned that while in residence at Candrapurī he has granted the village of Māyamōḍaka, belonging to Vaṭakheṭaka-*Ṣaṭtriṁśat*, to a Brāhman living at Rājabrahmapurī (name lost), who had emigrated from Adriyalavidāvarī.[2] The extant portion contains no date; but Kielhorn assigns it 'with certainty to the time between the Vikrama years 1192 and 1200.'[3] No grants have yet been discovered of the next prince Ajayavarman. But we have the *Ujjain grant* for the next brother Lakṣmīvarman. It was so named, because it was also found in the city of Ujjain in Malwa. It contains 20 lines, incised on two plates and opens exactly in the same way as the grant of Jayavarman. Then follows the genealogy of the donor.[4] Next it mentions the grant made by his father in V.S. 1191 from Dhārā.[5] We are then told that in V.S. 1200 (*c.* 1144 A.D.) *Pb.-M.-P.* Yaśovarmaveda-*pādānudhyāta-Samadhigata-Pañca-mahā-śabd-ālaṅkāra-virājamāna-Mahākumāra*-Lakṣmīvarman confirmed the grant made

1 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 888, No. 5.

2 See *ibid*, p. 883, fn. 1. According to Kielhorn the donee of the two grants was the same person, *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 350.

3 Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 349-51. The localities mentioned have not yet been identified.

4 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 888, No. 4.

5 See *ibid*, pp. 882-83, No. 1.

by his father.[1] Lakṣmīvarman was succeeded by his son Hariścandra for whose reign we have the *Piplianagar grant*, found in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C.I. It opens with *Oṁ Śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ*; then follow two verses in praise of Śiva (*Vyomakeśa and Smarārāti*), and the genealogy of the donor.[2] The inscription next records that the *Samadhigata-Pañca-mahā-śabd-ālaṅkāra-virājamāna-Mahākumāra*-Hariścandradeva, who obtained sovereignty (*ādhipatya*) by the favour (*prasāda*) of *Pb.-M.-P.*-Jayavarmadeva, in V.S. 1235 (*c.* 1178 A.D), after bathing in the Narmadā, near the (temple of) the god Caturmukha Mārkaṇḍeśvara granted two shares (*aṁśa-dvayam*) of the Palasavāḍā[3]*-grāma*, belonging to *Maḍāpadra-pratijāgaraṇaka* of the Nilagiri[4]*-maṇḍala* to the donee *Paṇḍita* Daśaratha Śarman. It further records that in V.S. 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.) the same donor made some further grants to the *Paṇḍita* Mālune Śarman, and ends with the sign-manual of the donor, who describes himself as the son of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman and a sun (*kamala-bandhu*) to the *Paramāra-kula-kamala*.[5]

Hariścandra was succeeded by his son *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman. We have the *Bhopal grant* for his reign. This was found 'during survey operations, in a field at the village of Uljamun, in the Shamsgaḍh Pargana of the Bhopal State,' C.I. It contains 41 lines written on two plates. In the lower part of the second plate is engraved the figure of Garuḍa with folded hands. The inscription opens in the same way as the

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp 351-53. The place of residence of the donor is significantly omitted. Kielhorn pointed out that the donee of this grant is the same as in Jayavarman's grant; see *ante*. The localities mentioned are not identified.

[2] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 888, No. 6.

[3] Identified by some with Palaswara 69 miles north of Malegaon in Khandesh, *IA*, Vol. LXI, pp. 213-14.

[4] Identified by some with Nilgiri fort, about a mile north of Narmada, *AI*, Vol. LXI, p. 213.

[5] Edited by Wilkinson in *JASB*, 1838, Vol. VII, pp. 736 ff. The plates ought to be re-edited.

grant of the donor's father. Then comes the donor's genealogy.[1] We are then told that Udayavarmadeva, son of *Pañca-mahā-śabd-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna-Mahākumāra*-Hariścandra, having bathed in the Revā at the Guvāḍaghaṭṭa,[2] in V.S. 1256 (*c.*1200 A.D.) granted the village of Guṇaürā,[3] one of the forty-eight belonging to Voḍasirā, which formed part of the Narmadapura[4]-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[5] in the Vindhya-*maṇḍala*, to the Brāhman Mūla Śarman. The grant ends with the sign-manual of the donor and that of the *Dūtaka*, the illustrious *Maṇḍalika* Kṣemvarāja.[6]

The inscriptions of Lakṣmīvarman's successors noticed above range from V.S. 1200 to 1256, corresponding to *c.* 1144 to 1200 A.D. On account of the difficulties in identifying the places mentioned in the grants of predecessors of Udayavarman, it is impossible to fix the location of the principality, which Lakṣmīvarman claims to have carved out with his own sword. But it is significant that Hariścandra, before he made his grants in V.S. 1235-36 (*c.* 1178-79 A.D.) bathed in the Narmadā. If the identifications proposed by Fleet of the localities mentioned in the grant of Udayavarman be accepted, they tend to show that in V.S. 1256 (*c.* 1200 A.D) he was in possession of a portion of the Bhopal Agency.[7] The occupation of the Bhopal region was no doubt made possible by the death of the Caulukya emperor Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.), the murder of his

1 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 889, No. 7.

2 'Possibly represented by the modern village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmadā, 2 miles to the west of Hoshangābād' : Fleet.

3 'Undoubtedly the modern Ganora of the map. miles S.W. of Hoshangābād' : Fleet.

4 Identified with mod. Hoshangābād by Fleet.

5 Derived from *pratijagr*, 'to watch beside.' Generally taken to mean a district; see IA, Vol. XVI, p. 253, fn. 5.

6 Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 252-56. Two Bhopal inscriptions dated in V.S. 1241 (*c.* 1184 A.D.) and S. 1108 (*c.* 1186 A.D.) of one Udayāditya (*JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 35) is referred by some to this reign; see *IA*, Vol. LXI, p. 214.

7 If the identifications proposed by Fleet (*IA*, Vol. LXI, pp. 252-56) and Ganguly (*IA* Vol. LXI, pp 213-14) are accepted, then the territories of the *Mahākumāras* must have sometimes extended to the south of the Narmadā.

successor Ajayapāla (*c.* 1173-76 A.D.), and the complications that inevitably followed the rule of minors.[1] The rapid succession of so many calamities must have weakened the hold of the Caulukya rulers upon Western Malwa; and it seems likely that this region was gradually recovered for the Paramāras by the successors of Lakṣmīvarman.

The misfortunes of the Caulukyas seems to have also reacted very favourably on the fortunes of the main branch of the Paramāras of Malwa. As I have indicated above, when the conquering legions of the Caulukyas burst through the Panch Mahals and occupied the whole of western, southern, and eastern Malwa as far as Udayapura, Yaśovarman may have been forced down the Kali Sindhu and the Parbati. He may have maintained a precarious existence somewhere round the modern states of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar. His two immediate successors, Jayavarman and Ajayavarman, do not seem to have had any great degree of success in retrieving the lost dominions of their ancestors. But Ajayavarman's son and successor, Vindhyavarman, appears to have come out from his northern retreat and recovered Dhārā, which had been lost to his family since the days of Yaśovarman. This is proved by the statement found in the grants of Arjunavarman and Devapāla, which inform us that Vindhyavarman's long arm was eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras (*Gūrjara-ccheda*) and that "the sword of this (king) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges (*i.e.*, *tridhārā*=Ganges), to protect as it were the three worlds."[2] The recovery of Dhārā must have been completed about V.S. 1249 (*c.* 1192 A.D.), for Jain tradition records that soon after that year Āśādhara's father Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) came to Dhārā, to the court of Vindhyavarman, *alias* Vijayavarman.[3] According

[1] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[2] *JASB*, 1836, Vol. V, p. 378, Vs. 12-13; *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, Vs. 12-13; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 108-09 and 114, Vs. 12-13. It was Kielhorn who first pointed out the true significance of the verses. See *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 346, fn. 3.

[3] *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta* of Āśādhara, (Published by Manik Chandra Digambara-Jainagranthamālā Samiti, Bombay), p. 1.

to the same tradition *Mahākavi* Bilhaṇa served as the *Sāndhi-vigrahika-mantri* of Vindhyavarman.[1] An unpublished inscription of this minister, dated in the reign of his master, is reported to have been found at Maṇḍapa-durga (mod. Mandu).[2]

Vindhyavarman was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavarman, known also as Subhaṭa, corrupted into Sohaḍa, in popular tradition. By the time this prince ascended the throne of Dhārā, the position of the Paramāras had become so well consolidated in their home-kingdom that they were able to undertake expeditions into the territory of their Caulukya rivals. The grants of his successors claim that "the fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters (*i.e.*, Subhaṭavarman) whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest fire (*dāvāgni*) even to-day blazes in the *pattana* of the blustering Gūrjara (*Garjjad-Gūrjara-pattane*)."[3] This claim is supported by the statement of the Jain writer Merutuṅga, who tells us that during the reign of the Caulukya Bhima II, "the Mālava king Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating the country." [4]

Subhaṭavarman was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Piplianagar grant.*—Found in a field of the village of Piplianagar, in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C. I., by a cultivator while ploughing. It opens with *Om namaḥ puruṣārtha-Cūḍāmaṇaye Dharmāya.* Then follow four verses praising the Moon, the lord of the twice-born (*dvijendra*), Paraśurāma, Rāma, and Yudhiṣṭhira. Next is given the genealogy of the donor from Bhojadeva.[5] We are then told that king Arjunavarman when he was resident in Maṇḍapa-*durga* (mod. Mandu), in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1267 (*c.* 1211 A.D.), granted the

[1] *Ibid*, p. 2.

[2] *Paramāras of Dhār and Malwa*, by Luard and Lele, p. 58.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 108 and 114, V. 15; *JASB*, Vol. V, p. 378, V. 15; *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 15.

[4] *PC*, p. 154; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[5] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 887-88, No. 1.

village of Piḍiviḍi in the Śakapura-*pratijāgaraṇaka* to the *Purohita* Govinda. The grant was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana with the assent (*sammata*) of *Mahāpaṇḍita* Bilhaṇa.[1]

(2) *Bhopal grant* (*i*).—This and the next grant were found 'deposited in the library of the Begum's school at Sehore in Bhopal.' Its introductory portion is the same as in No. 1. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1 above, after bathing in the Somavatī-*tīrtha* 'on Monday, the 15th day of the moon's wane, granted to the priest (*Purodhas*) Govinda a section of buildings belonging to the Daṇḍādhipati' (*Daṇḍādhi-pati-vāsa-vigraha*)[2] in the city of Mahākāla (*i.e.*, Ujjain). It further records that while residing at Bhṛgukaccha (mod. Broach), on the occasion of a solar eclipse in (V.) S. 1270 (in words) the same donor granted to the *Purohita* Govinda Śarman (same as Govinda above) the village of Uttarāyaṇa, appertaining to (the district of) Sāvairisole.[3] The inscription is again dated towards the end in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1270 (A.D. 1213), written in figures. It was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana, with the permission of *Mahāsāndhi*(*vigrahika*) *Pa*(*ṇḍita*) Bilhaṇa. Then comes the sign-manual of *Mahārāja* Arjunavarmadeva. Last is given the name of the engraver, *Paṇḍita* Bāpyadeva.[4]

(3) *Bhopal grant* (*ii*).—Introductory portion exactly the same as in No. 1 above. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1, while resident at the Amareśvara-*tīrtha*, after bathing at the junction of the Revā and the Kapilā, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V.) S. 1272 (A.D. 1215), after worshipping *Bhavānīpati*, *Oṅkāra*, and *Lakṣmīpati*, granted the village of

[1] Edited by Wilkinson, *JASB*, 1836, Vol. V, pp. 377-82. It ought to be re edited

[2] Hall translated *Daṇḍādhipati-vāsa-vigraha* as 'a ground plot for a temple of *Daṇḍādhipati*.' But Dr. Barnett suggests that *vigraha* here should be taken to mean a *vibhāga*, section, block ; and *vāsa* in the sense of a house. The gift consisted apparently of a block of buildings which belonged to (the officer called) *Daṇḍādhipati*.

[3] The editor suggests it may mean 'the sixteen villages of Sāvairi'; *sole* closely approximates to the vernacular corruption of *ṣoḍaśa*.' *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 47, No. 54.

[4] Edited by Hall in *JAOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 32-34.

Hathināvara, on the north bank of Narmadā, in the Pagāra-*pratijāgaraṇaka*, to the *Purohita Paṇḍita* Govinda Śarman. Towards the end the date (V.) *S.* 1272 is again given in figures. It was composed by the same as No. (2), with the permission of the *Mahāsāndhi(vigrahika) Rājā* Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa). The sign-manual and engraver are the same as in No. 2.[1]

The three inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V. S. 1267 to 1272, corresponding to *c.* 1211-15 A.D. From these we know that Arjunavarman had the *biruda* Trividha-vīra,[2] and that 'his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the *dikpālas*' when in battle 'which was his childhood's frolic....Jayasiṁha took to flight.'[3] We are also told that, being 'a treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (*Sarasvatī*) of the burden of her books and lyre.'[4] These references to the king's victories and literary accomplishments are remarkably confirmed by Jain tradition and the fortunate discovery of a hitherto unknown drama named *Pārijāta-mañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī*[5] which was composed as a *praśasti* to Arjunavarman by the royal preceptor (*rāja-guru*) Madana,[6] who came from Gauḍa, presumably during the lifetime of his disciple. This work was found incised on a slab of black stone "attached to the northern wall of the principal *miḥrāb* in the mosque" at Dhar, in C. I. The slab contains 82 lines of writing. The work is a *nāṭikā* in four acts, and is stated to have been acted for the first time at the spring-festival in a temple of the

[1] Edited by Hall, *JAOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 25-31. On *Amareśvara tīrtha* and *Kapilā-saṅga*, see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 904, fn. 4, Mandhata grant of Jayavarman II, V.S.1317.

[2] *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 19. It means a hero in fight (*yuddha-vīra*), a hero in compassion (*dayā-vīra*, like Jīmūtavāhana), and a hero in bounty (*dāna-vīra*, like Bali): see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 114, fn. 6. This *biruda* is also mentioned by the *Pārijāta-mañjarī*. See *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 102, line 7, *Trividha-vīra-cūḍāmaṇi*.

[3] *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 17.

[4] *Ibid*, V. 18.

[5] Edited by Hultzsch in *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96-122: printed separately at Leipzig in 1906 by Otto Harrassowitz.

[6] Must be the same as the composer of the three grants of Arjunavarman; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 896-97. He was taught by the Jain Āśādhara, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 99, fn. 11.

goddess of learning.[1] Unfortunately however the slab contains only the first two acts of the drama, the other two acts, which were incised on a second slab, are still missing. The drama deals with the love-affair of the king with Pārijāta-mañjarī or Vijayaśrī, the daughter of the Gurjara king Jayasiṁha, who fell into Arjuna's hands after her father's defeat. In the opening verse the Mālava prince is called the incarnation of Bhoja.[2] In line 7 Arjunavarman is said to have defeated the *Gūrjara-pati* [3] Jayasiṁha 'on the borders of the land at the foot of the mountain called Parva-parvata.' [4] The preserved portion of the drama reveal that the king had another queen named Sarvakalā,[5] who was the daughter of the king of Kuntala. As in the *Ratnāvalī*, the whole interest of the drama consists in the king's intrigue with his new love in which he eludes the watchful and jealous queen. Hultzsch rightly remarked that, though the author must have derived the conception of his plot from older compositions, yet, "as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions of the poet. It would have been poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters." [6] The evidence of Arjunavarman's grants which also ascribe to him victories over Jayasiṁha seem to confirm this conclusion. The same author, following Dr. Hall,[7] has suggested the identification of this Jayasiṁha with the Caulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), who had the *biruda* 'new Siddharāja,' which was a surname of Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D). Though Merutuṅga refers to the devastation of Gujarat during the reign of Bhīma II by Sohaḍa's son

1 *Śāradā*, line 3, *Bhāratī*, line 6.

2 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 98 and 101, V. 1.

3 Also called *Caulukya-mahī-mahendra*, *ibid*, p. 103, V. 7.

4 Not identified.

5 Called in V. 30 (p. 107) *Samastakalā*.

6 *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 100-101.

7 *JAOS.*, Vol. VII, pp. 39-40, No. 23.

Arjunadeva,[1] yet I am inclined to believe that the prince referred to was not Bhīma Abhinava-Siddharāja, but the Caulukya Jayantasiṁha, also called Jayasiṁha, who during the period c. 1218-26 A.D. ousted Bhīma II and for a short time captured the sovereign power in Gujarat.[2] Hultzsch however may be right in his identification of the Kuntala king with the Hoysala Vīra-Ballāla II, who ruled from c. 1173-1212 A.D.[3]

The claim to literary merit advanced by his grants is supported by his commentary on the *Amaru-śataka*. In this work he quotes a verse by the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana, *alias* Bālasarasvatī. Hultzsch rightly identified this Madana with the author of the *Pārijāta-mañjarī* and the three royal grants mentioned above. The quotations in the *Rasika-saṁjīvinī* show that Madana produced other poetical works, and he may have materially helped his disciple in the compilation of his commentary.[4] Another luminary in Arjunavarman's court was Bilhaṇa, who is described as *Mahāpaṇḍita* in the royal grants He served the Mālava prince as his *Sāndhivigrahika*, and is referred to as *Mahākavi* in Jain tradition.[5] The third scholar was the Jain Āśādhara, whose father Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) is probably to be identified with the person of that name who appears with the title *rājā* as the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Arjunavarman in one of his Bhopal grants (V.S. 1272).[6] The Jain tradition records that Madana was a pupil of Āśādhara.[7]

The facts recorded above show that the Paramāras had to some extent again succeeded in reviving the glory of the days of

1 *PC*, p. 154.

2 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*; see also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, fn. 2.

3 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 101; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, table facing p. 492.

4 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 99. Āśādhara in his *Dharmāmṛta-ṭīkā* writes: *Sa Bālasarasvatī mahā-kavi-Madana*. See *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

5 *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*, p. 2.

6 *Ibid*, p. 1; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 107. He also served in the same capacity under Arjuna's father.

7 For the name of another officer of Arjuna, the *Amātya* Nārāyaṇa, see *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 103, V. 8.

Muñja and Bhoja. The claim that Arjunavarman was an incarnation of Bhoja was not entirely fictitious.

Arjunavarman was succeeded sometime before V.S. 1275 by Devapāla. The following records are known for his reign :

(1) *Harsauda stone-inscription.*—Dug out from the ruins of a temple in the village of 'Harsaudā, about 10½ miles from the town of Chārwā, in the district of Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces.' It contains 18 lines, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and then praising the gods Heramba (Gaṇeśa), Bhāratī (Sarasvatī), Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Then follows the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1275 (A.D. 1218), at Dhārā, in the reign of *Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabd-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Limbāryā*[1]*-prasāda vara-labdha-pratāpa*-Devapāladeva. The object of the inscription is to record that on the north-eastern side of Harṣapura the merchant Keśava built a temple of Śambhu together with a tank, and that near it he put up figures of Hanumat, Kṣetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulīśa and Ambikā. It ends with *Śivamastu.*[2]

(2) *Mandhata grant.*—Found enclosed in a stone-chest 'near the temple of Siddheśvara at Māndhātā, an island on the Narmadā river attached to the Nimar District of the C. P.' It contains 80 lines, incised on 3 plates. The introductory portion (verses 1-19) is exactly the same as in his father's grants.[3] We are informed that Arjunavarman was succeeded in Mālava, by Devapāla, son of Hariścandra. In the formal part we are told, while staying at Māhiśmatī,[4] on the occasion of a lunar eclipse,

[1] I cannot identify this deity; see also *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84, fn. 3. Dr. Barnett suggests : "This name is right : *cf. Limbarāja*, see below (*DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 921. Perhaps *limba* is a variant for *nimba* which occurs in names (*e.g.*, Nimbāditya, Nimbārka) : so Kanarese has both *nimba* and *limba*."

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 310-12. First edited by Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-8. This text was republished in *ASWI*, No. 10, pp. 111-12. Hall also published some notes on the record in *JAOS*, Vol. VI, pp. 536-37.

[3] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 895-97.

[4] Identified by Kielhorn with Maheswar, north of the Narbadā (Long. 75°37' and Lat. 22°11'), in the Indore State : *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 108.

in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1282 (*c.* 1225 A.D.) after bathing in the Revā and worshipping Śiva in the neighbourhood of (Viṣṇu) Daityasūdana, Devapāla granted the village of Satājuṇā[1] in the Mahuaḍa[2]-*pratijāgaraṇaka*, to the Brāhman Gaṅgādhara and 31 other donees. The date in figures is again given in line 79. It was composed by the *Rāja-guru* Madana[3] with the assent of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika-Paṇḍita* Bilhaṇa.[4] Line 80 contains the sign-manual of the donor.[5]

(3) *Udayapur stone-inscription* (*i*).—Found inside the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur, in Gwalior. It contains 14 lines, opening with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1286 (*c.* 1229 A.D.) in the victorious reign of Devapāladeva.[6]

(4) *Udayapur stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Found in the same place as in No. 3 above. It contains 15 lines, and is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 128(9?) (*c.* 1232 A.D.), at Udayapura, in the reign of *Pb.-M.*- Devapāla.[7]

The inscriptions noticed above range from V. S. 1275 to 1289, corresponding to *c.* 1218-1232 A.D. While editing the Harsaudā stone inscription Kielhorn noticed the similarity of the royal titles in that record to those occurring in the inscriptions of the descendants of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman.[8] His suspicion was confirmed by the Mandhata plates, which distinctly state that Devapāla was the son of Hariścandra, who must be identified with the son of Lakṣmīvarman bearing the same name. Devapāla was therefore a brother of Mahākumāra Udayavarman, for whom we have the date V.S. 1256.[9] The

[1] Mod. Satajana, about 13 miles SW of Mandhata, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 106.

[2] Probably the village of Mohod, 25 miles south of Satajana : *ibid.*

[3] The composer of Arjunavarman's grants and the *Pārijāta-mañjarī.*

[4] The same person who served Arjunavarman in the same office : see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 896.

[5] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 103-17. For the list of donees see *ibid*, pp. 115-17. The plates are now in the Nagpur Museum.

[6] Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

[7] Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 311.

[9] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 105.

fact that, unlike his father and grand-father Devapāla discards the title of *Mahākumāra* and assumes imperial titles would seem to indicate that in him the two families again became reunited. It is easy to conclude that the line of Arjunavarman ceased to exist for lack of male heirs. But it is not beyond the range of probability that the line of Lakṣmīvarman, who, if Kielhorn's guess is correct, never regarded the line of Ajayavarman as the legitimate rulers of Mālava, may have ousted their relatives by violence.

The inscriptions noticed above show that Madana, the preceptor of Arjunavarman, continued to serve in that capacity under the new king. Similarly Bilhaṇa, who also served the previous king appears to have retained the post of minister of peace and war under the new administration. The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived Arjunavarman and finished his *Jina-yajña-kalpa* and *Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti* during the reign of Devapāla.[1] The latter work was completed in A.D. 1236.[2] The only interesting incident in Devapāla's reign comes from *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha Sūri, which tells us that in alliance with the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa (Siṅghaṇa, A.D. 1210-47) he made a joint attack on Vīradhavala, the Vāghela chieftain of Dholka. But the Jain author tells us that, thanks to the ability of the spies engaged by Vastupāla, the minister of the Vāghela chief, dissensions arose in the camps of the allied monarchs, and the attempted attack failed.[3] We may well doubt whether this story of the failure of the Paramāra-Yādava attack is really correct. I have shown elsewhere that in the struggle with their southern neighbours the Dholka chiefs were sometimes defeated and compelled to submit.[4]

Devapala was succeeded by his son Jaitugi who had the *biruda* Bālanārāyaṇa.[5] The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived

1 *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*, p. 5.
2 Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 54.
3 *GOS*, No. X, See Acts I and II; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*
4 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.
5 *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, fn. 4 and p. 121, lines 20-23.

Devapāla and finished his *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1296 (*c.* 1239 A.D.)[1] and his *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1300 (*c.* 1243 A.D.)[2] in the reign of the new king. No inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered. The only incident of his reign appears to have been a possible conflict with the Vāghela Vīsaladeva.[3] Jaitugi[4] was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Jayavarman II. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :—

(1) *Rahatgadh stone-inscription.*—Found 'inside the fort of Rāhatgaḍh in the Central Provinces.' It contains 14 lines of very rude writing, which open with *Oṁ Siddhiḥ*, and are dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1312 (*c.* 1256 A.D.) in the victorious reign of *M.* Jayavarmadeva.[5]

(2) *Modi stone-inscription.*—Found in a Jain temple at Modi, Indore State, C.I. The record is fragmentary. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1314, and refers itself to the reign of (Paramāra) Jayayarmadeva.[6]

(3) *Mandhata grant.* Found 'at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces.' It contains 53 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion (Vs. 1-21) is the same as in No. 2 of his father.[7] The new facts

[1] *Sāgāra Dharmāmṛta*, p. 5. See also *Grantha-kartuḥ praśasti* at the end, Vs. 19-21.

[2] *Ibid*; also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118; Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

[3] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[4] According to some also known as 'Jayasiṁha II,' *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 49.

[5] *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 31. In *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. Kielhorn read the name of the king as *Jaya(siṁ)hadeva*. But in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, he was 'not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham was not right in reading the same as *Jaya (varmma) deva*.' Ojha refers the inscription to Jaitugi. See *HR*, Vol. I, p. 202. D. R. Bhandarkar gives the name of the king as Jayasiṁhadeva. See *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 78, No. 551.

[6] 'Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1905, p. 12, and also in *ibid*, 1913, p. 56.' Modi is sometimes spelt as Moṛī. The *Aṭru* (Kotah State, Rajputana) *Inscription* of the time of *M.* Jayasiṁhadeva dated in V. S. [13]14 which records a grant to the *Mahākavi-cakravartin Ṭhakura* Nārāyaṇa probably also belongs to the reign. See *ASI*, *WC*., 1906, p. 56, No. 2111.

[7] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 900-01. The only important variation is the name *Jaitrasiṁha* in place of the usual Jayasiṁha, the Caulukya opponent of Arjunavarman.

about the genealogy of the Paramāras (Vs. 22-23) are as follows. After Devapāla's death, the throne of Mālava went to his son Jaitugi. After his death his younger brother Jayavarman II succeeded him. In the formal portion of the grant we are told that this last ruler in (V.) *Saṁvatsara* 1317 (*c.* 1260 A. D.), while staying at Maṇḍapa-*durga*, caused the Pratīhāra Gāṅgadeva to give the village of Vaḍaüda [1] in the Mahuaḍa-*pathaka* [2] to the *agnihotrin* Mādhva Śarman and two others (names and shares given). Gāṅgadeva made the grant at Amareśvara-*kṣetra*,[3] on the southern bank of the Revā after bathing at the confluence of the Revā and Kapilā [4] and worshipping the holy Amareśvara Śiva. The *rāja-śāsana* was written 'here at Maṇḍapa*durga*' (mod. Maṇḍu) by Harṣadeva, with the approbation of the *Sāndhi-vigrahika*, the *Paṇḍita* Mālādhara. It was corrected by the grammarian (*Śābdika*) Āmadeva, a disciple of the learned Gōsēka (Gōsē), 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science' (*Smṛti-śāstra-sāra*), and engraved by the *rūpakāra* Kānhaḍa. The *Dūta* was the *Mahāpradhāna Rājā* Ajayadeva.[5]

The three inscriptions noticed above show that Jayavarman II ruled at Dhārā at least from V.S. 1312 to 1315 (*c.* 1256-60). If the name 'Jayasiṁha' is accepted as a variation of his name [6] then he appears to have come into conflict with the Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura.[7] In the Balvan plates of Hammīra, Vāgbhaṭa,

1 Mentioned in the Ujjain grant of Yaśovarman and Lakṣmīvarman (V.S. 1191 and 1200); see *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 852, line 5. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 882, 'Perhaps the village of Burud,' 3 miles NE of Satajana, the village granted by Devapāla's Māndhātā grant, see *ibid*, p. 901, fn 1.

2 See Mandhata grant (V.S. 1282) of Devapāla. Note the correspondence by *Pathaka* and *Pratijāgaraṇaka*.

3 Same as *Amareśvara tīrtha* of the Bhopal grant (V.S. 1272), see *ante*, p. 897; also *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 27.

4 The junction of the two rivers (Revā and Kapilā) is now known as '*Kapila-Saṅgam* where a small stream joins the Narbada.' *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 120.

5 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX pp. 117-23. First noticed by Lele in his *Progress Report of Archaeological work in the Dhar State*, 24th August, 1904. The grant is sometimes called *Godarpura plates*, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 79. No. 559. The plates are now in the Nagpur Museum.

6 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 903, fn. 7.

7 See *infra*. *DHNI*, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

a descendant of Govindarāja is said to have harassed Jayasiṁha of Maṇḍapa (mod. Mandu).[1] How long Jayavarman II continued to wield power in Mālava, it is difficult at present to say. But a reconsideration of the inscriptions which hitherto have been referred to a separate prince named Jayasiṁha may suggest that some of them perhaps belong to the immediate successor of Jaitugi. One such is the *Pathari inscription*, dated in *V.S.* 1326 (A.D. 1269), which Kielhorn referred to his reign.[2] The date is so close to the last known date (V.S. 1317) of Jayavarman II that one is naturally tempted to think that there may have been some mistake in reading the name or that they are both the names of the same prince. Some scholars however take him to be a separate prince who succeeded Jayavarman II as Jayasiṁha III.[3] But that there was a separate prince bearing the name Jayasiṁha who ruled in Malwa in *V. S.* 1366 (*c.* 1310 A.D.) is clearly shown by a stone inscription incised on the inside of the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.).[4] The date of this record is so far removed from the last known date of Jayavarman II that he must in all likelihood be accepted as a separate person.[5] Whether his rule extended over Dhārā, as Kielhorn suggested, is however uncertain. But before this Jayasiṁha we must place two more princes. Rai Bahadur Ojha has pointed out that an inscription engraved on a slab in the temple of Kavāljī (Kapālīśvara) in the Balvan estate of Kotah, dated in

1 *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 49, V. 7; *ibid*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 89, No. 623.

2 Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 33, No. 232, from a rubbing. In addition to the Aṭru inscription of Jayasiṁha noticed above (*ante*, p. 903, fn. 5), another inscription of Jayasiṁha bearing the date V.S. 1311 (A.D. 1256) was discovered at Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.). This prince is accepted by some as a Paramāra, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 78, Nos. 550 and 554. It is possible, as I have suggested above, that Jayavarman was also known as Jayasiṁha.

3 See G. H. Ojha, *HR* (V.S. 1981), Fasciculus I, p. 203.

4 *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. Noticed by Kielhorn.

5 Ojha in his *HR* (I, p. 204) designates him as Jayasimha IV in the Malwa line.

V.S. 1345, the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranathambhor (*c.* 1283-1301 A.D.) claims to have taken away the fortune of Mālava by defeating Arjuna. Ojha accepts this Mālava prince as Arjunavarman II in the Paramāra line of Malwa.[1] Another ruler of Mālava who may possibly have been the successor of Arjuna II was Bhoja II. The *Hammīra Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra tells that the Cāhamāna prince Hammīra (*c.* 1283-1301 A.D.) in the course of his *dig-vijaya* defeated Bhoja of Dhārā, encamped in Ujjayinī and worshipped at the temple of Mahākāla.[2] From the similarity of this name with that of some of the Paramāras of Malwa and from the locality over which he reigned it will probably be safe to consider him as a successor of Arjuna(varman II ?). But the exact relationship of this prince with Bhoja II (?) and of both with their predecessors or with their possible successors is at present unknown. Some scholars accept Jayasiṁha of the Udaipur inscription (V.S. 1366), as the successor of Bhoja II and as the last prince of the line of the Paramāras of Malwa.[3] But this must remain at present a guess, unsupported by any conclusive evidence.

The period that followed the reign of Arjunavarman (*c.*1211-15 A.D.) appears to have been one of gradual decline in the history of the Paramāras of Malwa. By this time the Turks had consolidated their power in the valleys of the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna and were casting greedy eyes towards the wealth of the south. In the reign of Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.) the greatest of the slave kings of Delhi, the Muslims first plundered and desecrated the temples and cities of Malwa. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* informs us that shortly after the capture of Gwalior, the Sulṭān in 632 A. H. (1234 A.D.) "led the hosts of Islam towards Mālwah and took the fortress and town of Bhīlsāṇ, and demolished the idol temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude,

1 *Ibid*, p. 206.

2 *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 64-65 ; Sarga IX, 18-19.

3 Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 204.

was about one hundred ells. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagarī, and the temple of Mahā-kāl Dīw. The effigy of Bikramajīt who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagarī, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, one hundred, and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindū-ī era, together with other effigies besides his, which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone [idol] of Mahā-kāl, were carried away to Dihlī, the capital."[1] Firishta repeats this, with the additional information that the temple of Mahākāla was 'formed upon the same plan with that of Somnat' and that the images conveyed to Delhi were 'broken at the door of the great mosque.'[2] This expedition must have taken place in the reign of Devapāla (*c.* 1218-36 A.D.). There appears to have been a period of calm for about fifty years. But at the end of it, in 1292 A.D. 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī, in the reign of his uncle Jalāl ud-Dīn Fīrūz (1290-96 A.D.) invaded Malwa, captured the town of Bhilsa, and brought much plunder to Delhi.'[3] Firishta records that shortly before this expedition Sultān Fīrūz himself had "marched against the 'Hindoos' in the neighbourhood of Mandu, and returned to his capital after devastating the country." In his subsequent invasion of Deogir in A.D. 1294, 'Alā ud-Dīn probably followed the Chanderi[4]-Bhilsa route up the Betwa valley, and did not penetrate into the valleys of the Sipra and upper Chambal. By this he probably avoided a conflict with the Paramāras on this occasion. But in A.D. 1305, 'Alā ud-Dīn sent his general "Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany......with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka,[5] the Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse, and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojein, Mando,

1 *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 622-23.
2 *TF*, Vol. I, p. 211.
3 *Ibid*, p. 303.
4 *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 149; *TF*, Vol. I, p. 304.
5 The *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 111, gives the name as 'raja-Koka or Haranand.'

Dharanuggury and Chundery. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the king, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Dehly."[1] This was probably the end of Paramāra sovereignty in Malwa. What relationship this 'Koka' had with Devapāla (*c.* 1218-36 A.D.) or with Bhoja II (?) remains uncertain. That he was a Paramāra ruler is also at present a mere guess. The Udayapur inscription of Jayasiṁha, dated in 1310 A.D., shows that Hindu chiefs probably still lingered in Malwa for some time after the defeat of 'Koka.'

(2) *Paramāras of Candrāvatī and Arbuda (Abu).*

The earliest reference to this branch of the Paramāras is obtained from the *Vasantgadh stone-inscription* of the Paramāra Pūrṇapāla, dated in V.S. 1099.[2] The introductory portion of this record gives the following genealogy of Pūrṇapāla :—

From the anger (*kopa*) of Vasiṣṭha was produced a
Kumāra; from him the
Paramāras;[3] in his lineage
Utpalarāja
|
Āraṇyarāja
|
Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja
|
?
Mahīpāla
|
Dhandhuka = Amṛtadevī

Pūrṇapāla (ruled in Arbuda-*maṇḍala*.)	Lāhiṇī

It is evident from this list that Pūrṇapāla traced his descent to one Utpalarāja. It is not improbable that this prince is

[1] *TF*, Vol. I, pp. 361-62.
[2] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 10-15.
[3] Notice the peculiar spelling.

identical with Vākpati II (c. 975-90 A.D.) of the Malwa branch, who had the additional name of Utpalarāja.[1] If this identification is accepted, we must suppose that Vākpati conquered the Abu country in the course of his campaigns against the Cāhamānas of Nadol and the Caulukyas of Anahilavad.[2] Āraṇyarāja, the son of Vākpati-Utpala, was therefore in all probability established as the first feudatory of his father in the Arbuda-*maṇḍala*. Āraṇyarāja was succeeded by his son Vāsudeva[3] *alias* Abdhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja I. This Kṛṣṇarāja may be identical with the hero Kānhaḍadeva, whose name occurs as that of one of the Abu Paramāras in the Mt. Abu Vimala temple-inscription[4] dated in V.S. 1378 (A.D. 1322). But it is more likely that the person meant in the Abu inscription was the prince Kṛṣṇarāja from whom Vākpati II traces his descent in his grants.[5] The next name on the list is that of Mahīpāla, who was possibly his son, though it is difficult to be certain on the point on account of some damage to the inscription.[6] Rai Bahadur Ojha and Dr. Bhandarkar place the name of Dharaṇīvarāha between Kṛṣṇarāja and Mahīpāla, and accept him as the son of the former and father of the latter.[7] It is likely that Mahīpāla had another name, Devarāja.[8] An unpublished grant of Mahīpāla is reported to bear the date V.S. 1059 (c. 1002 A.D.).[9] Mahīpāla was succeeded by Dhandhuka. This prince is probably to be identified with the Abu Paramāra of that name mentioned in the Vimala temple-inscription

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 854.

[2] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 855.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 20, No. 123.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 155, line 3. Also called the *Divāḍā Inscription* (of the Devḍā Cāhamāna Lumbhaka), *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 95, No. 677.

[5] See *ante*, *DNHI*, Vol. II, pp. 844, 852.

[6] Kielhorn writes 'His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son). *EI*, Vol. IX p. 11.

[7] Ojha, *HR*, I, pp. 171-72. *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 20, No. 123.

[8] See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 472-73. The Bhinmal inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja, the son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Devarāja.

Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 172.

referred to above. We are told in this record that Dhandhu-rāja, lord of the town of Candrāvatī, was born in the family of Paramāra Kānhaḍadeva. This Dhandhu, 'averse from rendering homage to the (Caulukya) king Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) and to escape from that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhoja, the lord of Dhārā'[1] (c. 1010-55 A.D.). As the inscription after this statement abruptly introduces the Prāgvāṭa Vimala, the *Daṇḍapati* of Bhīma I at Arbuda, and refers to his building of a temple of Ṛṣabha (Yugādi-bhartṛ, Yugādi-jina, Ādi-nātha) on the top of the mountain in V.S. 1088 (c. 1031 A.D.)[2] it seems almost certain that Vimala became the Caulukya governor of this region after ousting the Paramāra Dhandhu, who was probably the feudatory of Bhoja. But the *Vasantgad stone-inscription* of Pūrṇapāla shows that the Paramāras were not permanently ousted from the Abu region. This record was found in a tank at Vasantgadh, apparently situated to the east of Mt. Abu, in the Sirohi State of Rajputana. It contains 23 lines of writing, of which about 15 *akṣaras* have been lost at the commencement of lines 1-9. The inscription opens with two verses in which 'the author pays homage to Maheśvara, Prācetasa (Vālmīki), and Vāṇī (the goddess of eloquence.)' The 3rd verse invokes Hari (Viṣṇu). Then follows the genealogy of Pūrṇapāla, as shown above.[3] Then we are told that Pūrṇapāla's sister Lāhiṇī was married to one Vigraharāja. The genealogy of this person is given as follows :—

Dvija Yoṭa......by his bravery acquired the title king (*bhūpa*).

In his lineage

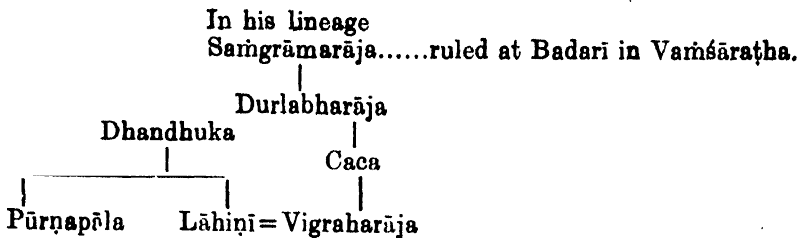
Nṛpa Bhavagupta......restored the sun-temple at Vaṭa (*Vaṭa-vāsi-bhānu*). He reigned at Vaṭa.[4]

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 151 and pp. 155-56, lines 1-5.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 149, 151 and 156, lines 5, 8.

[3] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 908.

[4] Vaṭa-nagara or Vaṭa-pura was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī (line 15). It is not identified; but Kielhorn points out that it was an ancient place, for it is mentioned



The object of this inscription is to record that the widowed Lāhiṇī restored an ancient temple of the sun, and probably also a tank.[1] It was composed by the Brāhman Mātṛśarman and engraved by Śivapāla. It is dated in V.S. 1099 (*c.* 1042 A.D.) in lines 22-23.[2]

Besides the above we have the *Bhadund stone-inscription* of Pūrṇapāla[3] showing that he was still holding Arbuda-*maṇḍala* in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1102 (*c.* 1045 A.D.). This was discovered at Bhadund, about a mile and a half from Nana in the Jodhpur State. As Pūrṇapāla's reign coincided with that of Caulukya Bhīma I (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.), it seems likely that the officers of the latter still held Abu while the country around continued to be in the possession of Dhandhuka's son. Pūrṇapāla was possibly succeeded by Kṛṣṇarāja II.[4] The following two inscriptions are known for his reign :—

(1) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the lower part of a pillar in the *dharmaśālā* east of the temple of Bārāji· east of the town. It contains 23 lines of writing and

in the Vasantgadh inscription of Varmalāta of the (V.)S. 682 (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 191), and in a somewhat earlier inscription found at the village of Samoli in the Bhomat district of Mewar. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 99. It is probably identical with Vasantgadh, or was situated near by.

[1] Apparently the very tank where this record has been found, Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 11.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 10-15. First edited by Captain Burt in *JASB*, Vol. X, pp. 664-74. The inscription was composed by the Brāhman Mātṛśarman and engraved by Śivapāla, the son of the *Sūtradhāra* Dāuka, grandson of Durga and great-grandson of the *sthapati* Nāga.

[3] Noticed by Bhandarkar, *ASI*, WC, 1908, p. 50. Edited by Ramakarna, *JBRAS*, Vol XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

[4] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 912, fn. 3.

is somewhat damaged. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Sūryāya* and a verse in praise of the Sun. Then comes the date (V.) S. 1117 (*c.* 1060 A.D.), at Śrīmāla, in the reign of *M.*-Kṛṣṇa-rāja, son of Dhaṁdhuka and grandson of Devarāja of the Paramāra race. It records some repairs to the temple of the god Jagatasvāmī (deva) by Dada Hari and some other persons, likewise some gifts and donations to the temple. The grants were made when Kiriṇāditya of the Dharakūṭa family was the office-holder in his turn for the current year (*Vartamāna-varṣa-vārika-Dharakūṭa-jāti Kiriṇāditya.*[1]

(2) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Incised 'on the north face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of Jagasvāmi.' It contains 13 lines of writing. The record opens with *Oṁ*, then follows the date (V.) S. 1123 (*c.* 1067 A.D.) at Śrīmāla, in the reign of *M.*-Kṛṣṇa-rāja. The inscription is badly damaged, but appears to be a Śaiva record concerning one Jāvala, a *Pāśupatācārya* and a devotee of Caṇḍīśa-Mahādeva.[2]

A difficulty in the identification of this Kṛṣṇarāja as a member of Pūrṇapāla's family is caused by the name of his grandfather Devarāja. But considering the proximity of his reign-period (*c.* 1060-67 A.D.) to that of Pūrṇapāla (*c.* 1042-45) the agreement in the name of the father of both princes, and the provenance of their records, it is perhaps reasonable to accept him as a brother of Pūrṇapāla.[3] I have already suggested that Devarāja was possibly another name of Mahīpāla, the grandfather of Pūrṇapāla.[4] Kielhorn has pointed out that the prince Kṛṣṇa

[1] Edited by Jackson in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 472-73. Noticed by Bhandarkar, *AŚI, WC*, 1908, p. 37.

[2] Edited by Jackson in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 473-74. On the date, see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 93, No. 689.

[3] See *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 40 ff., for another suggestion. Dr. Ganguly considers Kṛṣṇa and his predecessors mentioned in the two Bhinmal inscriptions (V.S. 1117 and 1123) as belonging to a separate branch of the Paramāras reigning over *Marumaṇḍala* from Bhinmal. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 842, fn. 3.

[4] See *ante*, *DHNI* Vol. II, p. 909.

whom the Naddūla Cāhamāna Bālaprasāda claims to have released from the prison of Bhīma I of Anahilavad (c. 1022-64 A.D.) is probably identical with this Abu prince.[1]

There is a gap of about fifty years in the history of the Paramāras of Abu after Kṛṣṇarāja II. They next emerge from obscurity as feudatories of the Caulukyas of Anahilavad. The following genealogical list of these later Abu Paramāras is given in an Abu inscription (V.S. 1287=1230 A.D.)[2] of the time of Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.).

From the sacrificial fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Mt. Arbuda

1. Paramāra: In that lineage
2. Dhūmarāja: Then there were
3. Dhandhuka,
4. Druvabhaṭa and others: In their lineage
5. Rāmadeva
6. Yaśodhavala
7. Dhārāvarṣa
8. Prahlādana
9. Somasiṁha
10. Kṛṣṇarāja.[3]

It is difficult to see what relationship this group had with the line of Pūrṇapāla, noticed above. The latter group seems to trace its pedigree back to Utpalarāja of the main line and beyond him possibly to Kānhaḍadeva (Kṛṣṇarāja). It is not improbable that this last prince is the same as the Dhūmarāja of the above list.[4]

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 75-76, V. 18; also p. 72; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapters on the *Caulukyas* and the *Cāhamānas*.

[2] *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 200-04, 208-19; see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[3] Also known as 'Kānhaḍadeva.' See *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 206.

[4] Dr. Barnett sees no ground for accepting this identification; I have tentatively suggested the identification because of the similarity of the two names; *dhūma* and *kṛṣṇa* both signify darkness.

But as I have already noticed, there is a distant possibility that Kānhaḍadeva and the present Dhūmarāja may be identical with the Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja of the Vasantgadh stone-inscription. Dhandhuka of the Abu inscription may also be the same as the father of Pūrṇapāla of the Vasantgadh epigraph. But without confirmatory evidence these suggestions must be regarded as pure guess. The person who really founded this line was Rāmadeva, who may have been a relative of Kṛṣṇarāja II (c. 1060-67 A.D.) of the two Bhinmal inscriptions noticed above. The ***Kumārapāla-carita*** relates that the Caulukya king Kumārapāla suppressed the rebellion of Vikramasiṁha, the lord of Candrāvatī, and having imprisoned him, installed his nephew Yaśodhavala in his place.[1] This Yaśodhavala is no doubt to be identified with the prince of that name in the Mt. Abu inscription. He was certainly the feudatory of Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), as he claims to have killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when the latter became hostile to the Caulukya prince.[2] Thus Vikramasiṁha appears to have been a brother of Rāmadeva, and may have been placed in Candrāvatī as his feudatory by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). The following inscriptions of Yaśodhavala are so far known :—

(*i*) *Ajahari stone-inscription.*—Discovered at Ajahari in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is fragmentary and is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1146) in the time of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Yaśodhavaladeva. It is now preserved in the Ajmer Museum.[3]

(*ii*) *Mount Abu inscription.*—Found on Mount Abu, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1207 in the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Yaśodhavaladeva.[4]

[1] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[2] *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 211 and 216, V. 35 ; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[3] Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 175. *ASI*, *WC*, 1911, p. 38 ; *IA*, LVI, p. 12.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 149 ; *ibid*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 43, No. 280.

(iii) *Koyalbav inscription*.—Found at Koyalbav, Godwar, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1208 in the reign of Jasadhavala (Yaśodhavala).[1]

Yaśodhavala was succeeded by his son Dhārāvarṣa, who claims in the Abu inscription to have defeated the lord of Kauṅkana, no doubt in the interest of his liege-lord the Caulukya Kumārapāla.[2] According to the *Pārthaparākrama* this Abu ruler also repulsed a night attack by the (Cāhamāna) Pṛthvīrāja III (*c*. 1179-98 A.D.), king of Jaṅgala.[3] It is stated that up to now one copper-plate and 14 stone-inscriptions bearing dates from V.S. 1220 (*c*. 1163 A.D.) to V.S. 1276 (*c*. 1218 A.D.) have been discovered for the reign of Dhārāvarṣa.[4] Of these the following appears to have been noticed or published so far :

(1) *Kayadra stone-inscription*.—Found in the village of Kayadra (16 miles from Vasa in the Sirohi State) in a roofless brick shed near the ruined temple of Kāśi-Viśveśvara. It is dated in (V.) S. 1220 (*c*. 1163 A.D.) in the reign of *M.-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dhārāvarṣadeva, and records some grants by him to the god Kāśīśvara.[5]

(2) *Abu stone-inscription* (*i*).—Contains 14 lines, of which 'lines 7 and 14 are indistinct.' It is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Vernacular. It opens with *Oṁ svasti*, and then gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1220 (*c*. 1163 A.D.) in the reign of *M.-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*-Dhārāvarṣa. It probably recorded the grant of a *Śāsana* by this prince granting remission of taxes, on (the village of) Phukahalī belonging to *Bhaṭṭāraka* Deveśvara, of

[1] *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 43, No. 283.

[2] *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 212, V. 36; see also *infra*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*. The name of the lord of Konkan was Mallikārjuna.

[3] *GOS*, No. 4, p. 3; also *ibid*, *Introduction*, p. ii.

[4] *IA*, 1927, pp. 47-48. The discovery is said to have been made by G. H. Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

[5] *ASI*, WC, 1907, p. 27; *ibid*, 1911, p. 39. In the absence of plates, it is not possible for me to compare it with No. 2 but the name of the god makes me suspicious that it may be the same record as the next one. See *IA*, 1924, p. 51. Bhandarkar seems to agree, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 48, No. 317.

the temple of Kāśīśvara, by *Kumhara* (Kumāra) Pālhaṇadeva. Lines 13-14 record the grant of a field by the *amātya* Śivasiṁha.[1]

(3) *Hathal grant.*—The plates were discovered at Hathal, Sirohi State, Rajputana. They are dated in V. S. 1237 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, lord of Arbuda (Abu).[2]

(4) *Ajahari inscription.*—Found at Ajahari, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1240 in the time of Dhārāvarṣa-deva reigning at Candrāvatī.[3]

(5) *Mungthala inscription.*—Found at Mungthala, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1245 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa-deva.[4]

(6) *Abu stone-inscription (ii).*—This is dated in V.S. 1265 in the time of the Caulukya Bhīma II and his feudatory *Maṇḍalika* Dhārāvarṣa-deva. The latter was ruling at Candrāvatī with the *Kumārā-guru* Prahlādana as the *Yuvarāja.*[5]

(7) *Abu' stone-inscription (iii).*—4 lines only. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1271 (*c.* 1214 A.D.), and grants one *halavāha* (plough-drive) of land at the village of Sāvaḍa Vṛddha by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dhārāvarṣa.[6]

(8) *Abu stone-inscription (iv).*—Found in a temple of Śiva; contains 19 lines; broken in two pieces. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1274 (*c.* 1217 A.D.), in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the son of Jasadhavala (Yaśodhavala). The object is not clear; it 'probably records the vow of certain persons to

1 Edited by R. R. Haldar, *IA*, 1927, Vol LVI, pp. 50-51. Now in the Rajputana Museum. Seems to be the same inscription as No. 1. But Haldar does not refer to it as previously noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1907, under a different name.

2 Edited by B. Shastri, *IA*, Vol. XLIII, p. 194.

3 Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1911, p. 38.

4 Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid*, 1907, p. 26.

5 Edited by Cartellieri, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 220-23. For detailed notice of the record see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas* (reign of Bhīma II). The inscription is recorded in *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 65, No. 464 under the name *Kankhal inscription*.

6 Noticed by G. H. Ojha in *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1910-11, p. 2. Edited by R. R. Haldar, *IA*, 1227, pp. 50-57 now in the Rajputana Museum. The inscription is recorded in *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 67, No. 468 under the name *Butri inscription*.

observe the festivity for two days on the day of *Mahārātri*.' (*Śivarātri*).[1]

(9) *Pindwara stone-inscription.*—Found at Pindwara, the principal town of the *tahsil* of the same name, about 14 miles east of Sirohi. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1274 (A.D. 1217), in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, son of Jasadhavala, of the lineage of Śrī-Dhomarāja.[2]

(10) *Makaval inscription.*—This record is said to be engraved on a marble pillar on the bank of a tank at a little distance from the village of Makaval in the Sirohi state, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1276 (*c.* 1219 A.D.) in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa of Candrāvatī.[3]

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1220 to 1276 V.S., a period of 56 years (*c.* 1163-1219 A.D.). The inscription No. 2 above gives us the name of *Kumhara* Pālhaṇadeva, who must be identified with prince Prahlādana, who according to the Abu inscription, dated in V.S. 1287, was a younger brother of Dhārāvarṣa.[4] Another Abu inscription (6), dated in V.S. 1265 describes *Māṇḍalika* Dhārāvarṣa as a feudatory of Bhima II.[5] This inscription, we are told, was composed during Dhārāvarṣa's administration when the illustrious Prahlādana-deva, 'an expert in all fine arts and useful sciences, a most worshipful prince, was the heir-apparent ' (*Ṣaḍ-darśana-avalaṁbana-stambha-sakala-kalā-kovida-Kumāra-guru-Śrī- Prahlādana-deva*). These inscriptions therefore show that Dhārāvarṣa was contemporary with no less than four Caulukya princes, from Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.) to Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1214 A.D.). The claim of Prahlādana to literary merit is confirmed by his

[1] Edited by Haldar, *IA*, Vol. LVI, p. 51 and pl., now in the Rajputana Museum.

[2] Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1906, p. 48. In the absence of plates I cannot compare it with No. 8; but it seems to be the same as No. 8; but Haldar does not refer to No. 8 as previously noticed under a different name. Bhandarkar seems to agree with me, *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 67, No. 469.

[3] Noticed by Sukthankar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1917, p. 61. See also *IA*, 1927, pp. 47-48; Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 177.

[4] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 913.

[5] *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 220-23.

Vyāyoga, a one-act drama, named *Pārthaparākrama*.[1] I have suggested elsewhere that Dhārāvarṣa is probably to be identified with 'Dārābars' who with Rāi Karan led the Caulukya forces against Quṭb ud-Dīn in A.D. 1197.[2] I have also discussed the question of the identity of the Gurjara prince who according to the Abu inscription of V.S. 1287 mentioned above, was defended by Prahlādana when the former's power was broken in battle by the (Guhila) Sāmantasiṁha. He was probably Caulukya King Ajayapāla (*c.* 1173-76 A.D.).[3] The same inscription, when read with another Abu record of the same date, shows that in 1287 V.S. (*c.* 1230 A.D.) Somasiṁha, the son of Dhārāvarṣa, was still ruling at Candrāvatī as feudatory of Bhīma II.[4] Another inscription of Somasiṁha, stated to have been found in a temple at Devakṣetra in Sirohi State, carries his reign down to V.S. 1293 (*c.* 1236 A.D.).[5] The recently discovered *Pāṭanārāyana stone-inscription* shows that the line of the Abu Paramāras continued for three more generations. This record was found at Pāṭanārāyaṇa temple near Girvar, 4 miles west of Madhusudan in Sirohi. It contains 39 lines and opens with Oṁ namaḥ Puruṣottamāya. It traces the genealogy from Dhārāvarṣa as follows :—

1. Dhārāvarṣa
   |
2. Somasiṁha
   |
3. Kṛṣṇarāja (III)

4. Pratāpasiṁha.

It records that the Brāhman Delhaṇa, minister of No. 4 above, carried out the repairs of the temple (of Pāṭa-nārāyaṇa) during

[1] Edited by Dalal in *GOS*, No. IV, 1917.

[2] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*; see also *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 72-73; *IA*, 1927, p. 47. The *Hamīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha states that Dhārāvarṣa, one of the chiefs of the Maru country, helped Vīradhavala against the *Mleccha-cakravarti*, *GOS*, No. X, II, 8.

[3] *Infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*; also *IA*, 1921, pp. 100-02.

[4] *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 205.

[5] Noticed by Ojha, *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum*, 1911, p. 7. *HR*, I, 170, fn. 3, *ASI, WC*, 1917, p. 69.

the years (V.) S. 1343-1344 (*c.* 1286-87 A.D.). The inscription was engraved by Gāṅgadeva. Line 39 contains the date (V.) S. 1344.[1] The inscription tells us that Pratāpasiṁha defeated Jaitrakarṇa and regained Candrāvatī. It has been suggested that this Jaitrakarṇa is probably the Guhila Jaitrasiṁha, the grandson of Mathanasiṁha and son of Padmasiṁha.[2] The details of the history of Pratāpasiṁha's successors are not very clear. But Ojha refers to a stone-inscription in the Brahmāṇa-svāmī (Sun) temple at the village of Varman in Sirohi, dated in V.S.1356 (*c.* 1299 A.D.) in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Vikrama-siṁha,[3] whom he accepts as the successor of Pratāpasiṁha, and the last of the Paramāras of Abu.[4] An Abu inscription dated in V. S. 1377 (A.D. 1321) informs us that the Cāhamāna *Mahārājakula* Luntigadeva conquered and ruled over Candrāvatī and Arbuda.[5] Another Abu inscription, dated in V.S. 1387 records repairs of a well by the *Guhilaputra* Mokala when Teja-siṁha was ruling at Candrāvatī.[6] This Tejasiṁha has been identified as the nephew of Luntiga and one of the ancestors of the Cāhamāna family who still hold Sirohi. He appears to be identical with the *Devḍā* (Deora) Tejasiṁha (V. S. 1387-93=*c.* 1330-1335 A.D.), a descendant of Kīrtipāla, who founded the *Sonigāṛā* branch of the Cāhamānas at Jalor. Kīrtipāla, was a brother of the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa (V. S. 1221-39=*c.* 1164-1182 A.D.).[7] It is therefore certain that between the years V.S. 1344 and 1387 (*c.* 1277 and 1320 A.D.) the Paramāras were ousted from Abu by the Cāhamānas.[8]

Edited by B. Sastri, *IA*, 1916, pp. 77-80.

Ibid, p. 77 ; see *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 41, No. 289 for the two Guhila rulers. Also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhilaputras.*,

Noticed by Sukthankar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1917, p. 72.

HR, I, p. 180.

EI, Vol. IX, pp. 79 ff.; see also *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

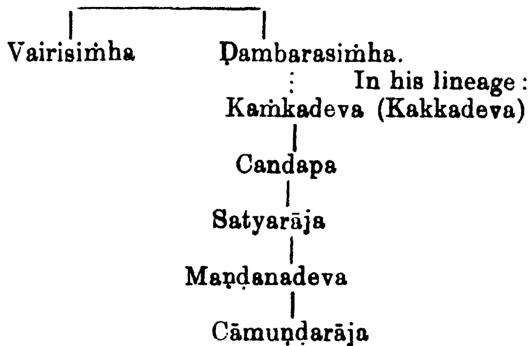
RMR, 1926, p. 2. *ASWI*, No. 2, *App.*, p. xv, No. 58 ; *ASI*, *WC*, 1907, p. 28.

7 *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 73 ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, p. 925 ; also *ibid*, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

8 On the history of the Dēvḍā (Deora) Cāhamānas, who trace their descent to the Cāhamānas of Nadol, see *IGI*, 1908, Vol. XXIII, pp. 80 ff. ; Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 180.

(3) *Paramāras of Banswara (Vāgaḍa).*[1]

The existence of this branch is known from the *Ārthuna inscription* of Cāmuṇḍarāja and a number of other records. The Arthuna inscription was discovered near Arthuna, a village about 28 miles to the west of Banswara in Rajputana. It is incised on a slab on the right side of the *Śikhara* of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva, situated about a mile to the east of Arthuna, and contains 53 lines, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, and two verses invoking Devī and the moon-crested god (Śiva). Then follows the following genealogy of the Paramāras :—



The object of the inscription is to record the foundation and endowment[2] of the temple of Maṇḍaleśa (Śiva)[3] by the last prince. It is dated in the last line in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1136 (*c.* 1080 A.D.) ; but through a mistake in V. 86 we are told that the *praśasti* was composed by Candra of the Sādhāra family when '1136 was elapsing since the Śaka king.' The record was written by Āsarāja of the Kāyastha race.[4]

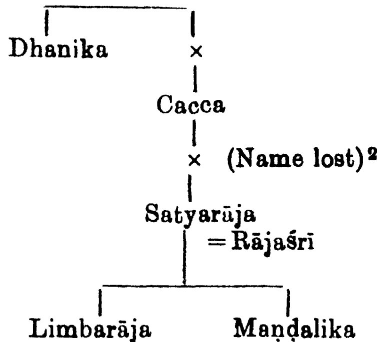
[1] The capital of this branch appears to have been near mod. Arthuna. According to Ojha it was named Utthuṇaka : *HR*, I, p. 208.

[2] For this see Vs. 68-81, pp. 302-03 and 309-10, *EI*, Vol. XIV.

[3] Apparently the same temple at Arthuna where the inscription was found. *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 296.

[4] First noticed by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XXII, p. 80. Then edited by Dr. Barnett in

An earlier inscription of the Paramāras of this branch is the *Panhera stone-inscription* engraved on a slab built into the wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva at Panhera (Pāṇāheṛā), in Banswara State, Rajputana. It is broken into 3 pieces, of which the second is missing. The first 5 verses are in praise of Śiva. It then goes on to describe the origin of the Paramāras from the fire-pit on Mt. Arbuda, and extols the five Paramāra princes of Malwa, *viz.*, Sīyaka,[1] Muñjadeva, Sindhurāja, Bhoja and Jayasiṁha. Then follows the following genealogy of the local branch :—



The last prince, Maṇḍalika, was apparently a feudatory of Jayasiṁha. Maṇḍalika built at Pāsulākheṭaka a temple of the god Śiva known after him as Maṇḍaleśvara. The record is dated in (V.) S. 1116 (*c.* A.D. 1059).[3]

According to the Arthuna inscription, Kaṁka (Kakka) died fighting on the side of Śrī-Harṣa of Mālava, against the king of Karṇāṭa on the banks of the Narmadā. This Harṣa has rightly been identified with Harṣa-Sīyaka II (*c.* 949-70 A.D.) of the Mālava line, who in the Udayapur *praśasti* is eulogised for

EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 295-300. In *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 24, No. 145, Bhandarkar refers the inscription to the time of Maṇḍanadeva. His son, Cāmuṇḍarāja, according to him, is 'mentioned as merely living when the temple was built by Maṇḍana.'

1 The name is broken ; but it is restored from the latter part of the inscription, *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

2 The *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3, restores it as 'Caṇḍapa' from the Arthuna inscription.

3 Noticed in *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20 ; also in *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3 and *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 22, No. 133.

taking the wealth of (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa) Khoṭṭaga, the successor of Kṛṣṇa III, of Malkhed (*c.* 940-56 A.D.). I have already suggested the identity of Kakka with Cacca of the Panhera inscription[1] because Cacca is credited in the latter record with the same achievement and a similar death on the banks of the Revā. The contemporaneity of Kakka-Cacca with Harṣa-Sīyaka II makes it seem very probable that Vairisiṁha who stands at the head of the genealogical table in the Arthuna inscription, is identical with the first prince of that name in the Mālava line.[2] If this is so the Banswara Paramāras, like the Abu Paramāras, would be a branch of the main line ruling in Lāṭa and Malava. The Banswara section claimed descent from Ḍambarasiṁha, brother of Vairisiṁha. But the exact relationship between the former and Kakka-Cacca is unknown. The Panhera inscription carries back the genealogy of this branch to Dhanika, the uncle of Cacca who is said to have built the temple of Dhaneśvara 'as white as snow,' near Mahākāla (at Ujjain).[3] Kakka-Cacca's son was Caṇḍapa who has been placed in *c.* 1000 A.D. by Dr. Barnett.[4] Nothing but vague praise is assigned to him in the Arthuna inscription. He was succeeded by Satyarāja who probably flourished in *c.* 1025 A.D. According to the Panhera inscription he 'received fortune' from Bhoja, and fought with the Gurjaras. His wife was Rājaśrī, of the illustrious family of the Cāhamānas. It would appear from this that he must have fought as a feudatory of Bhoja (*c.* 1010-55 A.D.), in the latter's struggles with Bhīma I (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.). According to the Arthuna inscription Satyarāja was succeeded by his son Limbarāja, and the latter by his younger brother Maṇḍalika. This Maṇḍalika appears to be the same as the Maṇḍanadeva of the Arthuna list. The Panhera inscription shows that this Maṇḍalika (Maṇḍana) was a feudatory of the Malwa Paramāra Jayasiṁha

1 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 851; but the *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20, considers them to be separate.

2 *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 296, fn. 1.

3 *RMR*, 1917, pp. 2-3.

4 *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 296. This name appears to have been lost in the Panhera record.

(*c*. 1055-60 A.D.). The same record tells us that Maṇḍalika captured in battle the 'Commander Kanha' with his horses and elephants and handed him over to Jayasiṁha. The identity of this Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) is however uncertain.[1] According to the Arthuna inscription Maṇḍana was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāja.[2] He is said to have 'gloriously overcome' one Sindhurāja. Dr. Barnett rightly guessed that this Sindhurāja could not be identified with the Mālava Paramāra of that name who ruled in *c*. 994-1010 A.D. It is not unlikely that Sindhurāja may here mean a king of Sind, and Cāmuṇḍa may have undertaken an expedition to the lower Indus valley, in company with some of his more powerful neighbours. Besides the Arthuna inscription noticed above, there are two other records of Cāmuṇḍa which were discovered at the same place. These *two Arthuna inscriptions* bear the dates (V.) S. 1137 (*c*. 1080 A.D.) and 1159 (*c*. 1102 A.D.).[3] Both these records are much damaged. The former seems to mention the name of an officer of Cāmuṇḍarāja one of whose 3 sons, Anantapāla, founded a temple of Śiva, probably the same temple amongst the ruins of which the record is stated to have been discovered. The other is much defaced, and is said to have been found in a Jain temple.[4]

The fortunate discovery of an image of Hanumān at Arthuna in the year 1918 has revealed the name of Cāmuṇḍarāja's son and successor. The pedestal of this image bears an inscription dated in (V.) S. 1165 (*c*. 1108 A.D.), in the reign of Vijayarāja,

[1] In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166) Maṇḍalika is said to have killed Sindhurāja, *EI*, XX, *App*., p. 29, No. 179. I have however tentatively accepted 'the view of Kielborn and Barnett.

[2] See above, fn. 1, on p. 920.

[3] Noticed in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. See also *ASI*, *WC*, 1909, p. 49; *ibid*, 1915, p. 35.

[4] In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166=*c*.1109 A.D.) Cāmuṇḍarāja (*c*. 1080-1102 A.D.) is said to have destroyed the king of Avanti in the Sthalī (Vāgaḍa) country, *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 29, No. 179. This king of Avanti was probably the Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c*. 1094-1144 A.D.) who invaded and conquered Malava and assumed the title *Avantināthа*. See *JBRAS*, Vol. XXV, 1917-21, pp. 322 ff.; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

the son of Cāmuṇḍarāja and the grandson of Maṇḍana. Another Arthuna stone-inscription of this king dated in V.S. 1166 (c. 1109 A.D.) is preserved in the Rajputana Museum.[2] What happened to this branch after the reign of Vijayarāja is at present unknown. It seems likely that they were gradually ousted from this region by the rising power of the Guhilas of Mewar. The Guhila prince Sāmantasiṁha (c. 1171-79 A.D.), after being in turn ousted from Mewar is reported to have founded a principality in that portion of Vāgaḍa which is now known as the Dungarpur State.[3]

(4) *Paramāras of Jalor (Jāvālipura).*

The existence of this branch is known from a stone-inscription dated in V.S. 1174 (c. 1118 A.D.) which is reported to have been discovered in a temple of Śiva at Jalor, in the State of Jodhpur. It supplies the following list of the princes of this family: (1) Vākpati-rāja, his son, (2) Candana, his son, (3) Devarāja, his son, (4) Aparājita, his son, (5) Vijjala, his son, (6) Dhārāvarṣa, and his son, (7) Vīsala. It records that in the year mentioned above Mallāradevī, the queen of No. 7, placed a golden *Kalasá* on the temple of Sindhurājeśvara.[4] Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha thinks that this line was an offshoot of the Abu Paramāras, and he refers Vākpatirāja of this inscription and Mahīpāla-Devarāja of the Abu line to the same period. To me however it seems that the Vākpati of the Jalor inscription was possibly Vākpati II (c. 974-95 A.D.) of the Mālava line, and thus he may be identical with Utpalarāja to whom the earlier Abu Paramāras trace their genealogy.[5] In that case we must suppose that after conquering

1 *RMR*, 1918, p. 2.
2 *ASI*, *WC*, 1909, p. 49; Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 208.
3 *Ibid.*; see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.
4 Noticed by Bhandarkar in *ASI*, *WC*, 1909, p. 54; see also *HR*, I, 182.
5 This conclusion may have to be modified after an examination of the inscription. But see *EI*, XX, *Appendix*, p. 81, fn. 2.

the Ṣukri valley in the Jodhpur State, Vākpati II placed another of his sons as his feudatory over this tract. It is possible that after the disastrous defeat of Bhoja (*c.* 1010-55 A.D.) this line became independent of the control of the parent branch. The successors of Udayāditya do not appear to have been strong enough to exercise control over their distant kinsmen in Marwar. There is no record of the history of Vīsala's immediate successors. According to *Mūṭā 'Neṇsi* Jalor was wrested from the Paramāras by Kīrtipāla, a brother of the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa (*c.* 1164-79 A.D.).[1] We have seen that a section of the descendants of Kīrtipāla, the *Devḍa* Cāhamānas subsequently ousted the Paramāras also from Abu.

(5) *Paramāras of Kiradu (Kirāṭakūpa).*

This branch is known from a stone-inscription which is reported to be incised on the pillar of a temple of Siva at Kiradu (Kirāṭakūpa), in the Jodhpur State. The inscription is damaged, and has not yet been properly edited, though a transcript of the inscription was published as early as 1918.[2] Recently a summary of the contents of this inscription has been published by Prof. Bhandarkar.[3] Rai Bahadur Ojha[4] and Dr. Ganguly[5] have also discussed the contents of this inscription. I have already noticed that there seem to be differences in the readings of the various scholars.[6] The inscription refers to the origin of the Paramāras from the sacrificial pit on Mount Abu (*Arbuda bhudhara*) and then mentions the name of Mahārāja Sindhurāja of *Marumaṇḍala*. Ganguly suggests his identification with Sindhurāja (*c.* 995-1010 A.D.) of the main line. The next name is given by Bhandarkar as Usala (Utpala) and by Ganguly as Dūsala. According to

EI, Vol. XI, p. 74; see also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 919.

Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions* (*Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha*), Part I, pp. 251-53.

EI, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 47, No. 312.

HR, I, pp. 182-83.

JBORS, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 40 ff.

See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 842, fn. 3.

the former the next two names are lost. The same scholar refers the next name as Dharaṇīvarāha. 'From him Devarāja Dhandhuka[1] who became ruler of *Marumaṇḍala* after propitiating Durlabharāja' who may have been either the Caulukya (*c.* 1010-22 A.D.) or the Cāhamāna prince (*c.* 999 A.D.) of the same name. Next came Kṛṣṇarāja,[2] Socharāja, Udayarāja, and Someśvara. G. S. Ojha thinks that the Socharāja was the son of the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa II (*c.* 1060-67 A.D.). This is not impossible but in that case there must have been some mistake in reading and interpreting the names before Dharaṇīvarāha. The next prince, Udayarāja, whose might is said to have spread in Coḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa, and Mālava. His son Someśvara appears to have been the feudatory of both the Caulukya princes Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.) and Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.). According to Prof. Bhandarkar's reading Someśvara is said to have regained his lost throne in V.S. 1193 (? *c.* 1141 A.D.) through the assistance of the first of these two Caulukya princes. It is not unlikely that Someśvara was ousted from his paternal possessions by an invasion of the Cāhamānas under Arṇorāja (*c.* 1139 A.D.). The inscription next mentions that in V.S. 1205 (*c.* 1148 A.D.) in the time of Kumārapāla Someśvara consecrated a temple. In V.S. 1218 (*c.* 1161 A.D.) he claims to have taken 1,700 horses and the forts of Tunakoṭṭa[3] and Navasara[4] from the Sindhurāja Jajjaka, and made him a vassal of Kumārapāla. We have a Kiradu stone-inscription of the Nadol Cāhamāna Ālhaṇadeva, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, dated in V.S. 1209 (*c.* 1153 A.D.).[5] This shows that some time after V.S. 1205 he was temporarily ousted from the Kiradu

[1] Ganguly's suggestion that Dhandhuka is a separate ruler seems plausible.

[2] Ganguly refers to this prince the two Bhinmal inscriptions (V.S. 1117 and 1123) mentioned above on pp. 911-12 as belonging to the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa.

[3] According to Ojha, Taṁnaut (probably Tanot of the *IGI*, Vol. XVI—Atlas, p. 34) in the Jaisalmer State.

[4] According to Ojha, Nausar in the Jodhpur State.

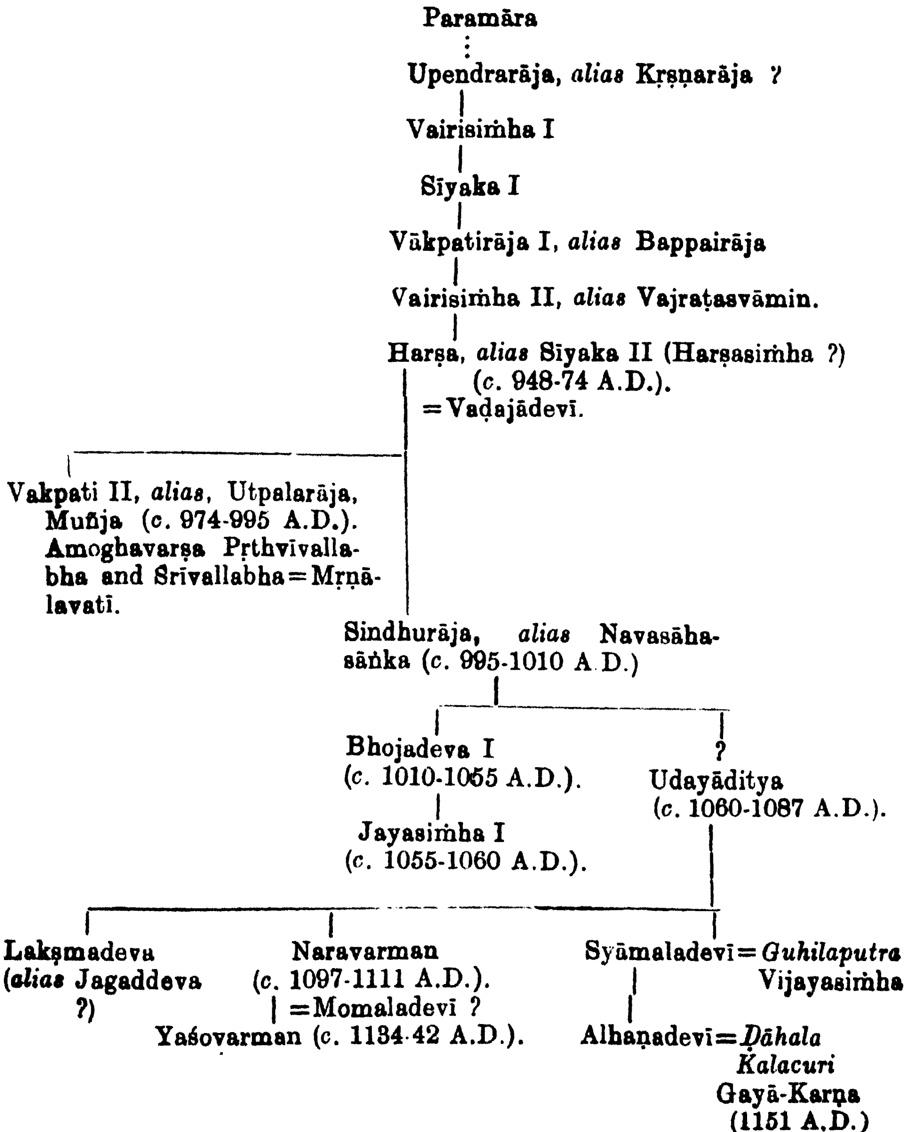
[5] *BI*, pp. 172-73.

region and was again restored some time before V.S. 1218. Nothing is known about the subsequent career of Someśvara or any of his possible successors.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates Approximate.)

(1) *Paramāras of Lāṭa and Mālava* (c. 888-1310).



Jayavarman I
(c. 1192-1200 A.D.?)

Ajayavarman
|
Vindhyavarman
| (1192 A.D.).
Subhaṭavarman
| alias Sohaḍa.
|
Arjunavarman
alias Trividhavīra
(c. 1211-15 A.D.)
(succeeded by *Devapāla of the line of the *Mahākumāras*.)

(Separate branch)
Mahākumāra
Lakṣmīvarman
(1144 A.D.).
|
Mahākumāra
Hariścandra
| (c. 1178-79 A.D.).

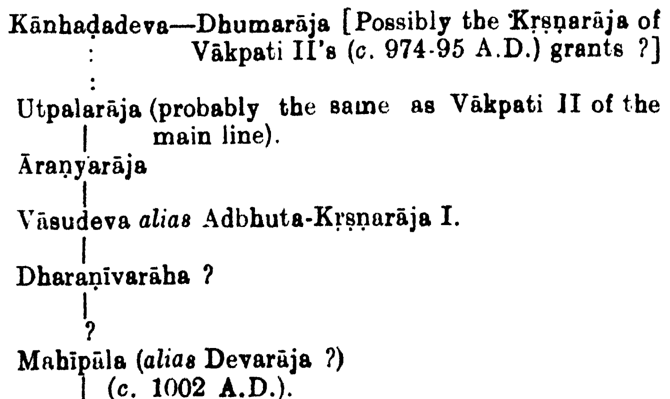
Mahākumāra
Udayavarman
(1200 A.D.).

*Devapāla (succeeds Arjunavarman of the main line)
(c. 1218-36 A.D.).

Jaitugideva (Jayasiṁha II ?)
(c. 1239-43 A.D.).

Jayavarman II
(also known as Jayasiṁha III?)
(c. 1256-60).
?
:
Arjuna(varman) II?
?
:
Bhoja II ?
?
:
Jayasiṁha IV ?
(A.D. 1310)

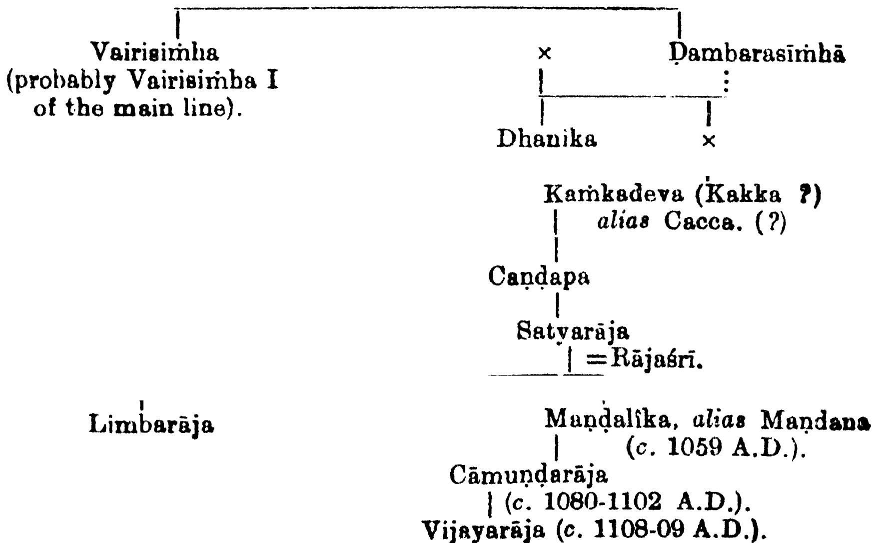
(2) *Paramāras of Candrāvatī and Arbuda* (c. 975-1300 A.D.).


Kānhaḍadeva—Dhumarāja [Possibly the Kṛṣṇarāja of Vākpati II's (c. 974-95 A.D.) grants ?]
:
Utpalarāja (probably the same as Vākpati II of the main line).
|
Āraṇyarāja
|
Vāsudeva *alias* Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja I.
|
Dharaṇīvarāha ?
|
?
Mahīpāla (*alias* Devarāja ?)
| (c. 1002 A.D.).

Dhandhuka

- Pūrṇapāla (1042-45 A.D.).
- ? Kṛṣṇarāja II (1060-67 A.D.).
  - ? : Dhruvabhaṭa and others.
    - Rāmadeva
    - Vikramasiṁha I
      - Yaśodhavala (c. 1146-62 A.D.).
        - Dhārāvarṣa (c. 1163-1219 A.D.).
          - Somasiṁha (c. 1230-39 A.D.).
            - Kṛṣṇarāja III
              - Pratāpasiṁha (1286-87 A.D.).
                - : ? Vikramasiṁha II ? (1299 A.D.).
        - Prahlādana

(5) *Paramāras of Banswara* (*Vāgaḍa*).



(4) *Paramāras of Jalor (Jāvālipura).*

Vakpatirāja (probably the second prince of that name of the main line).
|
Candana
|
Devarāja
|
Aparājita
|
Vijjala
|
Dhārāvarṣa
|
Vīsala = Mallāradevī
(c. 1118 A.D.).

(5) *Paramāras of Kiradu (Kirātakūpa).*

Sindhurāja
:
Usala (Utpala) or Dūsala (?)
×
×
(Dharaṇīvarāha)
|
Devarāja Dhandhuka [1]
|
Kṛṣṇarāja [2]

Socharāja [3]
|
Udayarāja
|
Someśvara
(1161 A.D.).

[1] The reading of the Kiradu inscription may possibly be
Devarāja
|
Dhandhuka
|
Kṛṣṇarāja

[2] Identified by some with the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa II.

[3] Son of Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa (?).

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CHAPTER XV

THE CAULUKYAS (SOLAṄKIS) OF AṆAHILA-PĀṬAKA

Unlike the history of many other dynasties which ruled in India during the period under survey, that of the Caulukyas[1] of Gujarat and Kathiawar, who ruled in those regions for nearly three and a half centuries (*c.* 950-1304 A. D.), suffer from no dearth of materials. Not only have we numerous epigraphic records of these kings, but—what is more important—we have a number of Jain chronicles carefully registering the dates and incidents of each reign. Indeed, the facts are so plentiful that in a work like the present one we shall only have space to mention briefly the incidents of the reign of these kings, and to indicate as far as possible the sources whence future students may construct a more detailed history, the broad outlines of which have already been fixed by Bühler,[2] Bhagvanlal Indraji, and Jackson.[3]

The history of Gujarat and Kathiawar immediately before the rise of the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka (Anhilvad) is mainly connected with the general history of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. The Una grants[4] of the Cālukya feudatory Avanivarman, dated in A.D. 893 and 899 unquestionably show that the

[1] This is supposed by some scholars to be "a Sanskritised form, through an earlier form Cāḷukya, of the old names Calkya, Cailkya, Cirīkya...made to harmonise with the Purānik-looking story that the founder of the dynasty sprang from the *Culuka* of Brahmā. The popular variant of the word seems to have been Solaki or Solaṅki." See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 156. The eponymous founder of the family is named Culukya, because born in the *Culuka* of the Creator: *EI*, Vol. I, p. 294. Compare also the forms Śulikas and Śūlkis, *EI*, XIV, pp. 117 and 120. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 348 ff. and fn. 2 on p. 438. To Dr. Barnett however 'the connection of Caulukya and Cāḷukya seems rather dubious.'

[2] *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 180ff.

[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 156ff.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-10.

whole of this region, up to the southernmost part of the peninsula, was included in the empire of Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 893-907 A.D.). The Haddala grant[1] of the Cāpa feudatory Dharaṇīvarāha, indicates that Mahīpāla held at least Gujarat up to 914 A.D. I have already shewn elsewhere that the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (*c.* 915-17 A.D.) and the defeat of Mahīpāla I (*c.* 914-43 A.D.) soon after A.D. 915 had very serious consequences for the fortunes of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire.[2] Though the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, dated in 945-46 A.D., proves that the Pratīhāras recovered their hold for some time in Malwa, there is enough evidence to indicate that their hold on Gujarat and Kathiawar grew precarious. The Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (*c.* 940-56 A.D.) seem to show a renewal of Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure on these provinces in the reign of his father Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (*c.* 934-40 A.D.). The statement contained in them, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced as far as Citrakūṭa,[3] seems to be confirmed by the recently discovered Ahmedabad plates (949-70 A.D.) of the Paramāra Sīyaka II, a feudatory of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III.[4] These struggles between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas apparently produced disorder and anarchic conditions in this area, such as are always favourable to the rise of bold adventurers and new dynasties. The Gurjara-Pratīhāra power had been sinking since its disastrous defeats in the second decade of the tenth century. But the rapid decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the period (*c.* 956-73 A.D.) which followed the death of Kṛṣṇa III must have indirectly helped the immediate rise of the Caulukyas in Gujarat.

The Gujarat chronicles give us a rather romantic, if unreliable, story of this dynasty's origin. This can be briefly

[1] *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 190-95; *ibid*. Vol. XVIII, p. 90.

[2] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratīhāras*, pp. 580 ff.

[3] Probably Chitor in Mewar, Rajputana, see *DHNI*, Vol. I, fn. 4 on p. 589.

[4] *PTOC*, Madras, 1925, pp. 303-08; *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79, 236 ff.; also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 848-49.

summarised as follows. The Cāpotkaṭas,[1] commonly known as Cāvaḍās,[2] ruled in Pañcāsara[3] in the period c. 720-956 A.D. During the reign of Sāmantasiṁha, *alias* Bhuvaṭa, the last prince of this line, Rāji, Bija, and Daṇḍaka, the 3 sons of Bhuvanāditya, the ruler of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in Kanauj[4] started incognito in the guise of beggars on a pilgrimage to Somnath. On their way back they attended a cavalry-parade held by Sāmantasiṁha. A criticism made by Rāji, on some of the cavalry movements pleased Sāmantasiṁha, who, taking him to be the scion of some noble family, gave him his sister Līlādevī in marriage. Līlādevī died pregnant, and the child, who was taken alive from his dead mother's womb, was called Mūlarāja, because the operation was performed, when the Mūla constellation was in power. Mūlarāja grew up an able and popular prince, and, having slain his uncle, usurpe dhis throne.[5]

Though it is difficult to disentangle truth from fiction in this story it undoubtedly contains some elements of fact. The existence of the Cāvoṭakas as a ruling power in Gujarat in the first half of the 8th century A.D. is proved by the Nausari grant of the Cālukya prince Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya (739 A.D).[6] It tells us that sometime before 739 A.D. an army of the Arabs (*Tājikas*) destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings, and on their

1 Also Cāvoṭaka. According to Bhagvānlāl and Jackson, 'connected with the Cāpas of Bhinmal and of Wadhwan, and are therfore of Gurjara race.' *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 155.

2 Also as Cauḍa or Caura and Cowra or Cāwara; see *AR*, Vol. I, p. 121; *Ras*, Vol. I, p. 37.

3 Mod. village of that name in Vadhiar, between Gujarat and Cutch; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 149 and fn. 3.

4 Apart from the city of Kanauj, Kānyakubja also sometimes signified a province. See Barah grant of Bhoja (836 A.D.) for the mention of Kanyakubja-*bhukti*, which included Kālañjara-*maṇḍala*: *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 18, line 6. A Veraval inscription, dated in 1169 A.D., mentions Vāṇārasī (Benares) as included in Kānyakubja-*viṣaya*; *WZKM*, Vol. III, p. 7, lines 5-6.

5 *BG*., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 156-57; *Kumārapāla-carita*, Nirnaysagar Press, Bombay 1926, I, 15 ff. *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 262.

6 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 187-88 and 375,

way to the Deccan advanced as far as the Navasārikā country (situated in Lāṭa). The Haddala grant of Mahīpāla shows that the Cāpas as a feudatory power lingered on in Eastern Kathiawar and Central Gujarat, till 914 A.D. The Una grants indicate the existence in Gujarat of the Cālukya feudatories of the Kanauj rulers in A.D. 893 and the period preceding it. It is therefore not unlikely that one of these vassals who was connected by blood with the Cālukyas of Kalyani and through marriage with the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, overthrew the small Cāpotkaṭa principality at Pañcāsara.[1] This may have been the origin of the distorted tradition of a prince from Kalyāṇa in Kanauj. But in the present state of our knowledge of Indian history it is unsafe to assert dogmatically that there could not have existed in the first half of the 10th century a city named Kalyāṇa in the province of Kanauj [2] which was also the seat of a local Cālukya principality. Whatever may be the value of these guesses, we may probably conclude that Mūlarāja, the founder of the Caulukyas of Gujarat, was really the son of a Cāvaḍā princess who destroyed his maternal uncle and seized his principality at Aṇahilapāṭaka.[3] In the inscriptions his father Rāji is designated a *Mahārājādhirāja.*[4] During the period under survey this title often indicated no more than feudatory rank,[5] and it is not impossible that Rāji's family, as well as that of his wife, were vassals of the great Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire. As I have already suggested, Mūlarāja

[1] The Haddala grant however gives Vardhamāna (mod. Wadhwan) as the place of residence of the Cāpa prince Dharaṇīvarāha in 914 A.D.

[2] *Cf.* The recent discovery of a 'Kauśāmbi' in Puṇḍravardhana-*Bhukti* in Bengal; see *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 37-43. Also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 333, 341, 343, etc.

[3] Sometimes in late records 'Aṇahillapāṭaka.' Popularly known as Aṇahilavāḍa or Unhilpoor, mod. Patan on the Saraswati. According to the chronicles it was founded by Vanarāja, the first Cāvaḍā king of Pañcāsara (c. 765-80 A.D.) and named after the shepherd Aṇahila, who pointed out the site of the city: *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 151. See also *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 262.

[4] *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff., etc.

[5] *Cf.* the Rajor stone-inscription (960 A.D.); *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 263-67. Bühler accepted the statement of the chronicles that Rāji was a son of the king of Kanauj who reconquered Gujarat; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 183.

profiting by the decline in the power of the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the second half of the 9th century carved out a small independent principality in the Sarasvatī valley. His Kadi grant tells us that he acquired the *Sārasvata-maṇḍala* by the prowess of his own arms.[1] In the Vadnagar *praśasti* of the reign of Kumārapāla, dated in 1151 A.D., we are told that he took captive 'the fortune of the kingdom of the Cāpotkaṭa princes.'[2] Both these statements tend to support the chronicles according to which Mūlarāja captured Aṇahilavāḍa on the Sarasvatī from the last Cāvaḍā prince.

According to the chronicles, Mūlarāja did not rest satisfied with his conquest of the Sarasvatī valley, but tried to extend his power in the north, west, and south. His ambition appears to have brought him into conflict with his neighbours. Of these the two most important were the Sapādalakṣīya[3] Rājā of Śākambharī[4] and Bārappa,[5] king of Lāṭa, sometimes described as the general of Tailapa of Telingana.[6] The Rājā of Śākambharī has been rightly identified with the Cāhamāna prince Vigraharāja, for whom we have the Harṣa stone-inscription, dated in 973 A.D.,[7] while Tailapa was apparently the Western Cālukya

[1] *Nija-bhujopārjita-Sārasvata-maṇḍala*, *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 191, line 7.

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 296 and 301, V. 5.

[3] According to Bhagvānlāl Indraji this is the Sanskrit form of the word Siwalik, a range of hills below Dehra Dun, in the Saharanpur district, U. P. He suggested that the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī who were known as rulers of Sapādalakṣa, may have originally come from the Siwalik Hills. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I., p. 157, and fn. 1 on p. 158.

[4] Mod. Sambhar on the east bank of the lake of that name, on the borders of Jaipur and Jodhpur: *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 158, fn. 1. The *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 52) describes this prince as 'the Rāja of Nagor, or of Sambhur, the country afterwards known as Ujmeer.'

[5] In the *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 54) the name is given as 'Barap' while the *PC* (p. 23) gives it as 'Bārava.' According to Bhagvanlal the name 'Dvārappa' of '*Dvāśraya*' is the Sanskritised form of 'Bārappa.' *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 159, fn. 1.

[6] In the *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 52), the name is given as 'Telip the sovereign of Telingānā.' In the *PC* (p. 23) 'the monarch that ruled over the Telinga country.' The statement of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*, that Tailapa was a general of the king of Kanauj, is apparently a mistake. But see *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 196 ff.

[7] *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 119 ff. The inscription is also sometimes known as *Haras inscription*.

of that name who ruled from *c.* 973 to 997 A.D.[1] The existence of a Caulukya prince in Lāṭa named Bārappa is revealed by the Surat grants[2] of Kīrtirāja (*c.* 1018 A.D.) and Trilocanapāla (*c.* 1051 A.D.) which gives us the following list of their predecessors.

Caulukya......married a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king
⋮ of Kanauj.
Nimbārka
|
Bārappa[3]......obtained Lāṭa-deśa
|
Goggirāja[4]......*Maṇḍalika-tilaka.*
|
Kīrtirāja (Saka 940)...*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara.*
|
Vatsarāja
|
Trilocanapāla (Saka 972)

As Kīrtirāja (1018 A.D.) is the 2nd in lineal descent from Bārappa, we can safely assign him to the 7th decade of the 10th century A.D. He was therefore a contemporary of Taila II, and must have been appointed by him as his feudatory to guard the 'Baroda gap,' one of the main gateways to the South.[5] We are told by Merutuṅga that Mūlarāja was attacked simultaneously by Bārappa and the ruler of Sākambharī, and that, unable to resist them, he took shelter in the Kanthā-durga.[6] Bühler found a confirmation of this statement in the Kadi grant, dated in 987 A.D., which tells us that Mūlarāja resembled 'Tryambaka (Siva) since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on the Mount (Kailāsa).[7] As Aṇahilapāṭaka, 'the resi-

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, table facing p. 428.

[2] *WZKM*, 1893, Band VII pp. 88-89 ; *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 196-205.

[3] Sometimes written 'Vārappa'; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 987, fn. 5.

[4] Sometimes read as Goṅgirāja. Identified by Dhruva with the 'Caulukya noble Gojjirāja' whose daughter Nāyiyalla was married by the Yādava king Tesuka of Chandod : *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 200.

[5] On its strategic importance see my *Notes on War*, *JL*, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 12-15.

[6] *PC*, p. 28. The fort of Kanthā is identified with mod. Kānthkoṭ in the Ea Vāgaḍ division of Kachh ; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 184.

[7] *Tryambaka iva vihitācalāśrayaḥ*. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 183-84 and 191-92, lines 2-3.

dence of Mūlarāja, was situated in an entirely flat sandy country, and not even within fifty miles of any hill,' the inference might be made that the *praśastikāra* 'in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and the various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than Mūlarāja's temporary stay on the hill of Kanthā, which he boldly compared to Śiva's residing on Kailāsa.'

There are some differences in the accounts of the chronicles of the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas about the results of this war. The *Hammira-Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra tells us that the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja killed Mūlarāja of Gujarat and conquered his country.[1] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* on the other hand, while giving Mūlarāja no credit for victory over the Cāhamāna prince, tries to give the impression that the latter was persuaded or compelled to retire by the former's bravery and diplomacy.[2] As Bhagvanlal Indraji concluded long ago, truth may lie midway between the two statements. As the Gujarat chronicle represents Mūlarāja as visiting the Cāhamāna's camp and saying to him 'you should keep quiet and not give me a side-blow' while he was punishing Bārappa, it seems likely that the Caulukya king was really defeated, but on his submission the Cāhamāna prince did not press his advantage.[3] In these circumstances the statement of the Gujarat chronicles that Bārappa was defeated and killed by Mūlarāja, seemed improbable to Bhagvanlal and Jackson. But the statement of the *Dvyāśraya* that Mūlarāja and his son Cāmuṇḍa crossed the river Ścabhravatī,[4] the southern boundary of his dominions, and, entering Lāṭa, defeated and killed Bārappa,[5] seems to gain some support from the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla mentioned above.[6] This inscription describes

[1] *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 59.
[2] *PC*, pp. 24-25 ; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 158.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 159.
[4] Modern Sabarmati.
[5] According to this authority the Caulukya army advanced as far as Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), and Bārappa was killed by Cāmuṇḍa in single combat, *IA*, Vol IV, p. 111.
[6] See *ante*. *DHNI*, Vol. II, p 938.

Goggirāja, Bārappa's son and successor, as the 'first home of the family...who relieved his own land like a greater Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons.'[1] It may well be that the demon-like enemies of this passage were the Caulukyas, who defeated his father and seized Lāṭa, 'his own land.' The Bijapur stone-inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi seems to contain another reference to Mūlarāja's wars.[2] We are there told that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala (c. 960-80 A.D.) gave shelter to the 'lord of the Gurjaras' when Muñjarāja (c. 974-92 A.D.) had destroyed Āghāṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa.[3] It has been already suggested that this prince of the Gurjaras was probably Mūlarāja. If this identification is accepted, this would afford a proof of the struggle of the Caulukyas with the Paramāras, and give us some idea of the extension of Mūlarāja's dominions towards the east.

Amongst the other wars of Mūlarāja referred to by the chronicles, only two deserve our serious attention. One of these was his war with Lakṣarāja,[4] the king of Kaccha.[5] Merutuṅga tells us that this prince was the son of Phulaḍa and Kāmalatā, the daughter of a Paramāra king called Kīrtirāja.[6] Lakṣarāja, 'owing to the boon of Yaśorāja,[7] whom he had propitiated...was altogether invincible. He repulsed eleven times the army of king Mūlarāja.' But in the twelfth encounter Mūlarāja besieged him at Kapilakoṭi, killed him in single combat, and trod on the flowing beard of his

[1] *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 203, Vs. 10-11.

[2] *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 17-24.

[3] See my chapter on the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas of N. India, DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 561; Āghāṭa is mod. Ahar, near Udaipur station, in Medapāṭa (mod. Mewar).

[4] Also called Lakṣa, Lāṣāka and Lākhāka; see *PC*, pp. 27, 28, 150: taken to belong to the Sumra tribe; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 160.

[5] Mod. Cutch.

[6] Not yet identified. But this supplies additional evidence of the hostilities between Mūlarāja and the Paramāras. Could he be a relative of Muñja?

[7] Bhagvanlal mentions him as 'King Yaśovarman of Malwa.' *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 160. But Tawney's Trans. of the *PC* does not connect Yaśorāja with Malwa. Yaśovarman of Malwa ruled *c*. 1134-42 A.D.

foe.[1] If there is any foundation of fact in this story, these hostilities may have begun long before the joint invasion of the Lāṭa and Śākambharī kings. For Mūlarāja's retirement on that occasion to Kanthkoṭ shows that he was already master of Eastern Cutch.

The *Dvyāśraya* gives a somewhat different description of the death of this ruler of Cutch. In this work Hemacandra connects Mūlarāja's struggles against the ruler of Cutch and the Ābhīra[2] chieftain of Saurāṣṭra[3] into one episode. He gives us the following account of Grāharipu, the ruler of Sorath. He lived at Vāmanasthalī,[4] a city resplendent with the flags of Hanumān and Garuḍa, and at Durgapalī.[5] He ate the flesh of animals and drank spirituous liquor. The 'Mleccha' hunted in Revatācala and slew deer at Prabhāsa[6] which should not be slain. He took the flesh of cows, despised the Brāhmans, and killed the pilgrims going to Prabhāsa. He was rich and powerful, and once compelled the Rājā of Sindhu-*deśa* to pay him tribute. He was in close alliance with the powerful Lākhā of Kaccha-*deśa* and also with the Turks and other *Mlecchas*. We are then told that, being asked by Somanātha (Śiva) in a dream to destroy Grāharipu, Mūlarāja, though on good terms with the Ābhīra ruler, marched against him. In the struggle that followed Grāharipu

[1] *PC*, 27-28. The *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla Praśasti* of Jayasiṁha (*GOS*, No. X, Appendix I, p. 58 ff., Vs. 5-6) also tells us that Mūlarāja humbled the chief of Kaccha.

[2] This family, according to Bhagvanlal Indraji and Jackson, belonged to the Cūḍāsamā tribe, who settled in Sind and Kathiawar between *c.* 920 and 940 A.D. 'The Cūḍāsamās are still commonly called *Āhera-rāṇās*' (*BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 137, 139, etc.). This identification is supported by the fact that we have a number of inscriptions of the Cūḍāsamās in Vanthali in Junagarh, which was the capital of the Ābhīra chieftain; see *ARB*, pp. 176, 178-79, 316-17 and 303-05; *ASWI*, Vol. II, pp. 159-64. For the close connection of the Ābhīras with the Sammas of Sind, see *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 138; also *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 266. Both the Ābhīras and Sammas were beef-eaters; see also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 88.

[3] Sometimes 'Sorath,' *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 73. Mod. Sorath in the south of Kathiawad.

[4] Mod. Vanthali, 9 miles west of Junagarh; *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 73, fn.; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 160.

[5] Identified by Bhagvanlal with mod. Junagarh.

[6] Mod. Somnath Patan, also called Veraval.

was taken prisoner, and Lākhā was killed. Mūlarāja then went to Prabhāsa and worshipped the *liṅga* at Somanātha.[1]

There is no epigraphic support for Hemacandra's account of this war of Mūlarāja. The latter's pilgrimage to Somanātha however is supported by Merutuṅga who tells us that Mūlarāja went "every Monday on a pilgrimage to Someśvarapattana,[2] out of devotion to the god Śiva, and Somanātha was so pleased with his devotion that after informing him of his intention, he came to the town of Maṇḍalī. The king caused there to be built the Mūleśvara temple." Bühler has pointed out that this Mūleśvara is evidently to be identified with Mūlanāthadeva to which Mūlarāja assigned the village of Kamboïkā by his Kadi grant, dated V.S. 1043.[3]

Jayasiṁha's *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla Praśasti* supplies us with a fact which may indicate that Mūlarāja waged war with yet another power. He tells us that the Caulukya prince was always waited upon by 36 *Rāja-kulas*, and that he 'put to agitation the Sindhurāja.'[4] It is difficult to identify this ruler of Sind; but he may have been one of the later members of the Habbārī dynasty of Manṣūra (*c.* 912-76 A.D.).[5]

Of the time of Mūlarāja we have the following published records:

(1) *Baroda grant.*—Found in the possession of a man at Patan (Anahilavada). It records a grant of 'a plough of land' to Vacchakācārya in Pāladjya-*grāma* in the Gambhūtā-*viṣaya*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in V.S. 1030 (*c.* 974 A.D.). The donor was Mūlarāja, the *Dūtaka* the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Śrī-Jaya.[6]

(2) *Kadi grant.*—Found lying in the Gaikvāḍī *Kacherī* at Kadi, the chief town of the Uttara Mahals. It contains 22 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with a description

[1] *IA*, Vol. IV, 72-77.
[2] This is also found in Bālacandra's *Vasanta-vilāsa* (*GOS*, No. VII, 1917), III, 6.
[3] *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff.; *ibid*, p. 184. [4] *GOS*, No. X, *Appendix*, pp. 58 ff., Vs. 5-7.
[5] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 28. [6] Noticed by H. H. Dhruva, *WZKM*, Vol. V, p. 300.

of the donor's pedigree. Then we are told that *M.*-Rāji-*sutaḥ-Caulukikānvayo M.*-Mūlarāja, while residing at Anahilapāṭaka, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1043 (*c.* 987 A.D.), granted *Ardhāṣṭama* of Moḍhera in the village of Kamboïkā to the illustrious Mūlanāthadeva, established at Maṇḍalī, in the Varddhi-*viṣaya*. Before making the grant the king worshipped Rudramahālaya. At the end of the first plate there is a figure of a sitting bull.[1]

(3) *Balera grant.*—Found in the possession of a Brāhman at Balera, in Sanchor district, Jodhpur State. It contains 21 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1051 (*c.* 995 A.D.). We are then told that on that date *Pb.-M.-P.*-Mūlarājadeva, from Aṇahilapāṭaka, granted the Varaṇaka-*grāma* in the Satyapura-*maṇḍala* to the illustrious Dīrghācārya, son of Durlabhācārya, who had come from Kanyakubja, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donor worships the *Ambikā-pati* (Śiva). The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* Kāñcana. The *Dūtaka* was the *mahattama* Śivarāja.[2]

The three inscriptions noticed above give us dates from 974 to 995 A.D., a period of 21 years. According to Merutuṅga, however, Mūlarāja ruled for 55 years. This author gives V.S. 993 as the date of Mūlarāja's accession, and V.S. 1050 for that of his son Cāmuṇḍa.[3] This would actually give the former a reign of about 57 years (*c.* 937-994 A.D.).[4] The *Vicāraśreṇi* of the same author however gives the reign-period of this prince as 35 years extending from 1017 to 1052 V.S.

[1] Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 191-93. Note the form *Caulukikānvaya*.

[2] First noticed in 1891 by Dhruva, *WZKM*, Vol. V, pp. 300-01, and then by Devi Prasad in *JASB*, 1898, p. 168. Finally edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 76-79. The editor in his introductory remarks accepts the evidence of the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 940-56) as proof of Mūlarāja's war with the Kalacuris. For a different interpretation see my chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratihāras*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588-89.

[3] *PC*, pp. 28 and 29. The text of the different MSS. of Merutuṅga's work must be corrupt. For the *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 162, gives the dates from Merutuṅga as V.S. 998 (A.D. 942) to 1053 (A.D. 997). I follow Tawney's English version of the text.

[4] The *AAK* (Vol. II, p. 260) gives the reign-period as 56 years. The *MA*. (Trans. by Bird, London, 1835, p. 143) also gives 56.

(A.D. 961-96).[1] As we have no dated record of the reign of the next king, we cannot verify the statement of this chronicle; but its moderate estimate of the reign-period seems to be more consistent with the fact that Mūlarāja could scarcely have been a young man when he overthrew his uncle's power. But the recently discovered Sambhar inscription of Jayasiṁha which gives V.S. 998 (*c.* 941 A.D.) as the date of Mūlarāja seems to indicate that he really reigned for more than half a century.[2]

The period of about 25 years (*c.* 996-1022 A.D.) which intervened between Mūlarāja's death[3] and the accession of Bhīma I, was inglorious. No epigraphic record has so far been discovered for the reign of any of the princes that ruled during this period, and we depend mainly on the chronicles for the incidents of their reigns. According to the *Prabandha-cintā maṇi*, Mūlarāja was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍa in 1050 V.S. He reigned for about 13 years, and was succeeded by Vallabharāja in 1065 V.S.[4] This king after investing the fortress of Dhārā in the country of Mālava, died of small-pox.[5] He acquired the titles "subduer of kings, as Śiva subdued the god of Love." (*Rāja-madana-Śaṅkara*) and "Shaker of the world" (*Jagajjhampana*). He reigned only for five months and twenty-nine days.[6] Then Durlabharāja was crowned king in 1065 V.S.

1 *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155. I have a suspicion that what Bhau Daji calls Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* (*Sthavirāvali*) and Bhagvanlal *Vicāraśreṇī* may be the same work. Or is the former a separate chapter of the *Vicāraśreṇī*? *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 162.

2 *IA*, 1929, pp. 234-36, V. 9.

3 *Ibid*. The *Dvyāśraya* says Mūlarāja 'mounted the funeral pile' on the banks of the Sarasvatī. Does it mean that he committed suicide, like some other Indian princes of this period?

4 *PC*, p. 29, gives V. S. 1055 as the date which marked the end of the reign of Cāmuṇḍa, and then gives 1065 as the date when Vallabharāja assumed the sovereignty. I think 1055 is a mistake for 1065. See the Text (Sanskrit) of the work. (Ed. by Rāmacandra Dīnanātha, Bombay, 1888, p. 48) where also the same dates are repeated.

5 *Śīli-rogeṇa*. The *Dvyāśraya* has 'the disease called *Śītalā*,' *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 112. His fight with Mālava is also found in the *Kīrti-kaumudī* (II, 11) and *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*. (ii, 13). See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 294.

6 The *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 162 says that the *PC* gives Cāmuṇḍa a reign of 6 months. This must be a mistake: see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 184, where Bühler rightly assigns 6 months to Vallabharāja.

He built a palace of seven storeys and a clock tower at Pattana and a temple of Madana-śaṅkara for the welfare of his brother Vallabharāja. He reigned 12 years, and then in V. S. 1077 [1] established on the throne his brother's son, Bhīma.[2] The *Vicāraśreṇi* [3] by the same author gives the list of Mūlarāja's successors as follows: his son Vallabharāja 14 years, V.S. 1052-66: his brother Durlabha, 12 years, V. S. 1066-78. According to the *Dvyāśraya*, Mūlarāja was succeeded by Cāmuṇḍa, who had 3 sons, *viz.*, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja, and Nāgarāja. "Once on a time Cāmuṇḍarāja, inflamed by sensual passion did wrong to his sister Cāciṇidevī; to expiate this sin he placed Vallabharāja on the throne and went on a pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī. By the way the Rāja of Mālava plundered his umbrella and other insignia of royalty.[4] Cāmuṇḍa having accomplished his pilgrimage, returned to Pattana" and asked his son to punish the Malava prince. Vallabha started on his expedition to Malava but died on the way (A. D. 1010). Cāmuṇḍa thereupon seated Durlabha on the throne and retired to Śukla-tīrtha, on the Narmadā, where he died. Durlabha married his sister to Mahendra, the king of Maru-deśa.[5] He and his brother also married respectively Durlabhadevī and another princess, the two sisters of Mahendrarāja. According to Hemacandra, Durlabhadevī was won by Durlabha in a *Svayaṃvara*; but to retain possession of the princess he had to fight a number of other claimants, amongst whom were the

1 *PC*, pp. 29-30. Bühler however gives the date as S. 1058 wrongly for 1078; see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 185.

2 The *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 163 says that the text of this work mentions Bhīma as the son of Durlabha. But Tawney's version gives the relationship as nephew.

3 Or *Therāvalī* ?

4 The *BG* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 162) mentions the name of the Malava kings as Muñja. But this does not occur in the text. Bhagvanlal probably has taken the name from the very similar story given in the *PC* (p. 38) in connection with the pilgrimage of Durlabha to Benares.

5 Also called king of Nadvla-deśa (*i.e.*, Naḍḍūla-deśa). He is certainly the Naḍḍūla (Nadol) Cāhamāna Mahendra (c. 1020 A. D.) See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*. Also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 63 ff.; Vol. XI, p. 68 ff.

kings of Aṅga, Kāśi, Avanti, Cedi-deśa,[1] Kuru-deśa, Hūṇa-deśa, Mathurā, and Vindhya.[2] At last Durlabha abdicated his throne in favour of his nephew, Bhīma, the son of Nāgarāja, and with Nāgarāja 'made *Svargavāsa* at Pattan.'[3]

To this account we may add the following details found in the inscriptions of their successors, and Muslim sources. The Vadnagar *praśasti* of the reign of Kumārapāla (V.S. 1208)[4] tells us that Mūlarāja was succeeded by Cāmuṇḍarāja. "Inhaling even from afar the breeze, perfumed with the ichor of his (Cāmuṇḍa's) excellent elephants, the illustrious Sindhu-rāja fled together with his own elephants that were cowed by the smell of (their opponent's) rut, and vanished in such wise that even all trace of the fame of that prince was lost."[5] This statement is not incredible in view of the fact that Sind formed the western border of the Caulukya kingdom. If there is any truth in this statement, we must assume that Cāmuṇḍa by his hostility to the Sind rulers merely carried on the policy laid down by his father.[6] It is however difficult to identify this ruler of Sind. I can only suggest that he was probably one of the local rulers of Manṣūra who may have ruled there between the Habbārī dynasty and the Sumras.[7] Abu'l-

[1] Wrongly given in *IA*, IV, p. 112, as 'Vaidi-deśa.'

[2] Wrongly given in *IA*, IV, p. 112, as Andhra-deśa.

[3] Text (ed. by A. V. Kathavate), pp. 448ff.; see also *IA*, Vol. IV, pp. 111-14. Bhagvanlal sees in this story of the voluntary joint death of the two brothers the hidden hand of Bhīma; see *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 163.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 293ff.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 297 and 302, V. 6. Kielhorn at first took Sindhurāja to mean king of Sind, but later on in the '*Errata and Corrigenda*' (*ibid*, p. 481) said "possibly the king of Sind but more probably Sindhurāja of Mālva." As Muñja seems to have died some time between 994 and 997 A. D. (*ibid*, p. 228), there is no inherent impossibility in Sindhurāja of Mālava being a contemporary of Cāmuṇḍa. But in view of the fact that Mūlarāja also fought with a Sindhurāja I prefer his former view. See also the Arthuna stone inscription of Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja (A. D. 1080) where Sindhurāja must be taken to mean 'prince of Sind.' See *EI*, Vol. XIV. The *Kumārapāla-carita* says that Cāmuṇḍa killed Sindhurāja in battle; see I, 31.

[6] See above, p. 947.

[7] See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 28.

Faẓl assigns to Cāmuṇḍa a reign of 13 years, but the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* gives the figure as 12 years and four months and 2 days.[1] In view of this approximate agreement of the Hindu and Muslim chronicles we may assign to Cāmuṇḍa a reign of 12 or 13 years and place him *c*. 996-1009 A.D.

According to the Vadnagar *praśasti* Cāmuṇḍa was succeeded by his son Vallabharāja. He 'astonished the circle of earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke, rising from the empire of the Mālava king (*Mālava-bhūpa-cakra*) who quaked on hearing of his marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger.'[2] According to Abu'l-Faẓl 'Balabha' reigned for 6 months,[3] while 'Alī Muḥammad Khān assigns him a reign of 7 months.[4] As his war with Mālava is confirmed by both literary and epigraphic tradition we may accept it as real. The ruler of Mālava is probably to be identified with Sindhurāja (*c*. 997-1010), the brother of the Paramāra Muñja. The support of the Muslim tradition seems to indicate that the Hindu chroniclers were right in assigning a short reign to Vallabha.[5] The fact that he died so soon and was succeeded in the course of the same year by his brother Durlabha, seems to explain the omission of his name in some of the later Caulukya inscriptions.[6]

We shall not therefore be far from the truth if we assume that Durlabha ascended the throne *c*. 1009-10 A.D. The only

[1] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260; *BHG*, p. 27. *MA*, Trans. by Bird, p. 143. Text edited by Nawal Ali, Baroda, 1928, Vol. I, p. 29. Abu'l-Faẓl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān make Cāmaṇḍ (چامند), or Jāmand (جامند) the contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghazni when he invaded Somnath. This is evidently a mistake; for epigraphic records and the *Kāmil Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 249) show that the Caulukya ruler at that time was Bhīma (I).

[2] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 297 and 302, V. 7.

[3] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260.

[4] *MA*, Text, p. 29, Trans., p. 143; also *BHG*, p. 27. This text spells the name as Balyā (بليا).

[5] The *Vicāra-śreṇi* is obviously wrong when it omits Cāmuṇḍa and assigns Vallabha 14 years adding the 13 years of his predecessor to the 6 months of his reign.

[6] Of Bhīma II (*c*. 1178-1241 A.D.), see *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 194-96. Another reason of the omission may be due to the fact that his father Cāmuṇḍa may have been living when he died.

interesting fact mentioned about this king is contained in the statement of the Vadnagar *praśasti* that he caused 'the destruction of the Lāṭa country.'[1] The chronicles of Gujarat generally credit Mūlarāja I with a conquest of the Lāṭa country. But the existence of the Lāṭa princes even after the death of Mūlarāja has been revealed by the Surat grant of Kīrtirāja (dated in A.D. 1018),[2] who must have been ruling in Lāṭa when it was invaded by Durlabha. That Durlabha did not succeed in completely destroying the Caulukya principality of Lāṭa is proved by the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla (A.D. 1051), the grandson of Kīrtirāja.[3] The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* assigns to Durlabha a reign of 11 years and 6 months, while the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* gives him only 8 years.[4] As Hemacandra and Abu'l-Faẓl nearly agree in assigning him a period of about 12 years we may refer him to the period *c.* 1010-22 A.D.[5]

According to all our sources, literary and epigraphic, Durlabha was succeeded by his nephew Bhīmadeva, the son of Nāgarāja. The following epigraphic records are known for his reign :

(1) *Radhanpur grant.*—Procured from the Radhanpur Durbar in North Gujarat. Its find-spot is unknown. It contains 23 lines incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1086 (A.D. 1029). It then drecors that *M.*-Bhīmadeva, from his residence at Aṇahilapāṭaka after

[1] *Lār(ṭ?)a-vasudhā-bhañja*, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 297 and 302, V. 8. Note also the statement in the same verse, that he 'was not easily accessible to the wives of other men,' and compare it with *Kumārapāla-carita*, I, 33-34, which seems to shew he really took another's wife by force.

[2] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 938.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260; *MA*, Trans., p. 143; *ibid*, text, p. 29. BHG, p. 27. In the Muslim account he is wrongly stated to be the nephew of Vallabha. The *MA* spells the name as Dūlā (دولا), perhaps representing the Prakrit Dūlaha (دولہ).

[5] As Muñja was certainly dead by the year 997 A.D. the story of *PC* (pp. 29-30) which makes Durlabha a contemporary of Muñja is wrong. His date for the accession of Bhīma, V.S. 1077 (*c.* 1021 A.D.) may also be inaccurate. The *Therāvali* giv s this date as V.S. 1078.

worshipping *Bhavānī-pati* (*Śiva*), granted the village of Mansūra, situated in the Ghaḍahaḍikā-*dvādaśa* in the Kaccha-*maṇḍala*, to the *Bhaṭṭāraka* Ajapāla. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Caṇḍa Śarman, and it was written by the *Kāyastha* Vaṭeśvara.[1]

(2) *Mundaka grant.*—Found together with five other grants in the possession of the widow of the late Dr. Gerson Da Cunha. Its find-spot is unknown. It is incised on two plates of copper held together by a ring of the same metal. It records the grant of eleven plough-measures of land in the village of Muṇḍaka which was included in the *Viṣaya* of Vardhi, to the Brāhman Vāsudeva, son of Balabhadra, by *M.*-Bhīmadeva, at Aṇahila-pāṭaka, in V. S. 1086 (A.D. 1030).[2]

(3) *Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's grant.*—Deposited in the Library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. There is no information as to where it was originally found. It contains 16 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* (10)93 (A.D. 1036),[3] and then records that the donor of No. 2, from Aṇahilapāṭaka, having worshipped (Śiva) the lord of Bhavānī, granted one plough of land in the village of Sahasacāṇā in Kaccha-*maṇḍala* to the Brāhman Govinda. The writer and the *Dūtaka* of the grant are the same as in No. 1.[4]

(4) *Abu stone-inscription.*—Incised in the Vimala temple on Mount Abu, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is 'a short inscription of a minister of the Caulukya Bhīmadeva I,' dated in V. S. 1119 (A.D. 1062).[5]

[1] Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 193-94; see also *BI*, p. 194. *Cf.* Manṣūrah in Sind.

[2] Noticed in *ASI*, WC., 1920, p. 54. For text and translation see *JBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 49.

[3] The date is given as 93. Fleet took it to be Siṁha-Saṁvat 93 (A.D. 1207), and referred it to Bhīma II; *IA*, XVIII, pp. 108-09. Bühler first (*IA*, Vol. VI, p. 185) took it to be a case of *omitted hundreds*. But see Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 353-54.

[4] First noticed in a Gujarati History of Cutch (p. 17); see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 185 fn. It was edited by Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 108-10. But he took it to be a grant of Bhīma II. I think Hultzsch, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji, and Jackson were right in taking the grant to belong to Bhīma I. The fact that the names of the *Maṇḍala*, the *Dūtaka* and the writer are the same as in No. (1) seems to be conclusive.

[5] Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 148.

The dates in these four inscriptions range from *c.* 1029 to 1062 A.D.[1] According to Merutuṅga, Bhīma I ascended the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka in V. S. 1077[2] or 1078.[3] As both the Hindu and Muslim chronicles allot to him a reign of 42 years[4] we may with some certainty assign him to the period *c.* 1022-64 A.D. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* supplies us with some details of the relationship between him and his contemporaries, the Paramāra Bhoja (*c.* 1010 1055 A.D.) and the Kalacuri (Lakṣmī)-Karṇa (*c.* 1041-70 A.D.). We are told that at first 'a league of friendship subsisted' between Bhīma and Bhoja. But the peace was broken through the hostile activities of Bhoja. The first invasion of Gujarat by Bhoja was diverted to the south against Tailapa by the intrigues of Ḍāmara, Bhīma's minister of peace and war.[5] But the second time, when Bhīma had marched to conquer the 'country of Sindh,' Kulacandra,[6] Bhoja's commander-in-chief, swooped down upon his capital Aṇahilapāṭaka 'sacked the august city, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory' (*Jaya-patra*). In retaliation Bhīma sent soldiers into the country of his enemy and once very nearly caught him when the latter was worshipping his family goddess in a temple in a suburb of the city of Dhārā. Bhīma however could not achieve any material success against Bhoja, till the latter incurred the hostility of the Ḍāhala king Karṇa. The latter attacked Bhoja, in company with 136 princes, 'and at the same time he invited Bhīma to attack the country of Mālava in the rear, promising him the half of Bhoja's kingdom. Then king Bhoja, being attacked by those two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome

[1] Mt. Abu Vimala temple inscription of V.S. 1878, contains a date for Bhīma I. We are told that the temple of Ṛṣabha was founded in V.S. 1088 (*c.* 1031 A.D.) by a certain Vimala who had been appointed *Daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by Bhīmadeva (I), see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 149.

[2] *PC*, p. 80.

[3] *Therāvalī*, *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.

[4] *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 157; *AAK*, p. 260. *MA*, Trans., p. 143. *BHG*, p. 27.

[5] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 164, fn. 2. Tawney translates 'diplomatic agent,' *PC*, p. 44.

[6] He was a Digambara Jain.

with a charm, loses its poison. And then a sudden corporeal malady took hold of Bhoja,' of which he died. After this Karṇa 'broke down the fort and took all the wealth of Bhoja.' But owing to the intrigues of Dāmara, Karṇa while sleeping after the sack of Dhārā, was taken prisoner by the former and had to give Bhīma 'a golden shrine, and the lord Śiva associated with Gaṇeśa.' [1]

The *Dvyāśraya* seems to confirm this story of Bhīma's war with Karṇa. We are told that Bhīma's fame spread to distant countries. 'The Rāja of Puṇḍra-deśa sent presents; the Rāja of Andhra-deśa sent him a necklace; Bhīma's fame spread into Magadha-deśa.' Then some one said to Bhīma, "O Rāja! on the earth the Sindhu prince, and the king of Cedi in their pride alone regard not your fame." Hearing this report of his 'spy' Bhīma with his army went to the Punjab 'near to Sindh,' where 'five rivers flow together.' The Sind king Hammuka, having conquered his enemies, 'slept in peace.' But Bhīma, having crossed the mighty stream of the five rivers by building a bridge, defeated and conquered the prince of Sind. Then 'Bhīma went to Cedi-deśa conquering the princes as he went. When he heard of Bhīma's approach, the Rāja of Cedi collected an army of Bhillas and Mlecchas.' But after long considerations he at last decided to make peace with Bhīma. This he purchased by handing over to Dāmodara, the Vakil of Bhīma, a 'gold *Meru*.' 'Bhīma having thus conquered returned to Pattan.' [2]

It is difficult to know the proportion of truth and fables in these stories. But no doubt they contain some elements of fact. We have seen that both Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍa fought with the rulers of Sind. It is therefore quite possible that Bhīma also carried on the policy laid down by the founder of his dynasty.

[1] *PC*, pp. 36-77. Among the other romantic stories in this work may be mentioned the visit of Bhīma to the court of Bhoja in the disguise of a Brāhman (*ibid*, pp. 47 ff.). The story of the birth of Karṇa (*ibid*, p. 72) has a similarity with the Muslim story of the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena (*TN*, Vol. I, pp. 554-55); see also *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 372. The defeat of Bhoja by Bhīma is also referred to by the *Vasanta-vilāsa* of Bālacandra (*GOS*, No. VII, 1917), iii, 15.

[2] Text, pp. 615 ff.; *IA*, Vol. IV, pp. 114 and 232.

Bhoja's struggle against the Gurjaras, Cedis, and other enemies among whom Bhīma was prominent, is referred to by the Udaipur *praśasti* of the Paramāras of Mālava.[1] The Vadnagar *praśasti* distinctly says that Bhīma's horses, which were "supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called *dhārā*), quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the emperor of Mālava.".[2] Though the Udaipur[3] and the Nagpur[4] *praśastis* do not definitely associate the names of Karṇa and Bhīma with Bhoja's death they clearly indicate that Bhoja was "submerged" by 'floods' which for a time overwhelmed Dhārā and its rulers. There is no epigraphic evidence to show that Karṇa was defeated by Bhīma. But it is not unlikely, in view of the fact that he, like Bhoja, also had a meteoric fall, and Bhīma may have had a share in bringing about the downfall of the Kalacuri empire. Though the chronicles are silent on Bhīma's relations with the Cāhamānas, epigraphic evidence shows that he had reversed his predecessor's friendly policy towards the Naḍḍūla Cāhamānas. The Sundha Hill inscription of Cāciga (V.S. 1319)[5] tells us that the Naḍḍūla princes Ahila and his paternal uncle Aṇahilla defeated the Gurjara king Bhīma I. In the same inscription, the latter's son Bālaprasāda[6] is said to have compelled Bhīma to liberate from prison a king named Kṛṣṇarāja. Kielhorn has rightly identified this Kṛṣṇarāja with the Paramāra of that name, who ruled in Abu *c.* 1060-67 A.D.[7] An inscription in the Vimala temple on Mt.

1 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 235 and 238, V. 19. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 866.
EI, Vol. I, pp. 297 and 302, V. 9.
Ibid, pp. 236 and 238, V. 21.
Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32.
EI, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff. See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.



7 For his Bhinmal inscriptions, dated in V. S. 1117 and 1123, see *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 472-74. See also *supra*, *DHNI* Vol. II, pp. 911-18.

Abu shows that Abu was ruled by Vimala, the *Daṇḍapati* of Bhīma I, in V.S. 1088 (*c.* 1031 A.D.).[1]

But the most important incident in the history of Bhīma which has been omitted by the chroniclers and the inscriptions, is the famous raid of Maḥmūd of Ghazni on the temple of Somanātha (mod. Somnath) in 1025 A.D. Our earliest Persian source for this expedition, the recently published *Kitāb Zain ul Akhbār*[2] gives the following account of this expedition: "In Hindūstān, on the shores of the sea, there is a big city called Sūmnāt, which is as sacred to the Hindus as Mecca to the Muslims. In it there are a large number of idols made of gold and silver and the idol *Manāt*, which in the days of the Prophet was taken out of Ka'ba and despatched to India,[3] through 'Adan. ......The way to it was very perilous and dangerous and full of hardships. ......When Maḥmūd arrived near the city and the Samans and the Brāhmans saw him, they began to pray round the idols, and the commander[4] of that city came out and sitting in a boat with his family and relatives went into the sea and alighted on an island; and he remained there as long as the Muslim army remained in that country. When the Muslim army arrived near the city, its inhabitants closed the gates and began fighting; but after only a few days they opened the gates, and the army of Amīr Maḥmūd went in and killed many infidels......Maḥmūd then ordered the Mu'azzin to go on the top of the *derā* and call the faithful to prayer......All the idols were broken, burnt and destroyed, and the *Manāt* stone[5] was

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 149. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 950, fn. 1.

[2] According to the editor it was written *c.* 440 A. H. (1048 A. D.). Ed. by Muḥammad Nazim, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928. Muslim historians generally spell 'Somanātha' as Sūmnāt (سومنات).

[3] This story is also found in *TA* (Trans., p. 15). Niẓām-ud-Dīn after giving the story says: "But it appears from the ancient books of the Brāhmans that this was not so. This idol has been the object of adoration of the Brāhmans from the time of Kishan (Krishna) which was four thousand years ago."

[4] Sālār (سالار).

[5] Sang (سنگ).

taken out of its roots and broken to pieces ; part of it was placed on camels and brought to Ghazni and placed outside the mosque there. There was a treasure under[1] the idols. He carried away that treasure and got a huge amount of wealth, consisting of silver idols and their jewels......From that place Maḥmūd turned back, and the reason was that Param Deo,[2] who was the king of the Hindus, was in the way, and the Amīr Maḥmūd feared lest this great victory might be spoiled. He did not come back by the direct way, but took a guide and, marching by the way of Manṣūra and the bank of the Sihūn, went towards Multān. His soldiers suffered heavily on the way both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jatts of Sind. Many animals and a large number of men of the Muslim army perished on the way, and most of the beasts of burden died, till at last they reached Multān."[3]

The next important source in order of time for this expedition is the Arabic *Ta'rīkh-ul-Kāmil*[4] of Ibn Athīr. This historian tells us that Maḥmūd started from Multān with 30,000 horse, besides volunteers "on the 10th Sha'bān (416 A.H., 1025 A.D.). He carried with him provisions (water and corn) on 30,000 camels, as the way from Multān to India lay through a barren desert without inhabitants or food. After crossing the desert he captured a fort 'full of people, in which place there were wells,' and reached Anahilwāra at the beginning of Zu'lqa'da. The chief of Anahilwāra, "fled hastily, and, abandoning his city, went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare for war. Maḥmūd pushed on for Sūmnāt." After passing through a waterless desert and capturing several forts on his way, he reached Dabalwārah,[5] two days' journey from Sūmnāt. Arriving at Sūmnāt on

1 Zīr (زیر).
2 (پرم دیو).
3 Pp. 86-87 of the text. I am indebted for this translation to Dr. Mirza, Head of the Department of Arabic, Lucknow University.
4 Written in c. 628 A.H. (1230 A.D.).
5 According to *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 166, fn. 2, 'apparently Delvāda near Unā.'

Thursday in the middle of Zu'lqa'da, he was desperately resisted by the Hindus for one day; but on the second it was captured with great slaughter, over 50,000 being slain. "After the capture of Sūmnāt, Maḥmūd received intelligence that Bhīm, the chief of Anhilwāra, had gone to the fort of Kandahat, which is situated about forty parasangs from Sūmnāt between that place and the desert. He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place, he questioned some men who were hunting as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little, he might be submerged. Maḥmūd prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely and drove the enemy out of the place. Thence he returned, intending to proceed against Manṣūra."[1]

Neither the *Zain ul-Akhbār* nor the *Kāmil* gives details of the route taken by Maḥmūd from Multan to reach Somnath. The latter only tells us that he came by way of Anhilvada. The accounts of Niẓam ud-Dīn and Khond Amīr,[2] though interesting in other matters, throw no additional light on the question. The former tells us that Maḥmūd after passing the winter of the year 415 A.H. (1024 A.D.) at Ghazni, advanced towards Somnath. "When the Sulṭān reached the city of Naharwāla Patan,[3] he found it empty. He ordered that grain might be collected, and then he took the way to Sūmnāt. When he reached Sūmnāt, the inhabitants shut the gate on his face. After much fighting and great struggles the fort was taken, and the methods of plunder and destruction were carried into effect, and vast multitudes were killed and taken prisoner. The temples were pulled down and destroyed from their very foundations. The idol Sūmnāt was broken to pieces, and one piece was sent to Ghaznin, and was placed at the gate of the Jāme' Masjid, and for years it remained there. The Sulṭān raised his standard

1 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 165-68; *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 249. *Kāmil*, Vol. IX, pp. 240 ff.

2 Sometimes spelt as *Khwānd-Amīr*.

3 Mod. Patan.

with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo[1] one of the most powerful of the Rājas of Hindūstān, had to be met on the way, he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all the circumstances, he turned towards Multān by way of Sindh. His troops suffered great privations *en route*, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder, but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship he reached Ghaznin in the year 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.)"[2]

The *Ḥabīb us-Siyar* of Khond Amīr, however, gives us the following account of Maḥmūd's march from Multan to Naharwāla.[3] We are told that Maḥmūd's army, which mainly consisted of about 30,000 cavalry, travelled from Multan "by way of the desert." The soldiers were obliged to carry water and forage for many days; and in addition the Sulṭān loaded 20,000 camels with water and provisions. "Having passed that bloodthirsty desert, they saw on the edge of it several forts filled with fighting men, and abounding with instruments of war but the omnipotent God struck fear into the hearts of the infidels, so that they delivered the forts over without striking a blow. Sulṭān Maḥmūd went from that place towards Naharwāla and he killed and plundered the inhabitants of every city on the road at which he arrived."[4]

The only authorities who supply us with the names of important stages of Maḥmūd's advance from Multan to Anhilvada are the *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta* and *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī*. The former relates that "having passed the desert the army reached the city of Ajmeer......The Rāja and the inhabitants abandoned the place. Conceiving the reduction of the fort of Ajmeer would occupy too much time, he left it unmolested, and proceeding on

[1] *TA*, Trans, p. 15. In the text the name is پرم دیو

[2] A.D. 1026, *TA*, Trans., pp. 15-16.

[3] Elliot has pointed out that Mīr Khond, Khond Amīr sometimes spelt Mīr-*Kh*wānd) and *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfi* wrongly read *Bahwāra*; *Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 180, fn. 2.

[4] *Elliot*, Vol. IV, pp. 180-81.

his expedition took by assault some smaller forts on the road till at length he arrived at Nehrwāla."[1] It is clear that by the 'Raja of Ajmeer' Firishta meant the Cāhamāna ruler of Śākambharī. It seems a little strange that Maḥmūd, whose main object was to plunder the treasure of Somnāth, should by his attack on the powerful Cāhamānas' capital unnecessarily incur their hostility. It may be therefore that Firishta was wrong in holding that Maḥmūd followed the Ajmeer route.[2] It seems to me that the *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī* is perhaps more correct in representing him as passing through Jaisalmer.[3] It is not unlikely that he went through Bahawalpur, crossed the dry bed of the Hakra, passed through Jaisalmer and Mallani, and suddenly appeared before Anhilvada. An attack on the Cāhamānas would have certainly given a warning to the Caulukyas, which would have led to some fighting before the walls of that city before Māḥmūd was allowed to pass on his way to Somnath. The fact that all the Muslim authorities are unanimous in asserting that he fought no engagement at or near Anhilvada shows that his strategy was brilliantly successful. By carrying ample water and provisions from Multan to last him for months he was able to cross the *Thar* by its western and less frequented routes, and take the Caulukya king

[1] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. 1, p. 69.

[2] See Bühler in *IA*, 1897, Vol. XXV, pp. 164 ff. He also disbelieves Firishta's account. He shows good grounds for believing that Ajmer was not founded till *c.* 1103-1125 A.D. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, one of the most reliable chronicles on the Cāhamānas' history, distinctly states that it was Ajayarāja the father of Arṇorāja (1139 A.D.) who built the *Ajayameru* (Ajmer). See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

[3] *Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 180, fn. 2. Since the above was written my attention has been drawn to the summary of a paper by Muḥammad Nāẓim on the Somnath expedition of Maḥmūd. He refers to a *qaṣīda* of Farrūkhī (one of the court poets of Maḥmūd) which tells us that Maḥmūd on his way to Somnath passed by Ludrava, Chickdūr (?), Naharwāla and Dewalwāra. Nāẓim identifies 'Ludrava' with modern Ludorva, about 10 miles west by north of the town of Jaisalmer; Chikdūr with Chiklodar Mata's Hill, 17 miles north of Pālanpur; Mundher is about 8 miles south of Patan; and Dewalwāra is mod. Delwada between Una and the island of Diu; *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 235-36. Nāẓim also rejects Firishta and appears to have formed conclusions similar to mine on Maḥmūd's route. See also Nāẓim's recently published *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 1931, pp. 215 ff.

completely by surprise. Finding resistance hopeless, the king must have evacuated the city ; but once Maḥmūd had passed on his way, he found time not only to organise measures for the defence of the city, but took steps which greatly increased the difficulties of the Yamīnī raider.

The next difficulty that presents itself about this invasion is the name of the king of Anhilvada at the time of this invasion. According to Abu'l-Faẓl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, the contemporary ruler was Cāmuṇḍa. According to Gardīzī and Niẓām ud-Dīn it was 'Param Deo.' The published lithographed editions of *Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta* also supply the same name.[1] But in his translation of this work Briggs gives the name as 'Brahma Dew.'[2] Ibn Athīr however supplies the name 'Bhīm,' and there is no doubt that as usual,[3] he has preserved the king's correct name. We have already seen that it was Bhīma (I) who was on the throne of Anhilvada from *c.* 1022-64 A.D.

According to the *Zain ul-Akhbār*, when Maḥmūd appeared before the gates of Somnath, the local commander left the city and took shelter in a boat on the sea. The defence was mainly organised by the priests.[4] The Muslim accounts leave no doubt that the temple-priests resisted the invader with the courage of despair. Thus Khond Amīr tells us : "The army of Ghaznīn full of bravery, having gone to the foot of the fort brought down the Hindus from the tops of the ramparts with points of eye-destroying arrows, and having placed scaling ladders, they began to ascend with loud cries of *Allāh-u-Akbar*. The Hindus offered resistance, and on that day, from the time that the sun entered upon the fort of the turquoise-coloured sky, until the time that the stars of the bedchambers of heaven were

[1] See Lucknow Ed., 1864, p. 33; Bombay Ed., 1881, Vol. I, p. 57.

[2] Vol. I, p. 74. See also *ibid*, p. 170. 'The prince Bhīm-Ḍew (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Gujerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevy).'

[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Later Gurjara Pratīhāras*, pp. 603-606; *ibid*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candrātreyas* (*Candellas*).—*Nandā*, and *Bidā*, pp. 688 ff.

[4] *Samans* and *Brāhmans*, see above, p. 953.

conspicuous, did the battle rage between the two parties. When the darkness of night prevented the light of the eye from seeing the bodies of men, the army of the faithful returned to their quarters. The next day having returned to the strife, and having finished bringing into play the weapons of warfare, they vanquished the Hindus. Those ignorant men ran in crowds to the idol temple, embraced Sūmnāt, and came out again to fight until they were killed. Fifty thousand infidels were killed round about the temple, and the rest who escaped from the sword embarked in ships and fled away."[1]

According to Firishta, the struggle for the fortified temple went on for 3 days. "The labours of the second day proved even more unsuccessful than those of the first... ..As fast as the besiegers scaled the walls, so fast were they hurled down headlong by the besieged who now seemed resolved to defend the place to the last. On the third day an army of idolators having arrived to reinforce the garrison, presented itself in order of battle in sight of the Ghizny camp. Mahmood determined to prevent this attempt to raise the siege and having ordered a party to keep the garrison in check, himself engaged the enemy in the field. The battle raged with great fury; victory was long doubtful, till two Indian princes, Brahma Dew and Dabishleem, with other reinforcements joined their countrymen during the action, and inspired them with fresh courage. Mahmood at this moment perceiving his troops to waver, leaped from his horse, and, prostrating himself before God, implored his assistance. Then mounting again, he took Abool Hussun, the Circassian[2] by the hand, by way of encouragement, and advanced on the enemy. At the same time he cheered his troops with such energy, that ashamed to abandon their king with whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord gave a loud shout and rushed forward. In this charge the Moslems broke through the

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

[2] One of his generals.

enemy's line and laid 5,000 Hindus dead at their feet. The rout became general. The garrison of Sūmnāt, beholding this defeat, abandoned the defence of the place, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of 4,000, embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Serendeep or Ceylon."[1]

According to all accounts Maḥmūd gained much treasure,[2] by plundering the temple. According to the *Zainul-Akhbār* the treasure was found *under* (zīr) the idols. Probably it was buried in the raised platform (*vedī*) on which the images were set up. The romantic story first found in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī* and later repeated by Firishta, in which Maḥmūd is said to have refused the offer of gold by the Brāhmans to spare the idol of Somnath, and breaking open with a single blow of his mace 'the belly of Sūmnāt which was hollow' was rewarded by the discovery of "diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Brāhmans had offered," has been rightly rejected as impossible.[3] It seems very likely that the idol of Somnath was a 'solid unsculptured *liṅga*,' and not a statue. This is supported by the fact that Abu Sa'īd 'Abd ul-Ḥayy b. aḍ-Ḍaḥhāk b. Maḥmūd al-Gardīzī our earliest authority on the invasion described the god as a stone (سنگ).[4] Ibn Athīr also distinctly says that the idol 'had no appearance of being sculptured.'[5] It is significant that we have no trace of

[1] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 70-71.

[2] According to Ibn Athīr the treasure found in the temple was 'more than twenty million (twenty thousand thousand) *dinārs*.' *Kāmil*, IX, p. 243. But *BG* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 167) gives the figure as two millions. Mīr Khond (*Rawdat us-Ṣafā*, Nawal Kishor Ed., Vol. IV, p. 43) gives the figure as 20,000 gold *dirhams*. Nāẓim has calculated the value of the total spoils as £10,500,000. According to Khond Amīr Maḥmūd obtained 'more than 20,000 (thousand ?) *dinārs*' from the idol temple of Somnāth. He adds that this big sum was obtained because the 56 pillars which supported the roof of the temple 'were all adorned with precious jewels.' *Elliot*, Vol. IV, pp. 182-83; see also *ibid*, fn. 3 on p. 183.

[3] *MG*, p. 53; see also fn. 37; *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 25.

[4] Khond Amīr says that 'the name of the idol of Somnāt was *Lāt*.' (*Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 181.) 'It was an idol cut out of stone, whose height was five yards, of which three yards were visible, and two yards were concealed in the ground.'

[5] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 167. Its height was 5 cubits and its girth 3 cubits; 2 cubits were hidden in the basement.

this dramatic story in any authority till about 600 years after Maḥmūd.

According to Ibn Athīr Maḥmud after plundering the temple drove away Bhīma, the chief of Anhilwāra, from the fort of Kandahat,[1] and then proceeded on his way to Manṣūra. But the *Zain ul-Akhbār*, our earliest authority on the subject, tells us that from Somnath Maḥmūd took a guide and marched direct by way of Manṣūra. The reason for this course was that Param (Bhīma?)[2] Deo, the king of the Hindus was 'in the way.' This statement is also found in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. According to these authorities, therefore, Maḥmūd did not return by way Anhilvada, because he wanted to avoid a conflict with Bhīma, 'the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindūstān.' It is therefore doubtful whether Ibn Athīr was right in making Bhīma the opponent of Maḥmūd at Kandahat. Our suspicion seems to be confirmed by the statement of Khond Amīr, who tells us that after the glorious victory at Somnath, Maḥmūd 'reduced a fort in which the *governor* of Naharwāla had taken refuge.'[3] Firishta states that the relieving force which nearly snatched the fruits of victory from Maḥmūd in the battle of the temple was sent by Param[4] (Bhīma) Deo, the Rāja of Naharwāla. This king, we are told, "had cut off above 3,000 of the faithful," and "after the taking of Somnāth, instead of proceeding to Nehrwāla shut himself in the fort of Gundaba."[5] It is clear that Firishta means that Bhīma was

[1] Identified by Sir Wolseley Haig with the mod. island of Beyt Shankhodhar, an islet at the N.W. corner of Kathīawar, see *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 25 and fn. 1. Firishta gives the name of the fort as 'Gundaba.' Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 74. Bühler identified it with Kanthkot in East Cutch; Col. Watson preferred Gāndhvi on "Kathiavādā coast a few miles N.E. of Miāni" while Dr. Weil favoured Gandhār in Broach, in the mouth of the Dhādhar river; Elliot preferred Khandadār at the N.W. angle of Kathiawar. None of these suggestions are free from difficulties. See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 167, fn. 4. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 185-86. But I prefer Bühler's identification, see *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 938 and fn. 6.

[2] It is almost certain that *Param* is a mistake for *Bhīm*. The stages of corruption in MSS. may have been as follows: بهيم - برم - پرم

[3] *Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 183.

[4] In Briggs' Trans. 'Brahma,' Vol. I, p. 74.

[5] Certainly the 'Kandahat' of Ibn Athīr.

present in the battle, in which he is said to have caused such havoc on the Muslims. This is confirmed by his statement that when the battle was raging "two Indian princes Param[1] (Bhīma) Deo and Dabishleem with other reinforcements joined their countrymen during the action." The statement of Firishta that Bhīma personally fought at Somnath does not find support from any existing authority. Evidently there is a confusion in the Muslim tradition about the details of this episode. I am however disposed to believe that Maḥmūd, in his anxiety to avoid Bhīma's armies in the neighbourhood of Anhilvada, avoided that route, and with the assistance of guides tried to find out a shorter and less frequented road to Sind.[2] During these movements he defeated, as Khond Amīr says, a section of Bhīma's army, which may have been sent from Anhilvada to Cutch to block that line of retreat.

Maḥmūd's invasion had no permanent effect on the history of Gujarat.[3] The Mundaka and Radhanpur grants show that Bhīma was in safe possession of his capital Anhilvada. He had at least 3 queens, *viz.*, Udayamatī, Cakulādevi,[4] and another. By the first he had a son named Karṇa, while the second, who was probably of low origin, was the the mother of Kṣemarāja.[5] He had another son named Mūlarāja. Of these Karṇa appears to have been the youngest. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Mūlarāja died in the lifetime of his father

1 In Briggs' Trans. 'Brahma,' *ibid*, p. 70.

2 Bühler suggested that Maḥmūd marched through the northern part of the Rann and Thar Parkar; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 186.

3 I omit here the fantastic stories about the two Dābshilīms who figure in later Muslim chronicles in connection with Maḥmūd's arrangements for the government of Somnath. For these see *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 500-04; Vol. IV, pp. 183-86; *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 76-80. All the earlier authorities are agreed that Maḥmūd after plundering Somnath beat a hasty retreat with his spoils. See also *BG*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 168.

4 Or Caülādevī, *PC*, p. 116. The *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 98) and the *BG* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 169) gives the name as Bakulādevī.

5 This name is given by the *Kumārapāla-carita* (I. 35-39). But the *PC* (p. 116) gives the name as 'Haripāla.' According to Merutuṅga, Caülādevī, the mother of Haripāla, was once a beautiful *hetaera*; *ibid*.

and the latter built a 'temple called Tripuruṣaprāsāda, for the welfare of the prince.'[1] According to the *Dvyāśraya*, the throne was then offered to Kṣemarāja. But the latter refused to accept it, and induced his father to crown Karṇa. After Bhīma's death, Kṣemarāja retired to Muṇḍīkeśvara, near the village of Dahīsthala (or Dadhisthala), on the banks of the Sarasvatī, to perform penances. This village of Dahīsthala was granted 'to *Kumāra* Devaprasāda that he might attend upon his father Kṣemarāja in his penances there.'[2] It is extremely doubtful whether Karṇa's succession to the throne was really effected in this peaceful way. The sudden death of Mūlarāja, and the strange tendency of the young prince Kṣemarāja for penances may have been due to more forcible reasons. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* the coronation of Karṇa took place in V.S. 1120 (*c.* 1064 A.D.) in the month of Caitra, and he ruled till the year 1150 V.S. (*c.* 1094 A.D.) covering a period of 29 years 8 months and 21 days.[3] The *Therāvalī* of Merutuṅga assigns him 30 years, from V.S. 1120 to 1150.[4] Abu'l-Faẓl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān assign to him a reign of 31 years.[5] As there is an approximate agreement amongst all these authorities, we may accept the detailed statement of Merutuṅga and place Karṇa in the period *c.* 1164-94 A.D. His long reign of 30 years appears to have been comparatively uneventful. The only inscription so far discovered for it is his *Sunak grant*. This was discovered at Sunak, 'a village 15 miles east-south-east from Pattan, N. Gujarat, and about 5 miles west of Uñjha railway station.' It contains 23 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date V.S. 1148 (A.D. 1091), and records that *M.-Trailokyamalla*-Karṇadeva from Aṇahilapāṭaka, after worshipping (Śiva), the lord of Bhavānī on the occasion of a

1 *PC*, pp. 77-78.
2 *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 233.
3 *PC*, pp. 78-81.
4 *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.
5 *MA*, Trans., p. 143; *BHG*, p. 27; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260.

lunar eclipse, granted four ploughs of land requiring 12 *pāilām*[1] of seed corn in Laghu-Ḍābhī,[2] situated in 'a division of 126 villages the chief of which was Ānandapura.'[3] From the income of this grant a tank which the Rasovika (?) *Ṭhakkura* Mahādeva caused to be constructed in the village of Sūnaka[4] was to be maintained. The grant was written by *Akṣapaṭalika* Kekkaka, son of the *Kāyastha* Vaṭeśvara. The *Dūtaka* was *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Cāhila.[5]

According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Karṇa undertook a successful expedition against a Bhilla named Āśā dwelling at Āśāpallī,[6] who was king of over six lakhs.[7] Having captured Āśāpallī he built there a temple to the goddess called Kocharaba. He also erected a temple to the goddess Jayantī, and the temple of Karṇeśvara, which was adorned with a lake called Karṇasāgara. He founded the city of Karṇāvatī in which he reigned and in Pattana he built the temple of Karṇameru.[8] A Chitorgadh inscription of the time of Kumārapāla credits him with a victory over the Mālavas at the Sūdakūpa mountain pass.[9] Inspite of these accounts of his wars and his temple-building activities, the chronicles do not give us the impression that Karṇa was a very powerful prince, and the tradition preserved in the *Hammīra Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra that he was killed by the Cāhamāna Duśśala may therefore have some foundation in fact.[10] If the

1 One pāilām = 4 seers.

2 Little Ḍābbī. Mod. Dabhi, about 1 mile SW. of Sunak. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 316. The village of Saṇḍera which lay to the south-west of Ḍābhī is mod. Sandera, 3 miles SW. by W. of Dabhi.

3 Mod. Vadnagar in N. Gujarat; *ibid.*

4 Identical with the find-spot of the grant.

5 Edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 316-18. Another date V.S. 1145 (A.D. 1089) for his reign is recorded in a MS. See Kielhorn's *Rep. on Sans. MSS. for 1881*, p. 22; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 171.

6 Identified with mod. Asāval, near Ahmedabad. *Ras*, Vol. I, p. 103.

7 Of men or villages?

8 *PC*, p. 80.

9 *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 209, No. 15-22.

10 *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 59. 'Duśśala was 6th in descent from Vigraharāja, the enemy of Mūlarāja, from whom Karṇa was 5th in descent;' *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 171, fn. 4

Sundha Hill inscription of Cācigadeva, dated in V.S. 1319 is to be believed he was also defeated by the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Pṛthvīpāla.[1]

According to the chronicles Karṇa was succeeded in V.S. 1150 (A.D. 1094) by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, his son by Mayaṇalladevī,[2] the daughter of the Goa Kadamba Jayakeśin (A.D. 1052).[3]

The following records have so far been discovered for Jayasiṁha's reign :

(1) *Ātru stone pillar inscription.*—Found in the Gadgaccha temple at Atru about 14 miles from Sirod and in the same *tahsil*, in Kotah State, Rajputana. It contains only 6 lines opening with the name of *M.*-Jayasiṁhadeva, and then recording the grant of Mhaisaḍā-*grāma* to *Mahākavi-Cakravarti-Ṭhakkura*-Nārāyaṇa. It ends with the date (Siṁha) *Sam.* 14 (*c.* 1127-28 A.D.).[4]

(2) *Bhinmal inscription.*—Found in Bhinmal, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in (V.) *Sam.* 1186 in the reign of (Jayasiṁha) Siddharāja.[5]

(3) *Gala stone-inscription (i).*—Found in a temple on the west bank of the rivulet named Candra-bhāgā, equidistant from the villages of Gāla and Duadpur which are about 8 miles from Dhrangadra, in Jhalawar, NE Kathiawar. The inscription, which is damaged, contains 5 lines. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1193 (*c.* A.D. 1136), in the reign of *Mahā...(Si)ddha-Cakravarti Āvantinātha*-Jayasiṁhadeva. The object is to record the erection of a temple to the goddess *Bhaṭṭārikā* with a shrine

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 76, V. 22.

[2] For the stories of her marriage, see *PC*, pp. 79-80; *IA*, Vol. IV, pp. 233-34. According to Merutuṅga she was ugly, and according to Hemacandra extremely beautiful.

[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 170, fn. 5.

[4] The text is given in *ASI*, WC, 1905-06, pp. 56-57. I accept the suggestion made (*ibid*, p. 67), that the record probably belongs to Jayasiṁha of Anahilvad and that the era therefore is the (Siṁha) era instituted by him. For the location of Atru, see *ibid*, 1904-05, pp. 47-48.

[5] Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1907-08, p. 38.

of *Gaṇeśa* by certain persons (apparently related to the *Vyaya-karaṇe Mahāmātya* (treasury officer?) Ambaprasāda.[1]

(4) *Gala inscription (ii)*.—Dated in (V.) S. 1193 in the time of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha.[2]

(5) *Ujjain fragmentary stone inscription*.—This was 'but a fragment and was lying in the compound of the local Municipality.' It opens with the date Thursday, the 14th of the dark-half of Jyeṣṭha of V. S. 1195 (*c*. 1138 A.D.) and refers itself to the reign of *Tribhuvana-gaṇḍa-Siddha-Cakravarti-Avantinātha-Varvaraka-jiṣṇu*-Jayasiṁhadeva, who resided at Anahilapāṭaka. The inscription then tells us that Jayasiṁha was holding Avanti-*maṇḍala* after vanquishing the Mālava king Yaśovarman. Mālava was ruled at this time by Mahādeva, son of Dāḍāka of the Nāgara race. The *Mahattama* Dāḍāka was the keeper of the seal at Anahilapāṭaka.[3]

(4) *Bhadreswar inscription*.—This fragmentary inscription was found at 'Chokanda Mahādeva, near Bhadreśvar, Kachh.' It is dated in V.S. 1195 (A.D. 1138) in the reign of *M.-P.-Siddha-Chakravarti-Trailokyamalla* Jayasiṁhadeva.[4]

(5) *Dohad stone pillar-inscription*.—Contains 13 lines, carved on a stone pillar, lying close to the sluice of a tank at Dohad in the Panch Mahāls. The inscription opens with *Om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*. Then comes the name of Jayasiṁhadeva the ruler of Gūrjara-*maṇḍala*, who threw into prison the lords of Surāṣṭra and Mālava; he who destroyed other kings, as Sindhurāja and others, and made the kings of the North bear his commands (respectfully) on their heads like Śeṣa; he whose *rājadhānī* was Aṇahila-*pāṭaka*. Then we are told that from him the *Vāhinī-pati* Keśava obtained a commission as *Senāpati*

[1] Edited by G. V. Acharya, *JBRAS*, Vol. XXV, 1917-21, pp. 322-24.

[2] Referred to by Diskalkar, *Annual Report, Watson Museum, Rajkot*, 1922-23, p. 7; *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 37, No. 237.

[3] Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1921, pp. 54-55.

[4] Noticed by Burgess, *Archaeological Survey of W. India*, No. 2, *Appendix*, pp. xiii-xiv.

over Dadhipadra and other *maṇḍalas*. 'The...*mantrī* appointed by him at Dadhipadra established the temple of Goga-Nārāyaṇa, for the good of his mother,' in V.S. 1196 (*c.* 1140 A.D.).[1]

(6) *Talwara image-inscription.*—Found in Talwara in the Banswara State in South Rajputana; incised on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇapati. It traces the genealogy of Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha from Bhīma. We are told that Jayasiṁha 'humbled the pride of Naravarman, crushed Paramardi and founded a temple of Gaṇanātha.' The date is defaced.[2]

(7) *Udayapur stone-inscription.*—Contains 12 lines, incised outside the entrance of the great temple in the town of Udayapur, in Gwalior State. It is dated in the victorious reign of Jayasiṁha.[3]

(8) *Bali stone-inscription.*—Found at Bali, in Jodhpur State. It contains 6 lines. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1200 in the reign of *M.*-Jayasiṁhadeva, and then mentions the (Marwar Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja* Āśvaka as his feudatory. It records the grant of four *drammas* by Bopaṇava-Stambhana in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahughṛṇā.[4]

(9) *Sambhar stone-inscription.*—'Found fixed in a well known as Umar shāh-kā-kuan at Sambhar in Jaipur State in Rajputana. It is engraved on two blank stone slabs and contains 28 lines of which the last 14 lines are more or less damaged. The record opens with an invocation to the goddess Sarasvatī and some other gods and then gives the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja to Jayasiṁha. It states that after

[1] Edited by H. H. Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 158-60. In the opinion of some scholars (*EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 39, No. 250), a Kiradu inscription of Kumārapāla supplies the date V.S. 1198 (?) for this reign. On this date the local Paramāra prince of Kirāṭakūpa is said to have recovered his lost kingdom through the help of the (Caulukya) Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 926.

[2] Noticed in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. The date, though defaced, 'falls between *Saṁvat* 1161 and 1195' (A.D. 1104-1139).

[3] Noticed by Kielhorn from an imperfect paper-rubbing in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 341.

[4] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 32-33. Āśvaka is the same as Āśārāja and Aśvarāja.

the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama, Mūladeva came to the crest of the earth in this dynasty. From the provenance of the inscription as well as the fact that 'Sambhar' is actually mentioned in the inscription, it is possible to conclude that Jayasiṁha actually held Sambhar for some time.[1]

These inscriptions range from *c.* 1127 to 1143 A.D. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Jayasiṁha's reign extended over a period of 49 years, V.S. 1150-1199 (*c.* 1094-1143 A.D.).[2] This agrees with the period assigned in the *Therāvalī* of the same author.[3] The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* and the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* allot him a period of 50 years.[4] The Bali stone-inscription, dated in V.S. 1200, seems to support the Muslim tradition. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, he ascended the throne when he was still very young, and the power in the state appears to have fallen into the hands of his mother, the dowager queen Mayaṇalladevī.[5] It is not therefore unlikely, as Bhagvanlal has suggested, that the circumstances that led to the coronation of Jayasiṁha were attended with violence and court intrigue.[6] The unusual sorrow of Devaprasāda which led him to burn himself alive to follow Karṇa[7] and the violent death of Madanapāla, the brother of queen Udayamatī, Karṇa's mother,[8] may be connected with intrigues and struggles for the succession. Merutuṅga seems to indicate that one of the most important acts of the queen-mother Mayaṇalladevī was the abolition of the tax at Bāhuloḍa,[9] on the pilgrims going to

1 Edited by Bisheswar Nath Reu, *IA*, 1929, pp. 234-36. The inscription is now in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

2 *PC*, pp. 80 and 115.

3 *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.

4 *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260; *MA*, Trans., p. 143; *BHG*, p. 27.

5 *PC*, pp. 80 ff.

6 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 171-72.

7 *Dvyāśraya*, *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 235.

8 *PC*, pp. 81-82.

9 'Apparently mod. Bholada on the Gujarat-Kathiawad frontier about 22 miles SW. of Dholka,' in the Ahmedabad District : *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 172.

Somnath. According to him the tax yielded seventy-two lakhs to the royal treasury.[1]

Jayasiṁha was a great warrior. The provenance of the inscriptions, which come from the States of Kotah, Banswara, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Dhrangadra, Cutch, the Panch Mahals, and Ujjain show that his dominions must have extended over large portions of Central India and Rajputana, besides Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch.[2] According to the chroniclers, one of his earliest wars was against the Ābhīra rulers of Saurāṣṭra. According to Merutuṅga, the Abhīra ruler Navaghana[3] had advanced from Girnar, and having defeated the Caulukya armies eleven times, 'had caused to be thrown up ramparts round Vardhamāna[4] and other cities.' Jayasiṁha personally marched against him and after killing Navaghana appointed Sajjana as his *Daṇḍādhipati* 'to superintend the affairs of Surāṣṭra.'[5] Merutuṅga's account of the conquest of Surāṣṭra is confirmed by the Dohad inscription, noticed above, which tells us that Jayasiṁha imprisoned the prince of that country. Bhagvanlal Indraji drew attention to an inscription of Sajjana in the temple of Nemināthа at Girnar, dated in V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1120).[6]

Jayasiṁha's next war was against his western neighbours, the rulers of Mālava. According to Merutuṅga Yaśovarman, king of Mālava, invaded and overran Gujarat, when Jayasiṁha was absent from his capital, on a pilgrimage to Someśvara. The minister Sāntu, who was left in charge, was compelled to wash the feet of the Paramāra king and throw 'into the hollow of his hand a handful of water' as a sign of the transference

1 *PC*, p. 84.

2 A Kiradu inscription states that Udayarāja, the local Paramāra chief fought for Jayasiṁha in Coḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāta and Mālava; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 926.

3 *Alias* Khengāra, *PC*, p. 95. See *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, fn. 2 on p. 941. Navaghana was certainly connected with Grāharipu, the enemy of Mūlarāja.

4 Mod. Wadhwan in Jhalawar.

5 *PC*, 95-96.

6 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 176-77.

of the spiritual merit which his master had gained by his pilgrimage to Somnath. The angry Caulukya king, when he returned, waged incessant wars for 12 years and in the end stormed Dhārā, imprisoned Yaśovarman and led him in triumph to Pattana.[1] According to the *Dvyāśraya* Jayasiṁha advanced on Ujjain ' by daily stages of eight *kos*,' entered it, and 'seizing Yaśovarman, imprisoned him and brought all Avantideśa with Dhārā under subjection to himself. Afterwards Jayasiṁha seized and imprisoned a raja of that country near to Ujjain named Sim and several other Rajas. Some of them he caged like birds, some he chained by the neck like cattle, or by legs like horses.'[2] The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that Jayasiṁha destroyed Dhārā and killed Naravarman.[3] The *Vasanta-vilāsa* contains the statement that Jayasiṁha brought from Ujjayinī *Yoginī-pīṭha*[4] and defeated and imprisoned the lord of Dhārā ' like a *suka* bird in a cage.'[4] The substantial accuracy of these statements of the chroniclers seems to be proved by epigraphic evidence. The epithet *Avantinātha*, which first appears in the Gala inscription (A.D.1137), seems to have been accepted as a regular title by Jayasiṁha. The Talwara inscription informs us that Jayasiṁha humbled the pride of Naravarman while the Dohad pillar inscription states that he threw into prison the ruler of Mālava. The statement of the Dohad inscription is supported by the Vadnagar *praśasti* of Kumārapāla which also states that Jayasiṁha "fettered the proud king of Mālava."[6] The Talwara, the Udaipur, and above all the fragmentary Ujjain inscriptions testify to the accuracy

[1] *PC*, pp. 85 ff.

[2] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 266. Before the declaration of war Jayasiṁha vowed to ' encage ' Yaśovarman ' like a parrot.'

[3] Nirnayasagar Press Ed. Bombay, 1926, V. 41.

[4] For stories about Jayasiṁha's relations with Kālikā and other *Yoginīs* of Ujjain see *Dvyāśraya*, *IA*, p. 266. The *Yoginīs* are said to have fought against the Caulukya ruler when he attacked Ujjain.

[5] Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. VII, 1917, III, 22-23.

[6] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 293 ff., V. 11.

of the epigraphic and literary tradition. As both Naravarman (*c.* 1097-1111 A.D.) and Yaśovarman (*c.* 1134-42 A.D.) were contemporaries of Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1143 A.D.) it seems quite probable that both of them lost their lives in the protracted struggle which lasted for about 12 years.[1] Bühler has already pointed out that in the 12th century, as now, one of the great routes from Gujarat into Malwa passed through the Panch Mahals. The appointment of *Senāpati* Keśava in Dohad shows that Jayasiṁha was well aware of the strategic importance of this route in his wars with the Paramāras, and was determined to hold this high-road to Dhārā and Mandu for the free movement of his own troops.[2] According to Sundha Hill inscription of Cāciga, Jayasiṁha was assisted in the campaigns in Mālava by the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Āśārāja.[3]

The virtual annexation of the Paramāra territories in Mālwa and Southern Rajputana brought Jayasiṁha into touch with the Candellas, the Kalacuris, and probably the Gaharwars. The *Kumārapāla-carita* claims that Jayasiṁha defeated Madanavarman the lord of Mahobaka[4] (*c.*1129-63 A.D.). According to the *Kīrtikaumudī*, he went from Dhārā to Kālañjara.[5] As I have already suggested elsewhere, it appears from the chronicles that Jayasiṁha did not derive much material advantage from his wars with the Candellas.[6] But the authenticity of the statements of these chronicles about this war seems to be proved by a Kālañjar stone-inscription which refers to a victory of Madanavarman over the Gurjara king.[7] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*

1 See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, pp. 883 ff.

2 *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 161-62.

3 *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 76, V. 26 ff., see above, p. 967, inscription No. 8. A reference to Jayasiṁha's conflict with the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa is possibly contained in the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166). His father Cāmuṇḍarāja (*c.* 1080-1102 A. D.) is said to have defeated a king of Avanti in the Sthalī (Vāgaḍa) country, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 923, fn. 4.

4 *I*, 42.

5 See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 710-11; see also *PG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 178-79.

6 See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 710; also p. 710, fn. 4.

7 *Ibid*; a similar statement also occurs in *Pṛthvīrāja-Raso*. See *IA*, 1098, p. 144.

informs us that the 'king of the country of Ḍāhala' wrote to Jayasiṁha 'a letter of alliance,' and that the latter maintained diplomatic relations with 'Jayacandra,' 'king of Benares.'[1] This king of Ḍāhala was probably the Kalacuri Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (c.1073-1125 A.D.). But the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king 'Jayacandra' (c. 1170-93 A.D.) given by Merutuṅga appears to be a mistake for Govindacandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.).[2]

The Dohad and the Talwara inscriptions seem to contain references to two other wars of Jayasiṁha. The former tells us that he 'destroyed Sindhurāja and others and made the kings of the north bear his commands on their heads like Śeṣa.'[3] Though it is difficult to find the name of this ruler of Sind, he is without doubt one of the Sumra chiefs who ruled at Manṣūra from c. 1025 to 1362 A.D.[4] In fighting with the rulers of Sind, Jayasiṁha was merely following a policy which was laid down by the founder of his dynasty nearly a century before his time.[5] His other war appears to have been against a ruler named Paramardī. The Talwara epigraph states that he 'crushed Paramardī.' This Paramardī must be differentiated from the Candella Paramardī, who ruled c. 1167 to 1202 A.D.[6] I would suggest the identity of this prince with the Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyani (c. 1055 to 1126 A.D.), who was also known as Paramardideva.[7]

According to the chronicles, there was yet another struggle in which Jayasiṁha was involved. This was waged against a prince named Barbaraka.[8] According to the *Dvyāśraya*

1 *PC*, pp. 94 and 112. 'Jayacandra' is apparently Jayaccandra of the inscriptions. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 536 ff.

2 See above, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 515 ff.

3 The *Kīrtikaumudī* also mentions 'the binding of the lord of Sindhu.' *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 179.

4 See above, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 29 ff.

5 See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 942.

6 This identification is suggested in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. For the Candella Paramardī, see *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 718 ff.

7 See *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 516. The inscription (No. 9) may indicate that Jayasiṁha also defeated the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and for some time at least occupied their capital.

8 *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 174-75, and fn. 1 on p. 174.

this chief was assisted by the younger brother of 'the Rāja of Aṅtardhanadeśa.' As the followers of Barbaraka are described by Hemacandra as *Rākṣasas*,[1] who troubled the Brāhman sages at Śrīsthala-tīrtha (Siddhapur) he may have been a leader of some non-Aryan tribe. According to Bhagvanlal, the modern representatives of this tribe 'are the Bābarias, settled in South Kathiawar, in the province still known as Bābariāvāda.'[2] Hemacandra tells us that Jayasiṁha led an army against this chief and defeated and imprisoned him. But on the assurance given by his wife Piṅgalīkā that he would leave the Brāhmans in peace, he was released; and henceforth became a faithful servant of the Caulukya king. That this account of Hemacandra is based on fact is shown by the title *Varvaraka-Jiṣṇu* first founded in the Ujjain epigraph dated V.S.1195 (*c*. 1139-40 A.D.).[3]

The chronicles represent Jayasiṁha as a great builder. Amongst the numerous structures ascribed to him may be mentioned the temple of Rudra-mahākāla at Siddhapur and the great artificial lake Sahasraliṅga at Pattan.[4] Both these works show Jayasiṁha to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith. Bhagvanlal Indraji has shown that the attempts of Hemacandra and other Jain chroniclers to represent him as leaning toward Jainism have little foundation. The facts at our disposal rather point the

[1] But he also calls Barbaraka a *Kṣatriya*; see *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 265. Jayasiṁha Sûri calls him *duṣṭaṁ Barbarakaṁ śūram*. See *Kumārapāla-carita*, I, 44.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 174-75, and fn. 1 on p. 174.

[3] The *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara tells us that, like Viṣṇu, Jayasiṁha conquered (the Cāhamāna) Arṇorāja (ocean), but, unlike him, married his daughter (Lakṣmī) to the Śākambharī prince. Bhagvanlal Indraji thought that this was a mistake and that the war and peace really took place in the reign of Kumārapāla. *JRAS*, 1913, p. 274. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 179. But see *Dvyāśraya* (*IA*, Vol. IV, p. 261), which also says that Āna of Sapādalakṣa bent his head before Jayasiṁha. It is possible that the Kiradu Paramāra Udayarāja (see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 926), whose might is said to have spread "as far as Coḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa and Mālava" was a feudatory of Jayasiṁha.

[4] *PC*, pp. 90 ff.; see for a reference to the list of buildings ascribed to him *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 180, fn. 2.

other way.[1] Jayasiṁha, however, honoured Hemacandra and other Jain monks for their learning, and there are stories that he used to hold discussions between the rival sections of that religious fraternity.[2] According to the *Dvyāśraya* he established schools for the study of the *Jyotiṣa-śāstras, Nyāya-śāstras,* and *Purāṇas,* and he built a hundred and eight temples of Caṇḍikādeva and others at the Sahasraliṅga tank.[3] The same authority tells us that Kumārapāla the successor of Jayasiṁha started an era during his reign. This must refer to the era known as the Siṁha era the epoch of which is A.D. 1113-14. We have a Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla dated in the 32nd year of this era. But the Atru stone-inscription, dated in the year 14 shows that the era was already in use during Jayasiṁha's reign. We must therefore conclude that Abhayatilaka, who completed the *Dvyāśraya,* committed a mistake in giving the credit for establishing this era to Kumārapāla. The institution of this new era is another evidence of Jayasiṁha's successful administration.

In spite of all these victories in peace and war, one sorrow constantly gnawed at Jayasiṁha's heart. He had no son. The chronicles tell us that all his prayers to the gods proved in vain. The god Mahādeva himself told him that "his brother[4] Tribhuvanapāla's son Kumārapāla should sit on his throne."[5] The relationship of Kumārapāla with Jayasiṁha may be shown by the following table:—

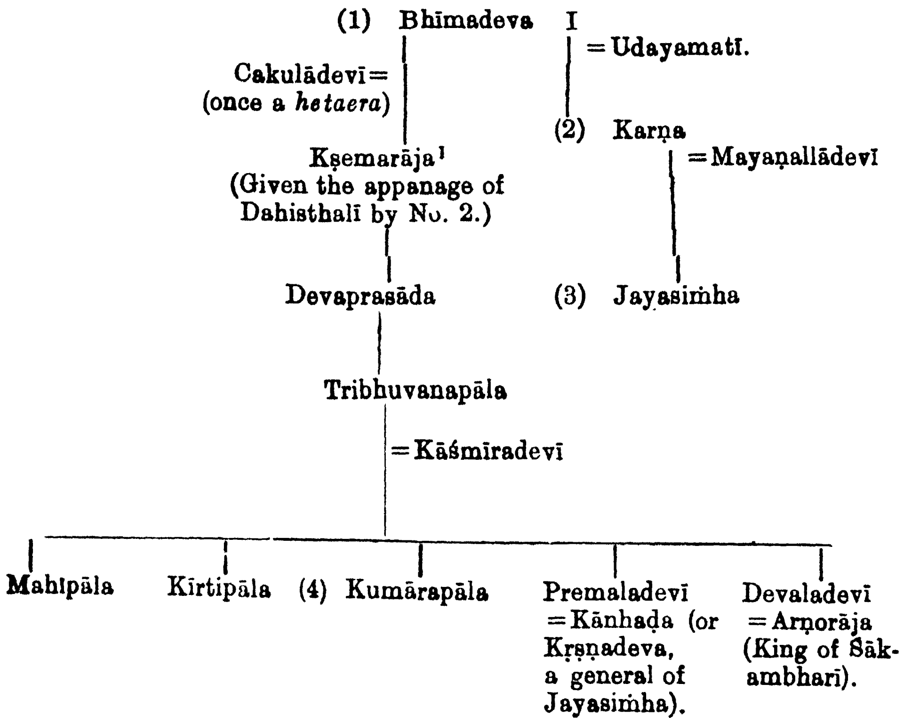
[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 179. See also *PC* (p. 90) which in recording the ceremony of setting up the flag on the temple of Rudra-mahākāla says: On this occasion "he had the flags of all the Jaina temples lowered, as in the country of Mālava when the banner of Mahākāla is displayed, no flag is hoisted on any Jaina temple."

[2] See for example *PC*, pp. 97 ff. The story of the Digambara Kumudacandra and the Śvetāmbara Śrīdeva.

[3] *IA*, Vol, IV, p. 267

[4] 'Brother' is probably a mistake. Authorities differ as to the ancestry of Kumārapāla. In another place the *Dvyāśraya* (*IA*, IV, p. 267) describes Jayasiṁha as Kumārapāla's "uncle."

[5] '*Dvyāśraya*, *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 267; see also *Kamārapāla-carita*, III, 1-50. *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, p. 5.



Merutuṅga tells us that 'as Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne and was always on the look-out for an opportunity of compassing his destruction.'[2] The same authority adds that Siddharāja had adopted as his son 'the prince named Bāhaḍa, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva.'[3] The chronicles make it quite clear that during the later years of Jayasiṁha's reign his court was divided into two factions. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that owing to his hatred of Kumārapāla[4] Jayasiṁha killed the latter's father Tribhuvanapāla, and drove Kumārapāla

[1] Merutunga's *Therāvalī* (*JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155) has 'Devapāla' in the place of 'Devaprasāda.' The contemporary *Dvyāśraya*, gives Kṣemarāja and Karṇa as the names of the two sons of Bhīma. Kṣemarāja's son was Devaprasāda. *PC*, p. 116, gives Bhīma; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla; his son Kumārapāla. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 181, gives Bhīma; his son Kṣemarāja; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla; his son Kumārapāla.

[2] *PC*, p. 116.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 120.

[4] Abu'l-Faẓl also says that 'Kumārapāla Solanki through fear of his life lived in retirement' till Jayasiṁha's death. *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 263.

into exile. After long wanderings in distant countries[1] he at last came back to Aṇahilla-pattana and took shelter in the house of his brother-in-law Kṛṣṇadeva. Though there is no definite evidence, yet the sudden death of Jayasiṁha within 7 days of the arrival of Kumārapāla at Anhilvad looks rather suspicious.[2] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* tells us that Kumārapāla was so closely pursued that he was at last compelled to take shelter with the 'great minister' Udayana at Cambay. The latter was persuaded to help Kumārapāla to escape by the emphatic statement of the Jain monk Hemacandra that Kumārapāla would be installed as king "in the 1199th year of the era of Vikramāditya,[3] on the second day of Karttika, on a Sunday, in the *nakṣatra* of Hasta." This prognosis of Hemacandra was attended by the practical admonition of the monk to Kumārapāla that he "must be grateful" and "always devoted to the law of the Jina." [4] We are told that Kumārapāla 'reverently accepted this admonition.' Jayasiṁha did not long survive this compact, and it seems certain that even if Jayasiṁha's death was natural,[5] Kumārapāla's elevation to the throne was to some extent aided by the powerful Jain party in Gujarat. According to Merutuṅga, after Jayasiṁha's death Kānhaḍadeva 'made his forces ready for battle,' and played the part of a king-maker. It appears that, including Kumārapāla, there were three candidates for the throne. Kānhaḍadeva found the other two unfit for kingship, and ordered Kumārapāla to ascend the throne. Kumārapāla was at this time 50 years of age.[6] Once in power, he proved to be a vigorous and effective ruler. The disaffected ministers were 'all dismissed

1 Vaṭapadra, Bhṛgukaccha, Ujjayinī, Kāñcī, and Citrakūṭa; see *Kumārapala-carita*, III, 67 ff.; also *PC*, pp. 116 ff.

2 *Kumārapāla-carita*, III, 443-49.

3 But see above, p. 967, inscription No. 8 of Jayasiṁha which is dated in V.S. 1200.

4 *PC*, pp. 117-18.

5 The Mangrol inscription of the time of Kumārapāla significantly says: 'When king Siddharāja.........died *accidentally*..............Kumārapāla took possession of his kingdom. See *BI*, p. 159.

6 *PC*, pp. 118-19.

to the city of Yama,' and even his sister's husband, who had become haughty and contemptuous, was blinded and had his limbs paralysed by royal orders. After this most of the officers submitted, but Bāhaḍa, Jayasiṁha's adopted son, escaped and with a section of the royal army took service under the king of Sapādalakṣa.[1] According to the *Kumārapāla-carita*, Kumārapāla after his coronation made Bhopalladevī, his *Paṭṭarājñī* and Udayana his chief minister.[2] This Udayana was no doubt the same man who had helped him to escape from the fury of Jayasiṁha at Cambay.

Of the time of Kumārapāla we have the following published records :

(1) *Mangrol stone-inscription.*—Found incised on a piece of hard black stone, "built up in the wall to the right in descending into a Vāo (Vāpi) near the Gadis' gate at Mangrol in Junagarh," South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, and opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and an invocation to Hara. It then praises Kumārapāla, who succeeded Siddharāja. Next follows the genealogy of a family of Guhila chiefs.[3] Amongst these Sahajiga became a commander of the Caulukya forces. His sons grew so powerful that they were able to protect the Saurāṣṭra country. One of these, named Samarāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara ; and another named *Ṭha(kkura)* Mūluka made some grants for the service of the god. In lines 23-25 the record is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1145) and Siṁha *Saṁvat* 32. It was composed by the *Parama-Pāśupatācārya-mahāpaṇḍita* Prasarvadnya.[4]

(2) *Dohad stone-pillar inscription.*—This short inscription is incised at the end of No. 5 of Jayasiṁha. It records that

[1] *Ibid*, p. 120.

[2] III, 474 ff. The *Kumārapāla-carita* gives the name Padmāvatī as that of another queen of Kumārapāla (*BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 188). The *Ras* (Vol. I, pp. 192-93) gives the tragic story of a Sesodia queen of Kumārapāla, of the House of Mewar.

[3] For details see *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

[4] *BI*, pp. 158-60; *ARB*, pp. 179-80.

in V.S. 1202 (*c.* 1145-46 A.D.) '*Rāṇa* Sāṁkarasīha, who attained to greatness under the good graces of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vāpanadeva, residing at Godrahaka, gave three ploughs of land in the village of Āśviliyā-Kōḍā in the *pathaka* of Ubhloḍa, for (the expenses of) the worship of the god (Goga-Nārāyaṇa).[1]

(3) *Kiradu inscription* (*i*).—It belongs to the time of the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara, a feudatory of Kumārapāla. It is dated in V. S. 1205.[2]

(4) *Chitorgadh stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on a slab of black marble preserved in the temple of Mokalji at Chitorgadh in the Udaipur State, Rajputana. It contains 28 lines, and is much damaged. It opens with *Om namaḥ Sarvajñāya* and 4 verses invoking Śiva (Śarva, Mṛḍa, and Samiddheśvara) and Sarasvatī, and then eulogises the family of the Caulukyas. In that family was born Mūlarāja. After many other kings of this line came Siddharāja, who was succeeded by Kumārapāladeva. The proper object of the inscription is to record that in the course of his campaigns against the rulers of Śākambharī he came to the Citrakūṭa mountain, and having worshipped the god Samiddheśvara and his consort granted a village (name lost) and made some donations to his temple. The *praśasti* was written by the chief of the Digambaras Rāmakīrti. The date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1207 (*c.* 1150 A.D.) comes at the end.[3]

(5) *Chitorgadh stone-inscription* (*ii*).—The record is fragmentary and highly weather-worn. It contains the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla. The former was born in the race of Caulukya who was in his turn born from the hollow of the palm of Brahmā. Then follows the usual genealogy from Mūlarāja to Jayasiṁha. After him,

[1] Edited by Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 159-60. He took this inscription to be a part of Jayasiṁha's (5), and wrongly referred it to the reign of Jayasiṁha. Though the name of the reigning king is not mentioned in it, inscription No. 1 shows that it must belong to Kumārapāla's reign.

[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 925 ff.

[3] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 421-24. The place Śālipura mentioned in this inscription, where Kumārapāla pitched his camp has not yet been identified.

Kumārapāla, son of Tribhuvanapāla who was son of Devaprasāda, son of Kṣemarāja, who was son of Bhīmadeva (I).[1]

(6) *Vadnagar praśasti.*—Incised on a stone slab in the Arjun-Bārī near the Sāmelā tank at Vadnagar in Gujarat. It contains 46 lines, opening with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and a *maṅgala* addressed to Brahman. The next 17 verses give an account of the origin of the Caulukyas, and traces their genealogy down to Kumārapāla. Verses 19 to 29 praise the ancient Brāhmanic settlement of Nagara or Ānandapura,[2] and the rampart which Kumārapāla raised round it. V. 30 gives us the name of the author of the *praśasti*, Śrīpāla, who, we are told, was adopted as a brother by Siddharāja and bore the title *Kavi-cakravartin.*[3] The record was written in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1208 (*c.* 1151 A.D.) by the Nāgara Brāhman, *Paṇḍit* Vālhana.[4]

(7) *Kiradu stone pillar-inscription (ii).*—Found incised on a white stone pillar at Kiradu, 'a small village near Hāthamo under Bāḍmera, in Marwar in Rajputana. It contains 21 lines of very damaged and fragmentary writing. It opens with the date (V.) Saṁvat 1209 (*c.* 1153 A.D.), in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja*-Kumārapāla, 'who has conquered all kings,' by the grace of Śaṅkara, the lord of Pārvatī,' and then records that when Mahādeva was 'in charge of the signet and the seal, etc.'[5] (the Naḍḍula Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja* Ālhaṇadeva on the Śivarātri Caturdaśi, and certain other specified days gave security for the lives of animals. No life was to be taken under penalty of a fine for persons belonging to the royal family and of

[1] Originally found at Chitorgadh; now in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. *ASI, WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2220 ; *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 209, No. 1522.

[2] Mod. Vādnagar (Sanskrit Vṛddha-nagara), in the Kheralu sub-division of the Kaḍ district, Baroda State. For the antiquity of this place see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 295.

[3] He was the poet-laureate of Jayasiṁha; see Kielhorn, *ibid.*

[4] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 293-305. First noticed by Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. X, p. 160.

[5] *Śrīkaraṇādau samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripaṁ*......(lost). According to Dr. Barnett this seems to mean: 'being in charge (?) of all the functions of the Seal in the Treasury (*Śrī Karaṇa*).

capital punishment for others. The record was written by *Mahārājaputra-Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura* Khelāditya.[1]

(8) *Pāli inscription.*—It is engraved on a pilaster close by the sanctum in the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Somanātha at Pāli (Pallikā-grāma), in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1209 in the reign of Kumārapāla.[2]

(9) *Ratanpur stone-inscription.*—Contains 11 lines, incised on a stone in the dome of an old Śaiva temple outside the town of Ratanpur in Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is damaged, the 1st and the 7th lines being almost illegible. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and is then dated in the victorious reign of *M.-Pb.-P.*-Kumārapāla.[3] The inscription then records the publication of an order of Girijādevī, the *Mahārājñī* of Pūnapākṣadeva, successor of (the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja* Rāyapāla, prohibiting slaughter of animals on some specified dates. The violation of the order was to be punished with fines. On the Amāvāsyā day even the potters were ordered not to burn their pots. The edict was made public through Pūtiga and Sāliga, the two sons of the *Śrāvaka* Śubhaṁkara belonging to the Prāgvaṭa-vaṁśa and Naḍḍula-pura. It was written by *Ṭhakkura* Asapāla.[4]

(10) *Bhatund stone pillar-inscription.*—Incised on one of the pillars of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of a dilapidated temple in the village of Bhatund, about a mile to the south of Bijapur in the Jodhpur State. The record is 'highly weather-worn.' and its object is not clear. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1210 (A.D. 1154) in the reign of 'the Caulukya sovereign Kumārapāla and mentions

[1] *BI*, pp. 172-73. For Ālhaṇadeva's other inscriptions (V.S. 1218-36) see *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 63-65; Vol. XI, pp. 43-46.

[2] Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1907-08, pp. 44-45; see also *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

[3] As in No. 5......" illustrious by the favour of *Pārvatī-pati* " (line 2).

[4] *BI*, pp. 205-207. See also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 209, No. 1523. The record is not dated in any era.

the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijāka.[1] who was apparently in charge of the Naḍḍūla district.[2]

(11) *Nadol grant*.—The plate was found 'in the possession of the *Panchāyat* of the village of Nādol, in the Desuri district, Jodhpur State. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit prose ; there is a benedictory verse towards the end. It opens with the date (V.) *Sam.* 1213 (A.D. 1156) when *Pb.-M.-P. Umāpativara-labdha-prasāda-prauḍhapratāpa-nijabhuja - vikrama-raṇāṁgaṇa-vinirjita-Śākambharī-bhūpāla*-Kumārapāla was reigning at Aṇahilapāṭaka and when the *Mahāmātya* Bāhaḍadeva was transacting the business of the Seal, etc. It then records a grant made by his feudatory, the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Pratāpasiṁha of the Vaḍāṇā clan (*anvaya*). The grant consists of one *rūpaka* per day from the custom-house (*maṇḍapikā*) of Badarī to some Jaina temples at Nadūlaḍāgikā (mod. Nadlai) and Lavaṁdaḍi. The inscription was written by the *Gauḍānvaya-Kāyastha-Paṇḍita* Mahīpāla.[3]

(12) *Bali Inscription*.—Incised on a lintel in the temple of Bahuguṇa Mātā at Bali, the principal town of the district of the same name in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1216 (A.D. 1159) in the reign of Kumārapāla. On that date his *Daṇḍanāyaka* at Naddūla was Vayajaladeva and '*Jahāgirdār*' of Vālahi (mod. Bali) was Anupameśvara. The inscription

[1] Also known as Vaījā, Vaijalladeva, and Vayajaladeva. The following inscriptions also mention him :

(*a*) A stone inscription in the Mahāvīra temple at Sevadi (Jodhpur State) dated in V.S. 1213 speaks of *Daṁḍa* Vaījā as ruling in Naḍūla.

(*b*) A stone inscription in a Jaina temple at Ghanerav in the Desuri district (Jodhpur State) is dated in V.S. 1213 in the reign of *Daṁḍanāyaka* Vaijalladeva.

(*c*) A stone inscription in a lintel of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Bōlā or Bahuguṇa Mātā at Bali, dated in V.S. 1216, in the reign of Kumārapāla, speaks of *Daṁḍa* Vayajaladeva as ruling in Naddrūla.

(*d*) Inscription No. 2 of the Caulukya Ajayapāla, dated in V.S. 1231 mentions *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vaijalladeva of the Cāhuyāṇa (Cāhamāna) family.

See *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70 and fn. 4.

[2] Noticed in *ASI*, WC. 1908, pp. 51-52. The town of Bhāṭuṭṭapadra-nagara is identified with mod. Bhatund, the find-spot of the record.

[3] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 202-203.

records that a plot of land belonging to Bali which could be traversed by one ploughshare in a single day was granted by Vayajaladeva for the worship of the goddess Bahughṛṇā.[1]

(13) *Kiradu inscription* (*iii*).—Incised in the Śiva temple at Kiradu, Jodhpur State. It belongs to the time of Kumārapāla and his feudatory, the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara. It is dated in V.S. 1218 (A.D. 1161).[2]

(14) *Udayapur stone-inscription* (*i*).—Said to have been found 'inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town of Udayapur (Lat. 23°54′N., Long. 78°7′ E.) in the State of Gwalior. It contains 20 lines of incomplete writing, for in its present condition 'at the beginning of each line we miss from about 8 to 10 *akṣaras*.' The inscription records donations to the temple of the god Ūdaleśvara in the town of Udayapura by *Mahārājaputra* Vasantapāla. It was apparently dated in the first 8 lines, in the reign of Ku(mārapāla) of Aṇa(hilapāṭaka), 'the vanquisher of the lords of Śākambharī and Avanti,'[3] while the *Mahāmātya* Yaśodhava(la) was managing the affairs of the state.[4] and when the *Mahāsādhanika* Rājya(pāla) was governing at Udayapura. Of the date of the record which was contained in the beginning of the first line only ...*ṣa-sudi 15 Gurau* remains. As the endowments were made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the editor has calculated that the lost portion must have been (V.) *Saṁvat* 1220 *var*... (A.D.) 1163.[5]

(15) *Jalor stone-inscription.*—Incised on a lintel in the second storey of an old mosque now used as a *tōpkhānā* at Jalor, in Jodhpur State. It records the construction of a Jain *vihāra* containing an image of Pārśvanātha on the fort of Kāñcanagiri, belonging to Jābālipura (mod. Jalor) in V.S. 1221, by the *Gūrjara-dharādhīśvara-Paramārhata-Caullakya-M.*-Kumārapāla

1 *ASI, wc*, 1907-08, pp. 54-55.
2 *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 47, No. 312.
3 This is the interpretation of Kielhorn; but to me it seems that *Avantinātha* was a title of the king; see above, inscription No. 8 of Jayasiṁha.
4 (*Sama*)*sta-mudrā-vyāpārān-paripaṁthayat-ity-eta*...... See above inscription No. 6.
5 Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-43.

being requested by *Prabhu* Hema Sūri. The temple was known as Kuvara (Kumāra) *vihāra*.[1]

(16) *Udayapur stone pillar-inscription* (*ii*).—Said to be incised on a pillar ; in the south of the east entrance of the same temple as No. 14. It contains only 5 lines. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1222 (A.D. 1166), and records that the *Ṭha*(*kkura*) Cāhaḍa [2] gave half the village of Saṁgavaṭṭā in the Bhṛṁgārī-catuḥṣaṣṭi (group of 64 villages called Bhṛṁgārī), probably to the temple where the epigraph was found at Udayapura.[3]

(17) *Veraval praśasti of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati*.—Contains 54 lines, incised on a stone slab fixed in the porch of the temple of Bhadrakālī at Veraval (Somnath) in S. Kathiawar. The record opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and invocations to Bhavānīpati (Siva), Gaṇeśa, and Soma (Moon). It then gives an account of the birth and career of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati. He was born in the city of Vāṇārasī in the Kānyakubja-*Viṣaya* in a Brāhman family, and took the vow of the Pāśupatas. When he reached Dhārā and Avanti in the Mālava country he was highly honoured, and the Paramāra lords became his pupils. Next he bound to himself Jayasiṁha in a close bond of brotherhood. After his death, when Kumārapāla, ' who was a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants-Ballāla, king of Dhārā and the illustrious ruler of Jāṅgala,' ' quickly mounted the throne of his kingdom,' the *Gaṇḍa*[4] Bhāva[5]-Bṛhaspati, ' seeing the temple of the Foe of Cupid (Somanath) ruined,' exhorted him ' to restore the house of the god.' We are told that the temple of Somnath was first

1 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar. *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55. The record really belongs to the Naḍḍula (Cāhamāna) Samarasiṁha, who effected some repairs to the temple in V.S. 1242. Note the form *Caullakya*; see above *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 943, fn. 1.

2 Kielhorn has suggested that this Cāhaḍa may be identical with Kumārapāla's general of the same name mentioned by the *Dvyāśraya*; see *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 267 ; Vol. XVIII, p. 143, fn. 22.

3 Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 343-44.

4 Temple priest ; see *WZKM*, Vol. III, p. 2 and fn. 1.

5 A common honorific title of religious teachers ; *ibid*, fn. 1.

erected in stone by Bhīma I.[1] Kumārapāla agreed, made Bṛhaspati the lord of all the *gaṇḍas*, and appointed him governor of Somanātha-pattana. When the temple of Somnath was finally rebuilt the king made his office of chief temple-priest hereditary and granted him the village of Brahmapurī, near Maṇḍalī.[2] When Bhoja, the son of the king's sister Premalladevī, worshipped Somanātha under the guidance of Bṛhaspati, Kumārapāla, characterised as *Māheśvara-nṛpāgraṇīḥ* gave another village to the priest. The record was written by Rudra Sūri, and is dated in the last line in Valabhī *Saṁvat* 850 (A.D. 1169).[3]

(18) *Junagarh stone-inscription.*—Incised on a piece of hard black stone and found in a Śaiva temple at Junagarh. It contains 34 lines of very much damaged writing. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and then gives the genealogy of the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka from Mūlarāja, followed by the names of Bhīma, Karṇa, Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla. It seems to record the building of a Śaiva temple by the last prince of Ānandanagara[4] and his minister Dhavala. The date is Valabhi-*Saṁvat* 850 and Siṁha-*Saṁvat* 60 (A.D. 1169).[5]

(19) *Nadlai stone-inscription.*—Found near the temple of Mahādeva, about one mile SW. of Nadlai.[6] It contains 3 lines and records the construction of the *maṇḍapa*, etc., of the temple of Bhivaḍeśvara by one Pāhiṇi at the cost of 330 *drammas*, in V.S. 1228 (*c.* 1171 A.D.), during the victorious reign of

[1] Must have been damaged during the invasion of Maḥmūd in the reign of this prince. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 958 ff.

[2] Mod. Brahmapur, near mod. Mandal, in the Viramgam Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

[3] Col. Tod first noticed this record (*Travels in Western India*, p. 504). Then Forbes published an abstract in *JBRAS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 59 ff. Finally edited by V. G. Ozha with an introduction by Bühler in *WZKM*, Vol. III, pp. 1-19; see also *BI*, pp. 186-93.

[4] Mod. Vadnagar.

[5] *BI*, pp. 184-85. Kielhorn seemed to doubt the reading of the dates, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 189, No. 1381, and p. 200, No. 1463.

[6] Nadlai is situated 8 miles to the NW. of Desuri, the principal town of the district of the same name, Godwar division, Jodhpur State; *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 34.

Kuṁvara(Kumāra)pāla, while Kelhana was ruling in Nāḍūla and the *Rāṇā* Lakhamaṇa at Voripadyaka.[1]

These inscriptions cover a period of about 26 years, *c.* 1145 to 1171. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Kumārapāla reigned for 31 years from V.S. 1199 to 1230.[2] The *Therāvalī*, gives the reign-period as 1199 to 1229 V.S.[3] The *Mirāti-Aḥmadī*[4] assigns him a reign of 30 years and 6 months, while the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* gives him only 23 years.[5] As the Bali stone-inscription of his predecessor is dated in V.S. 1200 and the Udaipur stone-inscription of his successor is dated in V. S. 1229 Kumārapāla's reign must fall between these two limits. As Merutuṅga tells us that Kumārapāla ascended the throne when he was fifty years old, it would seem at first sight that the tradition recorded by Abu'l-Faẓl of a shorter reign of 23 years is the more correct. But the Nadlai stone-inscription of V.S. 1228 shows that the *Therāvalī* represent the true tradition regarding the lower limit of the reign.

According to the Gujarat chronicles Kumārapāla, like his predecessors, was also a great warrior. The most elaborate description of his *digvijaya* is found in the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁha Sūri. The whole of the fourth *Sarga* of this work is devoted to the king's victorious campaigns. We are told that he first reached Jāvālapura[6] (mod. Jalor). After being entertained by its *nāyaka*, he proceeded to attack the Sapādalakṣa country. Arṇorāja, the king of this place who was also his brother-in-law, worshipped him; then he proceeded to the Kuru-*maṇḍala* and halted on the banks of the Mandākinī (Ganges). Then the Gurjara king marched against Mālava. On the way the lord of Citrakūṭa 'showed his gratitude to him.' After reaching Avanti-deśa he captured its ruler. He then

1 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 47-48.
2 *PC*, p. 151.
3 *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155; see also p. 157.
4 *MA*, Trans., p. 143.
5 *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260.
6 Sometimes spelt 'Jābālipura,' see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 982.

followed the banks of the Narmadā, and rested for some time in the Revā-*tīra*. Next he crossed the river, and entering Ābhīra-*viṣaya*, compelled the lord of Prakāśa-nagarī to become his servant. Further south his advance was obstructed by the Vindhyas, and after exacting tribute from the petty village chiefs in that area he appears to have turned west and subdued the lord of Lāṭa. Proceeding northwards from Lāṭa he turned towards the west, and defeated the chief of the Surāṣṭra-*viṣaya*. From Surāṣṭra he entered Kaccha, defeated its chief, and went on to fight with the *Pañcanadādhipa*, who is described as *nausādhana-samuddhata*. After defeating him he proceeded to fight against Mūlarāja the lord of Mūlasthāna (mod. Multan). After a terrific contest Mūlarāja was vanquished, and the Caulukya king returned victorious from the Śaka country, by way of Jālandhara and Marusthāna. After describing his triumphant tour of victory, Jayasiṁha thus indicates the limits of Kumārapāla's *digvijaya*.[1]
Ā Gaṁgam Aindrīm ā-Vindhyaṁ Yāmyām ā-Sindhu-paścimām,
Ā-Turuṣkaṁ ca Kauberīṁ Caulukyaḥ Sādhayiṣyati.

[Up to the Ganges on the east, Vindhyas on the south, Sindh, on the west and up to the Turuṣka (land) on the north did the Caulukya (king) conquer.[2]]

Further on Jayasiṁha gives a detailed account of Kumārapāla's war with Arṇorāja, the lord of Śākambharī. According to him, the war was caused by Arṇorāja having insulted Devalladevī, the sister of Kumārapāla. She is said to have left the Cāhamāna kingdom and complained to her brother. Kumārapāla thereupon invaded the Cāhamāna territories and defeated

1 *IV*, 117; the *Kumārapāla-prabandha* also gives the same limits of his sway. See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 189, fn. 1.

2 The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* of Udayaprabha contains the following verse on Kumārapāla's conquest:

Agre Hammīra-vīraś ciram ajira-mahī-pādapaḥ pāda-padma-
Krīḍā-bhṛṅgaḥ Kaliṅgaḥ sadanavad anago Medapāṭaḥ kapāṭaḥ,
Andhraḥ Karṇāṭa-Lāṭau Kuru-Maru-Muralā-Vaṅga-GauḍĀṅga-Cauḍāḥ,
Krīḍā-stambhāḥ sabhāyām iti nṛpati-kulair ākulair āvṛto yaḥ

GOS, No. X, Appendix II, pp. 76 ff., V. 60.

Arṇorāja, but in the end reinstated him on his throne.[1] The *Dvyāśraya* however says that the hostilities were first commenced by Ānna of Sapādalakṣa, who, 'supposing the government to be new and Kumārapāla to be weak quarrelled with him,' and invaded Gujarat. But Ānna was defeated and wounded in the fight, and bought peace by marrying his daughter Jalhaṇā to Kumārapāla.[2] Merutuṅga agrees with Hemacandra in stating that it was the king of Sapādalakṣa who first made the attack. According to him the Cāhamāna king was induced to attack the frontiers of Gujarata by Bāhaḍa, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva and the adopted son of Siddharāja. Bāhaḍa, 'desiring to make war on Kumārapāla, having won over to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, attentions and gifts, bringing with him the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, surrounded with a formidable army, arrived on the borders of Gujarāt.'[3] For a time the position of the Caulukya king was serious. A large section of the army, including Caüliṅga, the driver of the royal elephant, refused to follow him to battle. But in the end, thanks to Kumārapāla's personal bravery, the enemy forces were completely routed, Bāhaḍa was captured, while Ānna the Sapādalakṣa king was wounded with an iron dart. This victory over Arṇorāja is also mentioned by the *Vasanta-vilāsa*,[4] the *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti*,[5] and the *Sukṛtakīrti-kallolinī*.[6])

There is ample epigraphic evidence to show that this literary tradition of war between Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja is based on fact. The Kiradu (V. S. 1209) and Ratanpur stone inscriptions show that the principality of the Naḍḍūla Cāhamānas was

[1] *IV*, 170 ff.

[2] *IA*, IV, pp. 267 ff.

[3] *PC*, p. 120.

[4] *GOS*, No. VII. iii, 29. The Cāhamāna king is referred to as 'King of Jāṅgala' in this work. Also in the Veraval inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati; see *WZKM*, Vol. III pp. 1 ff.

[5] Appendix I, in *GOS*, No. X, pp. 58 ff., V. 25.

[6] *Ibid*, Appendix II, pp. 67 ff., V. 61.

included within his dominions. The inscription of Bhatund and a number of others[1] indicate that during the years V. S. 1210-16 one of his *Daṇḍa-nāyakas* was actually posted in the Naḍḍūla area. The Cāhamāna principality of Naḍḍūla served as a buffer-state between the kingdoms of Aṇahilapāṭaka and Śākambharī, and its inclusion within the Caulukya dominions must have been effected by successful war. This guess seems to be supported by one of Kumārapāla's Chitorgadh inscriptions (V. S. 1220) which actually states that he defeated the ruler of Śākambharī, and, after devastating the Sapādalakṣa country pitched his great camp at Śālipura, not far from modern Chitor in Udaipur State, Rajputana. There is however no evidence to show that the Cāhamāna ruler was completely crushed. The Vadnagar *praśasti* (V. S. 1208), which also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Arṇorāja when read with the Chitorgadh inscription mentioned above indicates that the war on this frontier raged for at least 8 years. Kumārapāla's victory over the Jāṅgala king is also referred to in the Veraval inscription of Bhāva Bṛhaspati (A.D. 1169).[2]

The war with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī seems to have involved Kumārapāla in two other struggles on his eastern frontier. The *Dvyāśraya* says that after his victory over Ānna he was advised to win fame by subduing Ballāla. The reason why his ministers counselled him to attack Ballāla is given by Hemacandra in another passage, where he writes that before Ānna advanced upon the frontiers of Gujarat he formed an alliance with Ballāla, the king of Avanti, and it was arranged that both the powers should simultaneously attack the Caulukya kingdom from the north and the east.[3] After the Caulukya king had returned to Pattana, "News was brought to Kumārapāla that Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, the two

[1] See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 980 ff.

[2] The *PC* (p. 141) seems to give Vigraharāja, *alias* Viśvala, the king of Sapādalakṣa, as also contemporary with Kumārapāla.

[3] *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 268.

Sāmantas whom he had sent to oppose Ballāla, when he himself advanced against Ānna, had gone over to the king of Ujjain, and that monarch was already in his territory and was advancing on Anahillapura. Kumārapāla, assembling his troops, went against Ballāla, who was defeated and struck from his elephant." [1] The *Vasantavilāsa* [2] also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla while the *Kīrti-Kaumudī* informs us that the latter was beheaded by Kumārapāla.[3] The authenticity of this literary tradition seems to be borne out by epigraphic evidence. The stone pillar at Dohad, which contains an inscription dated in the reign of Jayasiṁha in V. S. 1196 (A.D. 1140) also contains a postscript dated in V. S. 1202 (A.D. 1145-46). But, significantly enough, it fails to mention the name of the sovereign lord of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vāpanadeva. We have already noticed the strategic importance of the Dohad. region. It is not unlikely that sometime between 1140 and 1146 A.D. the Caulukyas lost their hold over this region. But there is no doubt that whatever reason may have induced the composer of the inscription to omit the name of Kumārapāla, the Caulukyas had recovered their hold on Mālava some time before 1163 A.D. The two Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla dated in V. S. 1220 (A. D. 1163) and 1222 (A. D. 1166), which were discovered not far from Bhilsa, show that, like his predecessor he was again the lord of Mālava. The Veraval inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati (A.D. 1169) refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla, the king of Dhārā, while the Vadnagar *praśasti* states that the Caulukya king charmed the goddess Caṇḍī, "when she was desirous of taking a toy-lotus with the lotus-head of the Mālava lord, that was suspended at his gate." [4] This last inscription indicates that Ballāla

1 *Ibid.*
2 *III*, 29.
3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 185.
4 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 302, V. 15. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 886 ff

was killed sometime before c. 1151 A.D.[1] It is however difficult to identify the Mālava king Ballāla. The genealogical lists in the published records of the Paramāras do not contain this name: as Lüders has suggested, he may have been a usurper who seized the throne of Mālava some time between 1135 to 1144 A.D.[2] and taking advantage of Kumārapāla's difficulties when he first ascended the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka, declared his independence, and allied himself with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, and advanced against Gujarat to try conclusions with the traditional enemies of his country.[3]

The second war that was waged by Kumārapāla in connection with his struggle with the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja was against the Paramāra principality of Candrāvatī in Abu. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that when he was fighting with Arṇorāja, Vikramasiṁha, the lord of Candrāvatī, rebelled against him. So after his victory against the northern ruler, he advanced towards Candrāvatī and after capturing the city imprisoned its ruler.[4] According to this authority, the throne of Candrāvatī was given to Vikramasiṁha's nephew Yaśodhavala.[5] The authenticity of this tradition is shown by the Mount Abu *praśasti* of Tejaḥpāla (V. S. 1287), which tells us that the Arbuda Paramāra Yaśodhavala "quickly killed Ballāla the lord of Mālava, when he had learnt that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla."[6] From the wording of this

[1] Lüders suggested on the authority of the Veraval inscription that Ballāla must have died before 1169 A.D.; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 201. But the Mālava lord in the Vadnagar inscription is certainly the Ballāla of the later record, and so we can shorten the period of his death by about 18 years.

[2] *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 201-02. The last date of Yaśovarman and the first date of Lakṣmīvarman. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 348-49; *ibid*, pp. 352 ff. Recently a suggestion has been made that Ballāla was a Hoysala ruler from Dorasamudra.

[3] See inscription No. 14 above and fn. 3 on p. 982.

[4] *IV*, 421-52. The *Dvyāśraya* (*IA*, Vol. IV, p. 267) says that Vikramasiṁha, the Paramāra ruler of Abu, entertained Kumārapāla when the latter reached his capital on his way to waging against Anna of Sapādalakṣa.

[5] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 185.

[6] *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 210, V. 35. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 886 ff. and 914 ff.

passage we may conclude that Yaśodhavala was a feudatory of Kumārapāla.

Apart from these three wars, Kumārapāla seems to have engaged in at least two others. One of these was waged against Mallikārjuna, the ruler of Kauṅkaṇa (Konkan). The Arbuda Paramāra Yaśodhavala, who claims to have materially assisted Kumārapāla against Ballāla, seems to have also shared in his campaign against this prince. We are told by the Mount Abu *praśasti* of Tejaḥpāla (V. S. 1287) that when Yaśodhavala, "inflamed with anger, held his ground in the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Kauṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes." [1] The chronicles however do not mention Yaśodhavala's name in this connection. Merutuṅga gives the following story about this war. Once when the Caulukya king was giving a general audience to the people, he heard a bard bestowing on the king of the country of Kauṅkaṇa, the biruda of *Rāja-pitāmaha*. Deeply indignant, he looked around the assembly, and, finding Āmrabhaṭa (also known as Āmbaḍa), a son of the prime-minister Udayana, willing to lead an army 'to destroy that semblance of a king,' Kumārapāla despatched him with all his chieftains. But when Āmbaḍa had reached the Kauṅkaṇa country and was encamped on the further bank of the river Kalaviṇi, he was suddenly attacked and put to flight by Mallikārjuna. Kumārapāla seeing him deeply humiliated but yet determined to try his luck again, invested him with the command for the second time. Āmbaḍa now crossed the river by throwing a bridge across it, and carefully transporting his army to the other bank, attacked, defeated and killed Mallikārjuna.[2] Then "he had Mallikārjuna's head set in gold, and after establishing the authority of the Caulukya sovereign'[i] presented it to his lord at Aṇahillapura. Kumārapāla thereupon

1 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 216, V. 36.

2 According to the *PB*, Mallikārjuna was killed by the Cāhamāna Someśvara, who was at that time living at Kumārapāla's court. See *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 274-75.

conferred the title *Rāja-pitāmaha* on Āmbaḍa.[1] This Mallikārjuna has been rightly identified with the Śilāhāra prince of that name, for whom we have inscriptions dated in Śaka 1078 (A.D. 1156) and 1082 (A. D. 1160). As the earliest inscription, so far known, of his successor Aparāditya is dated in Śaka 1084 (A. D. 1162), Bhagvanlal suggested that he must have lost his life between A. D. 1160 and 1162.[2]

Another war mentioned by Merutuṅga was waged against Suṁvara,[3] the chief of Surāṣṭra. The expedition against this prince was led by the prime-minister Udayana. But in the struggle that followed the Caulukya forces were defeated, and Udayana himself was carried to his quarters mortally wounded. Bhagvanlal has calculated that this war must have taken place sometime *c.* 1149 A. D. (V. S. 1205), as the repairs to the temple of Ādinātha at Pālitāna, which he promised to carry out just before his death, were finished in A. D. 1156-57 A. D. (V. S. 1211).[4] The same scholar has suggested that the Surāṣṭra chieftain was possibly some Gohilvad Mehr chief. He may however have belonged to the family of the Ābhīra-Cūḍāsamā chiefs of Junagadh who had been giving trouble to the Caulukyas since the days of Mūlarāja I. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that Samara (Sausara) was in the end defeated and his son placed on the throne. As the Sundha Hill inscription [5] tells us that the Naḍḍula Cāhamāna Ālhādana [6] helped the Gurjara king in suppressing disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāṣṭra (*girau saurāṣṭre*), the victory over Samara may have been won through the assistance of this feudatory.[7]

1 *PC*, pp. 122-23.

2 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 186. *Ibid*, Part II, p. 544. On Kumārapāla's conquest of the Konkana see also *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī*, *GOS*, Vol. X, Appendix, pp. 67 ff., V. 63 ff.

3 Also known as Saṁusara. According to others the name is Samara. See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 186 and fn. 1.

4 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 186.

5 *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

6 Same as Ālhanadeva of inscription No. 7 above, p. 979.

7 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 71.

I shall conclude the list of Kumārapāla's wars by referring to a very curious story about a Ḍāhala king named Karṇa. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* [1] tells us that this king once marched against the Caulukya kingdom. The report of this invasion took Kumārapāla by surprise, and he was in a state of bewilderment knowing not what to do. But as Karṇa was marching by night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, his eyes closed in sleep and 'a gold chain that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan-tree and hanged him, and so he died.' If there is any truth in this story Karṇa must be the Ḍāhala Kalacuri Gayā-Karṇa, who ruled about 1151 A. D.

Kumārapāla's reign is extremely interesting in the religious history of India. The Jain chroniclers unanimously assert that as he advanced in years he gradually came under the influence of Hemacandra and at last embraced Jainism. The *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁha (A. D. 1365) devotes six *sargas* (V-X) to describing the circumstances that led to his final conversion and the steps which he took for the advancement of that religion. We are told that on the advice of Hemacandra he first gave up eating flesh and drinking wine.[2] Then on the instruction of the monk the king went to Somnāth, accompanied by the sage, and worshipped Śiva. Hemacandra then caused Śiva to appear and praise the Jain religion. As a result of this Kumārapāla accepted the *Abhakṣa-niyama* and fixed his mind on Jainism (*Jaina-dharme-manasthāpana*). Jayasiṁha devotes the next chapter to a religious discourse between the king and the sage, and then in the 7th *sarga* we are told that the king finally accepted *Śrāddha-dharma* from Hemacandra and prohibited the killing of animals in his kingdom.[3] The author informs us that the order became effective in Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Mālava, Ābhīra, Medapāṭa, Maru, and even Sapādalakṣa-deśa.[4] The decree was enforced with such rigour that a merchant of Sapādalakṣa, for killing a louse that

[1] *PC*, p. 146; see also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, p. 792.
[2] *V*, 24 ff. [3] VII, 577 ff. [4] VII, 581-82.

was sucking his blood like a *rākṣasa*, was arrested like a thief and compelled to give up all his property for the foundation of a sanctuary for lice (*Yūka-vihāra*).[1] The slaughter of goats on *Nava-rātras* was abolished and the king even sent ministers to Kāśi to suppress injury to animals. The next two *sargas* are devoted to the description of Kumārapāla's pilgrimage to various Jain sacred places, and the establishment of *caityas* and temples and various donations. In the tenth section we are told that the king conferred upon his *guru* the title of *Kalikāla-sarvajña* [2] and after selecting Ajayapāla as his successor died soon after Hemacandra's death. The *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of Somaprabha [3] generally describes the Jain teachings given to the king by Hemacandra, and sets forth Kumārapāla's edict prohibiting slaughter of animals, meat-eating, gambling, and prostitution. The most interesting effect of Jain teaching on the king was his withdrawal of the right of the state to confiscate the property of those who died childless (*mṛta-dhanāpaharaṇa-niṣedha*).[4] Another interesting fact supplied by this author is a description of the king's daily time-table (*dina-caryā*). We are told that the king left his bed very early in the morning and recited the sacred Jain *mantra* *Pañca namaskāra* (five salutations), and meditated on the adorable gods and gurus. Thereupon he finished his bath, etc., worshipped the Jain images in the household temple, and, if time permitted, proceeded on an elephant to the *Kumāra-vihāra* in the company of his ministers. After performing eightfold worship there he used to go to Hemacandra, and, having worshipped him, listened to his religious teachings. He returned at midday to his palace, and after giving food and alms to mendicants

1 VII, 588 ff.

2 X. 106. He had before this conferred the title *Paramārhata* on his preceptor on being cured of leprosy by him ; see VII, 669 ff.

3 *GOS*, No. XIV. The date of the MS. is given as 1402 A. D., but according to the editor it was probably composed c. A. D. 1179, and its author was a contemporary of Kumārapāla.

4 Found also in the *Vasantavilāsa*, III, 28.

and sent food-offerings to the Jain idols, took his meal. Then he attended an assembly of learned men, and discoursed with them on religious and philosophical topics. In the 4th *prahara* of the day (about 3 P.M.) he took his seat on the throne in the royal court and attended to the business of state, heard appeals from the people, and passed judgment on them. Sometimes purely as a part of royal duty he attended wrestling matches, elephant-fights, and other such pastimes. He took his evening meal 48 minutes before sunset, but ate only once on the 8th and 14th days of every fortnight. After dinner he worshipped with flowers the household temples and made dancing girls wave lights before the deities. Worship over, he listened to musical concerts and recitations, sung by *cāraṇas*. Having thus passed the day, he then retired to rest.[1] Another interesting work on Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism is the allegorical drama *Moha-rāja-parājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla (*c*. 1174-77 A.D.)[2] which resembles the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra (*c*. 1065 A.D.) This work also specially emphasises Kumārapāla's prohibition of the four *vyasanas*[3] and the abolition of the rule by which the property of those who died heirless was confiscated to the state.[4] The king, we are told, ordered his *Daṇḍapāśikas* to suppress gambling, meat-eating, wine-drinking, butchery, robbery and adultery. But it is interesting to know that *Veśyā-vyasana* was not considered to be a very great sin, and was apparently allowed to continue. Gambling, it appears was very common amongst the nobles, princes, and general public. Yaśaḥpāla describes five kinds of gambling, *viz*., (1) *Aṁdhiya*, (2) *Nālaya* (3) *Caturaṅga*, (4) *Akṣa* and (5) *Varāḍa*. We are told that amongst habitual gamblers, some have hands, feet, and ears chopped off; of others the eyes are removed: some are without

1 *Ibid*, pp. 423 ff.

2 *GOS*, Vol. IX, 1918. The author was a Moḍah Bania, and certainly a Jain.

3 IV, 3.

4 See the story of the merchant Kuvera, III, 55 ff. The wealthy Bania caste, who were mostly Jains, suffered most by this rule. It is interesting to remember that Hemacandra was also a Bania.

nose and lips, and of some all the limbs are cut off, while others go naked.[1] But apart from these disreputable fellows, there were amongst the habitual gamblers men of the highest families. The author gives us the following names from this class: (1) *Mevāḍa-Kumāra*, (2) *Suraṭṭhāhiva-sahodara* (brother of the king of Suraṭṭha), (3) *Caṁdrāvadī-pati*, (4) *Naḍūla-nariṁda-nattuo* (nephew of the Naḍūla king), (5) *Guharāja-bhāya-naṁdano*, (6) *Dhārāhirāya-bhāginijjo* (sister's son of the Dhārā king), (7) *Sāyaṁbharī-bhuvāla-mādulago* (maternal-uncle of the Śākambharī king), (8) *Kumkaṇāhiva-vemāugo* (step-brother of the king of Konkan), (9) *Kaccha-bhumibhuyaniga-sālao* (brother-in-law of the king of Kaccha), (10) *Maru-maṇḍala-khaṇḍa-duhidā-naṁdano* (sister's son of the king of the Maru country), (11) *Cālukya-niva-jaṇassa-mādugo* (maternal uncle of the Calukya king). We are told that these were so much addicted to gambling that they did not stop even if their father, mother, or any other relatives died. The next interesting information in this work is the names of the various sects who were wedded to the principle of slaughter.[2] These were the (1) *Kaula*, (2) *Kāpālika*, (3) Rahamāṇa, (4) Ghaṭacataka, and (5) Māri (?). There is general agreement amongst the other Jain authors about the facts detailed above, and there is some epigraphic evidence to show that the statements, though exaggerated, are at least partially based on fact. The Kiradu and Ratanpur inscriptions, for instance, actually record edicts for the prohibition of animal-slaughter on certain specified days, while the Jalor stone-inscription calls Kumārapāla *Paramārhata*. But there is also evidence to show that though influenced by Jainism he never formally gave up his traditional Śaiva faith. Even the Jain writers admit that he worshipped Someśvara and rebuilt the temple of that god at Somnath.[3] In the Veraval

[1] IV, 11. [2] IV, 22 ff.

[3] The *Dvyāśraya* also records the building of the Śaiva temple of Mahādeva *Kumārapāleśvara* at Aṇabillapura, *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 269; also the repair of the temple of Kedāreśvara Mahādeva, *ibid*. For the repair of temples see also *Vasanta-vilāsa*, III, 26.

stone-inscription, which records this fact, he is called *Māheśvara-nṛpāgraṇīḥ*,[1] in A. D. 1169, only a few years before his death (*c.* 1174 A.D.). Most of his inscriptions begin with invocations to Śiva; and it is significant that not a single inscription has yet been discovered where he invokes any Jain deity. The Jain chronicles record stories of Brāhman hostility to the influence of Hemacandra at his court. In these quarrels, the Brāhmans, we are told, always came off second best, and were often saved from the wrath of the king by the merciful intervention of Hemacandra. But there is reason to suspect these stories of the king's partiality to Jainism. The *Rās-mālā* for instance records a story in which the Śaiva saint Śaṅkara Svāmī brings about the death of Hemacandra and induces Kumārapāla to massacre the Jain monks and become his disciple. It is evident that Kumārapāla accepted some of the principles of Jainism. But it is doubtful whether he was really sincere in his acceptance of its tenets. It is not unlikely that his leanings towards Jainism had a material object in view, the winning of the support of the powerful and wealthy Bania corporations, who were predominantly Jain. The king's numerous wars must have drained his treasury, and may have made him increasingly dependent for financial assistance on the Jain community, who appeared to have formed, then as now, the backbone of industry, commerce, and banking in Gujarat. It may not be without significance that Hemacandra himself was a Moḍha Bania by caste, while Udayana, the prime minister was also a rich merchant of the Śrīmāla-vaṁśa.[2]

According to the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasiṁha, the Caulukya monarch before his death discussed with Hemacandra

1 In the Bombay (Secretariat) grant of his successor Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla is called '*Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda*, see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 82, line 4.

2 *PC*, p. 82. See also p. 976 above for the connection of Kumārapāla's accession with the Jain Bania community.

the question of succession and seems to have selected Ajayapāla.[1] The *Kumārapāla-prabandha* however tells us that Kumārapāla desired to give the throne to his daughter's son Pratāpamalla, but Ajayapāla raised a revolt and got rid of Kumārapāla by poison.[2] It is significant that this tradition that Ajayapāla 'wickedly poisoned his sovereign' is also recorded by Abu'l-Fazl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān.[3] The dramatic forecast of Hemacandra that the royal pupil would only survive him for six months,[4] was probably made to come true by more violent means than the Jaina chroniclers would have us believe. The suspicion of foul play increases when we see that there was a violent reaction in the religious policy of Kumārapāla's successor. It is not unlikely therefore that soon after the death of the powerful Jaina teacher all the elements of dissatisfied Brahmanical forces combined to bring about a change of royal policy by violent means. The appointment of Kapardin, an avowed devotee of the goddess *Durgā*, as the prime minister of Ajayapāla, the violent deaths of Āmrabhaṭa, the son of the Jain prime minister Udayana after a short civil war and of the Jaina monk Ramacandra[5] all seem to point to the same conclusion.

The relationship between Kumārapāla and his successors is usually left uncertain in the chronicles and inscriptions. But the *Dvyāśraya* of Hemacandra and the *Therāvalī* of Merutuṅga tell us that Ajayapāla was the son of Mahīpāla,[6] a brother of Kumārapāla.[7] This statement is supported by a Patan inscription at Veraval, which calls Ajayapāla the brother's son of

[1] X, 118.

[2] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 194. See also *PC*, p. 149, which seems to refer to the birth of a son to Kumārapāla: 'A son has been born to your majesty.' The king is reported to have answered that this child would be a king in Gujarat but not in that city (Aṇahillapāṭaka).

[3] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 263; *MA*, Trans., p. 143.

[4] *PC*, p. 150.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 152-53.

[6] According to Forbes one of the candidates for the throne on the death of Jayasiṁha; *RAS*, Vol. I, p. 176.

[7] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 194 and fn. 2; *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.

Kumārapāla.[1] The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* also calls Ajayapāla the nephew of Kumārapāla.[2]

The following inscriptions are so far known for Ajayapāla's reign :

(1) *Udayapur stone-inscription*.—Found ' in Udayāditya's magnificent temple to Śiva at Udayapur, in the State of Gwalior, C. I. It contains 23 lines, and opens with *Om namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follows the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1229 (A. D. 1173),[3] in the reign of *M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara* Ajayapāladeva, when the *Amātya* Someśvara was transacting the business of the seal.[4] At this date the illustrious Lūṇapaṣāka,[5] an officer appointed by the king to govern Udayapura, which was in the *Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala*,[6] a province acquired by the king's own prowess, on the occasion of a *Yugādi*, which coincided with the *Akṣaya-tṛtīyā*, gave the village of Umarathā in the *Bhṛṁgārikā-Catuḥṣaṣṭi-pathaka* to the god Vaidyanātha, at Udayapura, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased *Rāja*, the illustrious Solaṇa-deva, a son of the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious Vīlhaṇadeva, of the Muhilaündha(?) family. Lines 20-21 state that the donation was received (on behalf of the god) by Nīlakaṇṭha Svāmin.[7]

(2) *Unjha inscription*.—Found in the Kāleśvar Mahādev temple at Unjha, Baroda State. It is dated in (V.)S. 1231 in the reign of Ajayapāladeva of Aṇahilapāṭaka.[8]

[1] *Ibid*, fn. 2, on p. 194.

[2] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260; see also *RAS*, Vol. I, p. 198.

[3] The exact date is Monday, the 16th April, A. D. 1173.

[4] *Śrī-Śrī Karaṇādau samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripaṁthayati.*

[5] Corrupted from Prakrit Lōṇapasāya, Sanskrit Lavaṇaprasāda. Another form of the name is Lūṇapasāja. See *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 346.

[6] Bhāillasvāmī is mod. Bhilsa, to the NE. of Bhopal, C. I.

[7] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 344-48. Previously edited by F. W. Hall in *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 125; correction suggested by Hultzsch in *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 244, fn. 12.

[8] Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar from his own transcript, *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 54, No. 353.

(3) *Bombay Secretariat grant.*—The find-spot of the inscription is not known. It was deposited in 1889 in the Bombay Secretariat. It contains 32 lines, incised on two plates. Though there are ring-holes in the plate, and one plain copper ring was found, there is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring. At the end are engraved the sun, the moon, and the figure of a four-faced, and four-armed god, seated on a water-lily (Brahman). The inscription opens with two verses praising the god Śiva (Vyomakeśa and Smarārāti), and next comes the name *Brāhmaṇapāṭaka* the place from which the grant was issued. It then traces the succession of *Pb.-M.-Parama-māheśvara* Ajayapāladeva from Jayasiṁha.[1] We are next told that in the reign of this prince, who was established in Aṇahilapāṭaka when the *Mahāmātya* Someśvara was in charge of the seal, the Cāhuyāṇa (Cāhamāna) *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vaijalladeva who had attained the *Pañca-mahāśabda* and who through the favour of Ajayapāladeva was governing the *Narmadā-taṭa-maṇḍala*, when stationed at Brāhmaṇapāṭaka, in V. S. 1231 (for 1232? = A. D. 1175), granted the village of Ālaviḍagāṁva, belonging to the group known as *Mākhulagāṁva-grāma-dvicatvāriṁśat* and forming part of Pūrṇa-*pathaka*, for the feeding of 50 new Brāhmans in Khaṇḍohaka, southern division. In line 31 there is another date, (V.) *Saṁvat* 1231, in figures. The *Dū(taka)* of the grant was the *Pratīhāra* Sobhanadeva. The grant ends with *Sva-hasto-yam-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Śrī* Vaijalladevasya. Uparori (Uparika?) Vāmadeva.[2]

If Fleet is right in his suggestion that the date V.S. 1231 of the second inscription is a mistake for V.S. 1232 the two records show that Ajayapāla reigned at least for 3 years (V.S. 1229-32). Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* tells us that he reigned for

[1] Jayasiṁha is given the epithet *Varvaraka-jiṣṇu*, while Kumārapāla is called *Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda* and *vinirjita-Śākambhari-bhūpāla*. The epithet *pādānudhyāta* qualifies the relationship of both Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla to their predecessors.

[2] Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 80-85. In a Kadi grant of Bhīma II (*IA*, Vol. VI, p. 207), Ajayapāla is given the epithet *Mahāmāheśvara*.

3 years and two months, from V.S. 1229, *Pauṣa*, to 1232, *Phālguna*.[1] The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of the same author states that he 'ruled for 3 years beginning from V.S. 1230.'[2] As the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*[3] and the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* also assign him 3 years, we may conclude that his reign period did not exceed that limit by any appreciable margin. The Jain chroniclers do not record any achievements of this reign. The author of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* however notes that the king of Sapādalakṣa sent Ajayapāla a silver pavilion 'as a feudatory's gift.'[4] This seems to be confirmed by the Kadi grant of Bhīma II (V.S. 1263), which gives Ajayapāla the epithet *Karadīkṛta-Sapādalakṣa-Kṣamāpāla*.[5] If there is any truth in this statement, this Cāhamāna ruler must be identified with Someśvara, for whom we have dates ranging from *c*. 1170 to 1177 A.D.[6] There is some evidence to show that Ajayapāla was engaged in war with the rising Guhilas of Rajputana. From an Abu inscription dated in V.S. 1287 we learn that the Abu Paramāra Prahlādana defended the illustrious Gurjara king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasiṁha.[7] Lüders suggested the identification of the latter prince with the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha, whose name is mentioned in two inscriptions of Mt. Abu. He referred him to *c*. 1200 A.D.[8] But two inscriptions of the Guhila prince, recently discovered, are dated in V.S. 1228 (*c*. 1171 A.D.) and 1236 (*c*. 1179 A.D.).[9] These make him a

[1] *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.

[2] This must be wrong; see above, p. 999, inscription No. 1, dated in V.S. 1229.

[3] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260; *MA*, Trans., p. 143; *BHG*, p. 27.

[4] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 194.

[5] *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 194 ff. Fleet in the grant No. 9 of Bhīma II (see below, p. 1008) read it, I think wrongly, as *Karadikṛta-Sapādalakṣa-Lakṣmāpāla*, and translates as 'levied tribute from Lakṣmāpāla, the king of Sapādalakṣa.' *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 113 and 115.

[6] *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 40ff.; *JRAS*, 1913, p. 277; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

[7] *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 216, V. 38. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhilaputras*.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 203; Lüders takes the Gurjara king to be Bhīma II.

[9] Noticed in *RMR*, 1914-15, p. 3; also *IA*, 1924, p. 100.

contemporary of Ajayapāla; and as the two immediate successors of Ajayapāla were minors when they ascended the throne, the conflict may have taken place during his reign.[1]

According to the Merutuṅga, Ajayapāladeva, soon after his accession, 'began to destroy the (Jain) temples set up by his predecessors' and appointed Kapardin, a worshipper of Durgā, to be his prime minister. Among the violent acts recorded by this author of this 'low villain of a king' is the execution of the minister Kapardin and the Jain scholar Rāmacandra, 'the author of a hundred works' (and a pupil of Hemacandra). The former was 'cast into the cauldron,' while the latter was 'placed......on a heated plate of copper.' I have already referred to the armed revolt of Āmrabhaṭa, the son of Udayana, Kumārapāla's powerful Jain minister. We are told that he refused to prostrate himself before the king, saying that in this birth he did obeisance only "to him who is without passion as a god, to the sage Hemacandra as a teacher, and to Kumārapāla as a master."[2] The angry king ordered him to prepare for battle. Thereupon he worshipped the image of the Jina and after accepting consecration for battle, 'swept away from his own mansion the retainers of the king like a heap of chaff, with the wind of his own soldiers.' He then 'penetrated as far as the clock-house' and passed into existence as a god, being emulously chosen by the Apsaras, who came to behold the wondrous sight."[3] There is no reason to doubt these stories of the violent end of these two influential Jain devotees. But there is some ground to suspect the authenticity of Merutuṅga's story about Kapardin. For the two inscriptions of Ajayapāla give the name of his chief minister as Someśvara. Possibly however Kapardin was one of the minor ministers. But when we contrast the evident horror and anger of Merutuṅga in his description of the death of Rāmacandra with his tacit approval in the case of Kapardin we may well suspect

[1] *HR*, II, p. 449; *IA*, 1924, pp. 100-102.
[2] *PC*, p. 153. [3] *Ibid*.

that underneath this story there lies a desire to show poetic justice for the violent anti-Jain policy of the king's ministry. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that Ajayapāla, 'the sinner against religious edifices, was stabbed to death with a knife by a door-keeper (*Pratihāra*) named Vayajaladeva, and being devoured by worms, and suffering the tortures of hell every day, he passed into the invisible world.'[1] It is not easy to identify this murderer. But I would like to point out that this was the name of a very influential Cāhamāna officer of both Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla;[2] and the murder may have had some connection with the king's religious policy.

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his son[3] Mūlarāja II. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* calls him *Bāla*-Mūlarāja, and assigns him a reign of two years, beginning from V.S. 1233.[4] The *Therāvalī* styles him *Laghu*-Mūladeva, and allots him a period of two years, one month, and two days, from V.S. 1232, *Phālguna*, to 1234, *Caitra*.[5] Abu'l-Faẓl gives him a reign of 8 years,[6] while 'Alī Muḥammad allows him 20 years.[7] The Muslim tradition on this point is evidently wrong, for we know that the successor of Mūlarāja must have ascended the throne before V.S. 1235. Merutuṅga, therefore, is apparently right in assigning him a short reign. He probably ruled from *c*. 1176 to 1178 A.D.[8] As the Muslim tradition agrees with Merutuṅga, it seems certain that Mūlarāja ascended the throne when still a child. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that after the accession in V. S.

1 *Ibid*, p. 154. Tawney has translated *Pratihāra* as 'door-keeper,' see Sanskrit Text, Ed. by Rāmacandra Dīnanātha, Bombay, 1888, p. 249. But I think the Sanskrit word here denotes a higher official of the State.

2 See Kumārapāla's inscription No. 10 on p. 981 and fn. 1 on p. 981; also inscription No. 2 of Ajayapāla on p. 1000.

3 *BI*, p. 210, line 28; *RAS*, Vol. I, p. 200.

4 *PC*, p. 154.

5 *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.

6 *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260. The name is Lakhmūl.

7 *MA*, Trans., p. 148. The name is given as Lakhū-Mūl Deo.

8 See *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 451-52, which says that Bhīma was already on the throne of Nahrwālah in 574 A. H. (A. D. 1178).

1233, his mother "queen Nāiki, the daughter of king Paramardin[1] taking her son in her lap,[2] fought at Gāḍarāra-ghaṭṭa, and conquered the king of the *Mlecchas*, by the aid of a mass of rain-clouds, that came out of season attracted by her virtue."[3] The *Kīrti-kaumudī*, the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*,[4] and *Vasanta-vilāsa*[5] state that Mūladeva even in childhood defeated the Muhammadans.[6] This tradition of the defeat of the Muslims is confirmed by epigraphic evidence. A Veraval inscription of Bhim II tells us that Mūla-rāja conquered Hammīra in battle,[7] while four Kadi plates of the same king give him the epithet *parābhūta-durjaya-Garjjanakādhi-rāja*.[8] Two other Kadi grants call him: *Mleccha-tamo-nicaya-cchanna-mahī-valaya-pradyotana-bālārka*.[9] Bühler has suggested that *Garjjanaka* is a mere Sanskritisation of the ward Ghaznavi, giving the etymological meaning of 'the roarer.'[10] Mr. Jackson has conjectured that this conflict with the Muslims occurred in 574 A. H. (A.D. 1178), when according to the Muhammadan historians Sulṭān Mu'izz ud-Dīn unsuccessfully invaded Gujrat.[11] But as the Muhammadan chroniclers unanimously give the name of the contemporary Caulukya king as Bhīm Deo it seems difficult to accept Jackson's suggestion that they are wrong in

[1] Identified with the Goa Kadamba *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Permāḍi who ruled c. 1147-75: *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 195; Part II, pp. 460, 476, 486 and 548; called *Śivacitta*, *ibid*, p. 565.

[2] *Utsaṅge śiśuṁ sutaṁ nṛpaṁ vidhāya* (having made her son a child in arms king).

[3] *PC*, p. 154.

[4] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 195.

[5] III, 34.

[6] The Muslims are mentioned as *Turuṣkas* in the first two and *Mleccha* in the third.

[7] *BI*, p. 210, line 29.

[8] *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 194ff.; *ibid*, p. 201. See also *Royal Asiatic Society's grant*, *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 113. But Fleet reads the word as *Nāgārjuna-Kavirāja*, *i.e.*, Nāgārjuna, the lord of Kavi (mod. Kavi in Broach district). Without actually rejecting Bühler's reading in the Kadi plates, Fleet is emphatic that his reading is quite distinct on the plate.

[9] *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 199, line 12, plate I. But see *ibid*, p. 200, 'where Bühler wrongly gives the summary as 'who conquered the ruler of Garjjanaka.' The English translation ought to be 'the morning sun by illuminating the world, that had been overshadowed by the darkness of the Mlecchas,' see *ibid*, p. 206.

[10] *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 186.

[11] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 195, fn. 4

mentioning Bhīma instead of Mūlarāja. If Bühler's reading and interpretation of *Garjjanaka* is accepted, one might suggest that the invader may have been one of the Ghaznavids of Lahore. But it is highly improbable that the 'mild and the voluptuous' Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (*c.* 1160-86),[1] the last representative of that line, would have attempted so daring and distant an expedition. As the Caulukyas of Anhilvada were frequently in conflict with the rulers of Sind the struggle in question may have been caused by the raid of a Sumra chief of Manṣūra. There is a third possibility. We know that Mu'izz ud-Dīn conquered Multan in 571-72 A.H. (1175-76 A.D.).[2] Can it be that before embarking upon his distant expedition against Nahrwālah in 574 A.H. (1178 A.D.) he sent a minor expedition for reconnaissance during the period *c.* 1176-78 A.D., which has been left unrecorded by Muslim historians?

According to a Veraval stone inscription Mūlarāja II "went to heaven even in youth as if desirous of (meeting) his father there. Then Bhīmadeva became the self-elected husband of royalty."[3] The *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* and the *Kīrti-kaumudī* inform us that he was the younger brother of Mūlarāja.[4] The *Kīrti-kaumudī* further adds that when Bhīmadeva came to the throne he was still in his childhood.[5]

Of the time of Bhima II we have the following published records :

(1) *Veraval stone-inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati.*—Found lying loose in the Fauzdar's office at the sea-port of Veraval, in Junagarh state. It contains 45 lines, many of which are damaged and extremely fragmentary. It opens with verses in praise of Śiva and Sarasvatī; then follow an account of Gaṇḍa-Bhāva-Bṛhaspati and his family and the names of the

[1] For his rule, see *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 37ff.
[2] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 449-51.
[3] *BI*, p. 213.
[4] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 195-96. *Ras*, Vol. I, p. 200 and fn. 2.
[5] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 196.

Caulukya princes from Siddharāja to Bhīma II. The proper object of the inscription, which is undated, seems to be to record that Bhīma II built a temple called Meghanāda at Somanātha.[1]

(2) *Kiradu stone-inscription.*—This fragmentary and mutilated inscription was found in a temple of Someśvara, and belongs to the reign of Bhīma II. It is dated in (V.) S. 1235 and mentions the name of the feudatory chieftain Madanabrahmadeva and his subordinate Tejapāla. It records that the image of Someśvara, which was in the temple, and which was broken by the Turuṣkas was replaced by a new one by Tejapāla's wife.[2]

(3) *Patan inscription.*—This fragmentary inscription of the time of *Bāla* Bhīma (II) was discovered at Patan (Baroda State). It is dated in (V.) S. 1236. The inscription was composed by the Nagar Brāhman Mādhava.[3]

(4) *Diwra image-inscription.*—Found inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Nityaprasādita-deva at Diwra in Dungarpur State, South Rajputana. It records that in V.S. 1253 (A.D. 1196), in the reign of Bhīma II, a person named Vaija erected the image at Devakarṇa (Diwra).[4]

(5) *Patan grant*: 'picked up from the old rubish lying at the Patan Kacheri.'—It contains 45 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with *Oṁ svasti,* then follows the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja I to Bhima II.[5] The object of the inscriptions to record that *Pb.-M.-P.-Abhinava-Siddharāja* Bhīmadeva, residing at Aṇahilapāṭaka in V.S. 1256 (? 1199 A.D.) granted four ploughs of land in Kaḍāgrāma, on the eastern side, the side close to the land of the god Ānaleśvaradeva, of

[1] *BI*, pp. 208-14. See above, inscription No. 10 of Kumārapāla.

[2] Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 72. Kiradu is a village in Marwar, near Hathamo under Badmera.

[3] Noticed from his own transcript by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 57, No. 386.

[4] *RMR*, 1915, p. 2.

[5] All the rulers are called *Pb.-M.-P.-Srī.* In addition Karṇa is given the *biruda* *Trailokyamalla*; Jayasiṁha is given the epithets *Avantīnātha-Tribhuvanagaṇḍa-Varvaraka-jiṣṇu-Siddha-cakravarti*; Kumārapāla: *Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda-prauḍhapratāpa-Svabhuja-vikrama-raṇāṅgana-vinirjita-Śākambharī-bhūpāla*; Ajayapāla: *Karadīkṛta-Sapādalakṣa-Kṣamāpāla*; Mūlarāja: *Parābhūta-Durjaya-Garjanakādhirāja.*

the village of Mahīsānā,[1] to the Rāyakavāla Brāhman Āśādhara. The writer of the grant was the *Moḍhānvaya-prasūta-Mahākṣapaṭalika-Ṭha(kkura)*-Kuṁyara, the *Dūtaka* the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika-Ṭha(kkura)* Bhīmaka. The grant ends with Śrī-Bhīmadevasya.'[2]

(6) *Kadi grant* (*i*).—One of the plates which was lying in the 'Gaikvāḍi *Kacheri*' at Kadi in the Uttara Mahāls. It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription begins with *Oṁ svasti*; then follows the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.[3] The object is to record that *Pb.-M.-P.-Abhinava-Siddharāja* Bhīmadeva, who ruled in Aṇahilapāṭaka, in V. *Saṁvat* 1263 (A.D. 1206), granted the village of Indilā in the Agaṁbhūtā (or Gambhūtā)-*pathaka* to maintain the temples of Bhīmeśvara and Līleśvaradeva built by *Rājñī* Līlādevī, daughter of Cāhu(māna) Rāṇ(ā) Samarasīha at Līlāpura and the drinking-fountain and almshouse situated at the same place. The writer of the grant was the *Kāyastha Mahākṣapaṭalika Ṭha(kkura)* Vosarin, and the *Dūtaka* was *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Ṭha(kkura)* Sūdha(?). The grant ends with Śrī Bhīmadevasya.[4]

(7) *Timana grant of the Mehra Jagamalla*.—'Found at Ṭimānā near Bhaunagar.' It contains 34 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1264 (A.D. 1206) when *M.P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labdha-prauḍha-pratāpa-Laṅkeśvara-Nārāyaṇāvatāra* Bhīmadeva was ruling at Aṇahilapāṭaka and while his *Mahāmātya-Rāṇaka* Cācigadeva was in charge of the Seal.[5] At this date the following *Śāsana-patra* was drawn up with the consent of the Mehara-*rāja* Jagamalla at Ṭimbāṇaka (mod. Timana) under the administration (*vyāpāre* ?) of the *Pratī(hāra)* Sākhaḍā. The abovementioned Jagamalla had

1 For the places mentioned in connection with the grant and the suggested identifications of some, see *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 72-73.

2 Edited by Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 71-75.

3 The *birudas* and epithets as in No. 4 above.

4 Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 194-96.

5 *Śrī Karṇādau Samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripanthayati* (conducting the business of the seal relating to the treasury).

established two idols,[1] Caüṇḍareśvara and Pṛthivīdevīśvara, at the large town (*mahāsthāna* ?) of Talājhā[2] for the spiritual merit of (his father) Caüṇḍarā, the son of the great man (*bṛhat-puruṣa*), the Mehara-*rāja* Āna, and his mother *Seṭhāhe-rājñī* Pṛthivīdevī. He granted 55 *pāthas*[3] of land in each of the two villages named Kāmbalaüli[4] and Phulasara[5] for the maintenance of the gods.[6] The inscription also records donations of annual grants of money (*dramma* and *rūpaka*) from *Pratī(hāra)* Sākhadā, the *Śreṣṭhin* Valahala and the *Mahājanas* of Ṭimbānka, the *pūjāmātya* of the Ṭimbānaka-*maṇḍala*, and Rāüla Uccadeva. This last person and 8 other trustees (*Goṣṭhika*) were appointed to administer the revenues of 'this place of worship' under the control of certain Śobhārka. The inscription was incised by *Sau* Ālada.[7]

(8) *Abu stone-inscription* (*i*).—Opens with *Oṁ svasti* and an invocation of Śiva, the lord of the holy Mt. Abu. Then follows a glorification of Avantī and a list of 7 spiritual ancestors[8] of the Śaiva ascetic Kedārarāśi, who belonged to the Capala-*gotra*. The object is to record that this ascetic paved the interior of the *Tīrtha* of Kanakhala on Mount Arbuda, and built and renovated various temples at that holy place. The record was composed by Lakṣmīdhara in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1265 (A.D. 1208-09), in the *Vijaya-rājya* of *Pb.-M.*-Bhīmadeva, the saviour of the Caulukyas,[9] while *Mahaṁ.*[10] Ṭhābū (?) was in charge of the great Seal, when the *Māṇḍalika* Dhārāvarṣadeva,

Śaiva *Liṅgas* (?). Rams were sacrificed before them, see *IA*, Vol. XI, p. 339.

Mod. Talaja (or Tilajha) on the Setramji (Śatruñjaya) river near Palitana, in SE. of Kathiawar.

One *pātha* = 240 sq. ft.; see *ibid*, fn. 23 on p. 339.

Mod. Kamol, W. of Talājhā.

Mod. Phulsar, S. of Talājhā.

Names of cultivators are given who were appointed to plough the land.

Edited by Hultzsch, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 337-40.

This includes Yāgeśvarī, a female ascetic.

Caulukyoddharaṇa.

10 *Mahāmātya*.

the lord of Candrāvatī was protecting the earth, and when the worshipful prince,[1] Prahlādanadeva was the *Yuvarāja*. The inscription was engraved by the *Sūtra(dhāra)* Pālhaṇa.[2]

(9) *Royal Asiatic Society's grant*.—Found deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1879. Its find-spot is unknown. It contains 56 lines, incised on three plates. It opens with *Oṁ svasti*: then follows the date, V.S. 1266 (A.D. 1209), Siṁha *Saṁvat* 96. Next comes the genealogy of the Caulukyas of Aṇahillapāṭaka from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.[3] We are then told that in the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Abhinava-Siddharājadeva-Vola*[4] (*Bāla* ?) *Nārāyaṇāvatāra* Bhīmadeva, while the *Mahāmātya* Ratnapāla was in charge of the Seal and when the *Mahāpratī(hāra)* Somarājadeva was carrying on the administration at Vāmanasthalī[5] in Surāṣṭra-*maṇḍala*,[6] 350 *pāśas* of land yielding four *Khaṇḍas*[7] were granted to a certain Mādhava of the Nāgara kindred (*jñātīya*), for the maintenance of an irrigation-well and a watering-trough made at the village of Ghaṇṭelāṇā[8] by one Mahīpāla of the Prāgvāṭa kindred (*jñātīya*). The *Dūtaka* is represented as 'himself' (*Svayam*, perhaps Somarāja).[9]

(10) *Veraval stone-inscription of Śrīdhara*.—Reported to have been originally found by Tod and Postans on a (stone) pillar at

[1] *Kumāraguru*.

[2] Edited by Cartellori, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 220-23. The record is also called Kankhal (Mt. Abu, Rajputana) inscription, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix X*, p. 65, No. 454. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 916.

[3] *Birudas* and epithets as in No. 4 above.

[4] The correction of *Vola* to *Bala* is suggested by Fleet, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 113, fn. 17. But could it have any connection with the popular epithet *Bholo* applied to him? See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 196.

[5] *Vamanasthali-Srikarage*. Vāmanasthali is modern Vanthali in the Junagarh State.

[6] Mod. Sorath, or perhaps the whole of the Kathiawar peninsula as Fleet suggests.

[7] *pāśa* = chain. 100 *pāśas* = 1 *khaṇḍa*.

[8] This place together with the other villages mentioned in connection with the grant have not yet been identified. For their names, see p. 115, *IA*, Vol. XVIII.

[9] Edited by Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 110-16.

Somnath, near the Qāzi's house. At present the slab bearing the record is 'built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town' of Veraval. The inscription contains 47 lines of fragmentary and damaged writing. It opens with (*Oṁ namaḥ*) *Śivāya*, and a *maṅgala* addressed to Siva (Vs. 1-3). Then follows a eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, 'which the moon founded in order to escape the intolerable disease of consumption!' (Vs. 4-5). Next comes a eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula family and the Caulukyas of Anhilvad.[1] Śrīdhara of the former family[2] we are told, was honoured amongst the officials of king Bhima II. By his counsel he quickly made again stable the country that had been shaken by the war elephants of Mālava and protected Devapattana by his power. He made like so much grass the host of the heroic Hammīra. The proper object of the inscription is probably to record that this person constructed two temples at Somanātha, one of these a Vaiṣṇava shrine raised in memory of his mother, and the other a Śaiva temple, in memory of his father. The date, V.S. 1273 (A.D. 1216) is given in the last line.[3]

(11) *Bharana stone-inscription*.—Found built into the verandah of a Bāvā's monastery at the small village of Bharana near Khambhalia, a seaport in the Gulf of Cutch in Jamnagar State, Kathiawar. It contains 9 lines of fragmentary writing, opening with the date V.S. 12(75) (A.D. 1219) in the *Vijaya-rājya* of *M*.-Bhīmadeva of Aṇahilapāṭaka. The object is to record that a well was caused to be made by Sāmantasiṁha, who was probably an officer appointed in Saurāṣṭra (*Śrī-Sau... deśābhiyukta-mahaṁ-Śrī...*).[4]

(12) *Kadi grant (ii)*.—Found as in No. 5 above. It contains 28 lines, opening with *Oṁ svasti* and then giving the genealogy

[1] From Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II, with the exception of Bhīma I, whose name has been lost through damage of V. 16.

[2] Belonged to the Sāṇḍilya *gotra* and the city of Nagara (mod. Vadnagar).

[3] Edited by Bühler and V. G. Ozha, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 437-46.

[4] *BI*, pp. 204-05.

of the Caulukyas as in No. 4 above.[1] We are then told that *M.-P.-Pb.-Abhinava-Siddharāja-Saptama-cakravarti* Bhīmadeva, residing at Aṇahilapāṭaka in V.S. 1283 (A.D. 1226) granted the village of Natāulī, in the Cālīsa-*pathaka* [2] to the temple of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍalā and the ascetics attached thereto. The trustee was the *Sthānapati* Vedagarbharāśi. The grant was written by the *Akṣapaṭali(ka)* Kāyastha Somasīha; the *Dūtaka* was *Mahāsāndhi(vigrahika) Ṭha(kkura)* Vahudeva. The inscription ends with 'Śrī-Bhīmadevasya.' [3]

(13) *Nana stone-inscription*.—Found in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha-Mahādeva at Nana in the Bali district in Godwar. It is in Marwari, and records the repair of the temple in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1283 when Bhyivadeva (Bhīmadeva), son of Ajayapāladeva, was paramount sovereign at Aṇahila-nagara, and when the Cāhama (Cāhamāna ?) Dhāndhaladeva, son of Vīsadhavala, was his feudatory.[4]

(14) *Kadi grant (iii)*.—Found as in No. 6 above. It contains 55 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is almost the same as in No. 4. The inscription next records that *M.-P.-Pb.-Abhinava-Siddharāja-Saptama-Cakravarti* Bhīmadeva residing at Aṇahilapāṭaka [5] in V.S. 1287 (A.D. 1030) granted the village of Devāū (?) in the Vardhi-*pathaka*,[6] to the temples of Ānaleśvara and Salakhaṇeśvara, built by the Soluṁ (ki) *Rāṇā* Ānā *Ṭha(kkura)* Luṇāpasāka [7] to defray the expenses of the temple service and to feed Brāhmans. The trustees of the endowment was Vedagarabharāśi, the *Sthānapati* of the

[1] The *birudas* and epithets are similar with some differences. The most important of these is the epithet *Mleccha-tamo-nicaya-cchanna-mahī-valaya-pradyotana-bālārka* given to Mūlarāja II.

[2] For the places mentioned in connection with the boundary, see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 200.

[3] Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 199-200.

[4] *ASI*, WC, 1908, p. 49.

[5] In the English summary Bühler gives this as 'Aṇahillapāṭaka.'

[6] The place names occurring in the description of the boundaries of the villages (see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 201) have not yet been identified.

[7] Sanskrit Lavaṇaprasāda ? see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, fn. 5 on p. 999.

Mūleśvaradeva-*maṭha* at Maṇḍalī. The writer and the *Dūtaka* of the grant are the same as in No. 12. Line 7 of the plate II then ends with 'Śrī-Bhīmadevasya.' Lines 8 to 26 contain a mutilated postscript which appears to 'contain some more orders regarding dues to be paid by the merchants of Salakhanapura.'[1]

(15) *Abu stone-inscription (ii)*.—Engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the shrine of Neminātha on Mt. Abu which is generally known as the 'temple of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.' It contains 33 lines. In the opening lines (1-5) we are told that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1287 (A.D. 1230) the Caulukya king Bh(īmadeva) was ruling at Aṇahilapāṭaka, and while the *Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara-rājakula*-Somasiṁha, born in the family of the illustrious Dhūmarāja, who had sprung from the sacrificial fire-altar of the holy Vasiṣṭha was reigning victoriously, Tejaḥpāla caused to be made in the village of Deulavāḍā[2] on the top of Mt. Arbuda, the temple of the holy Neminātha, called Lūṇasiṁha-*vasahikā*, for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadevī, and his son Lūṇasiṁha. Tejaḥpāla[3] is described as 'conducting the whole business of the seal of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-rāṇaka*-Vīradhavaladeva, the son of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-rāṇaka* Lavaṇaprasādadeva, born in the Caulukya-kula, in the......rātra-*maṇḍala* (obtained) by favour of the aforesaid *M.*-Bhīmadeva. The rest is mainly devoted to an elaborate description of the management of the temple and some endowments to the same. The *Śrāvaka* trustees (*goṣṭhika*) appointed for the temple were Tejaḥpāla, his two brothers Malladeva and Vastupāla, their descendants and all male members of the family of Lūṇasiṁha's mother Anupamadevī[4] and their descendants. Amongst the names of persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted occur the names of *Rājakula*

[1] Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 201-03.

[2] Mod. Dilwara, in Lat. 24°36′ N. long 72°43′ E. The other places mentioned in the inscription have all been located round about Dilwara, see *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 207.

[3] His pedigree as in No. 16, the next inscription.

[4] This family resided at Candravati and belonged to the Prāgvaṭa *jñāti*.

Somasiṁha, the lord of Candrāvatī and his son the *Rājakula* Kānhaḍadeva.[1] Line 31 records that the *Mahārājakula* Somasiṁhadeva granted to Neminātha in the Lūṇasiṁha-*vasāhikā* the village of Ḍavāṇi in Vāhirahadī, for his worship and personal allowance. The record concludes with Somasiṁha 'entreating the future kings of the Pramāra (Paramāra) race to protect his gift for all time.'[2]

(16) *Abu stone-inscription (iii)*.—Engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the same temple as in No. 15 above. It contains 47 lines of writings. It opens with an invocation of Sarasvatī and Gaṇeśa. Then comes an account of Tejaḥpāla's family, which may be tabulated as follows :—

In Aṇahilapura...protected by the Caulukyas.[3]

(1) Caṇḍapa...the crown of the *Prāgvaṭānvaya*
|
(2) Caṇḍaprasāda
|
(3) Soma.
|
(4) Aśvarāja = Kumāradevī
|
(5) Lūṇiga (died in youth) | (6) Malladeva = Līlukā | (7) Vastupāla (*saciva* of the Caulukyas) = Lalitadevī | (8) Tejaḥpāla = Anupamadevī[5] | (seven daughters)[4]

(6) Malladeva = Līlukā
|
Pūrṇasiṁha = Ablaṇadevī
|
Pethaḍa.

(7) Vastupāla = Lalitadevī
|
(9) Jayantasiṁha or Jaitrasiṁha

(8) Tejaḥpāla = Anupamadevī
|
(10) Lāvaṇyasiṁha or Lūṇasi

[1] The same as Kṛṣṇarājadeva of No. 15.

[2] A short account of the record was published by Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, pp. 300ff. It was then edited by Prof. Kathavate as *Appendix* B to his Ed. of the *Kīrti-kaumudī*. Re-edited, by Lüders in *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 204-07 and 219-22.

[3] Note the omission of the name of Bhīmadeva, the reigning king.

[4] Jālhū, Māū, Sāū, Dhanadevī, Sohagā, Vayajukā, and Padmaladevī.

[5] Her genealogy : In the Prāgvāṭa family of Candrāvatī :

Gāgā
|
Dharaṇiga = Tribhuvanadevī
|
Anupamadevī

From V. 25 the genealogy of Tejaḥpāla's masters begins as follows :

In the family (*vaṁśa*) of the Caulukya heroes
Arṇorāja............after him
Lavaṇaprasāda
|
Vīradhavala : his two ministers (Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla)

From V. 30 begins a description of Mount Arbuda and the following genealogy of the Paramāras of Candrāvatī :

From the sacrificial fire of Vasiṣṭha
(1) Paramāra...so called because he took delight in killing his enemies (*para-māraṇa*).
: In that lineage
(2) Dhūmarāja : Then came
(3) Dhandhuka
(4) Dhruvabhaṭa and others. In their lineage
(5) Rāmadeva
|
(6) Yaśodhavala...killed Ballāla, lord of Mālava, who had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla.
|
(7) Dhārāvarṣa (defeated the lord of Kauṅkaṇa)
(8) Prahlādana...defended the Gūrjara king when his power had been broken in battle by Sāmantasiṁha.
|
(9) Somasiṁhadeva
|
(10) Kṛṣṇarājadeva.

V. 60 announces that for the religious merit of his wife (Anupamā) and son (Lāvaṇyasiṁha) Tejaḥpāla built this temple of Neminātha on Arbuda. It was built of white marble and had 52 shrines for the Jinas. There were besides 10 statues of the members of Tejaḥpāla's family (Nos. 1-10) mounted on female elephants. Behind these statues, on *khaṭṭakas* of white marble the same persons were placed with their wives. The *praśasti*

was composed by Someśvaradeva whose feet were honoured by the Caulukya king. It was engraved by the *Sūtra(dhāra)* Caṇḍeśvara. It is dated in the last line (47) in V. S. 1287 (A.D. 1230).[1]

(17) *Kadi grant (iv)*.—Found as No. 6 above. It contains 40 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 5 above. The inscription in its formal part records that the donor of No. 11 above, in V. S. 1288 (*c*. 1232 A.D.) granted a village (name lost) and 20 ploughs of land in the village......(name lost), both in the Vālauya-*pathaka*,[2] to the temples of Ānaleśvara, and Salakhaṇeśvara in the Salakhaṇapura and to the *Shānapati* of the local *maṭha*, Vedagarbharāśi, as well as his son Someśvara for the maintenance of the *Bhaṭṭārakas* and the almshouse (*satra*). The writer[3] and the *Dūtaka* of the grant are the same as in No. 12 above.[4]

(18) *Kadi grant (v)*.—Found as in No. 6 above. It contains 47 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 5.[5] In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 12 above, in V. S. 1295 (*c*. 1238 A.D.), granted as *palladikā* in the village of Ghūsaḍī, near Gohaṇasara, a garden measuring two ploughs and some other objects[6] to the temples of Vīrameśvara built by *Rāṇā* Vīrama, son of *Rāṇā* Lūṇapasā in Ghūsaḍī and Sūmaleśvara. The trustee is the same as in No. 14 above; the writer as in

[1] Wilson first published a translation of the record in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, pp. 802ff. It was first edited by Prof. Kathavate as Appendix A of his edition of the *Kīrti-kaumudī*. A second edition appeared in *BI*, pp. 174-84. Finally edited by Lüders, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp 200-04 and 208-19.

[2] Places mentioned in connection of the boundaries not identified; see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 204.

[3] Here called *Mahākṣapaṭalika*.

[4] Edited by Bühler, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 203-04.

[5] Though here Mūlarāja II is given the epithet *parābhūta durjaya-Garjjanakādhirāja*, the editor erroneously translates it as "morning sun, etc." See *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 206.

[6] Writing damaged in this portion.

No. 12 above. The *Dūtaka* was the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* (*Ṭhakkura*) Vayajaladeva.[1]

(19) *Kadi grant* (*vi*).—Found as No. 6 above. It contains 44 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 5.[2] It records that the donor of No. 12 in V.S. 1296 (A.D. 1238) granted the village of Rājayasīyaṇī in the Vardhi-*pathaka* to the same doneees as in No. 17. Trustee as in No. 14. The same writer as in No. 12, and the same *Dūtaka* as in No. 18 above.[3]

These inscriptions cover a period of about 60 years, from 1235 to 1296 V. S. (*c.* 1178-1238 A.D.). According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Bhīma II reigned for 63 years from V.S. 1235.[4] According to Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* he ascended the throne in V.S. 1234, *Caitra* 14, and apparently continued to reign till V.S. 1300, when Vīsaladeva came to the throne.[5] As the epigraphic and literary evidences agree in assigning Bhīma a long reign, it is likely that he really ruled from *c.* 1235 to about 1298 V.S. (A.D. 1178-1241).

According to the *Kīrti-kaumudī*, Bhīma II was still young when he ascended the throne. The Jain chroniclers usually pass over his reign, or only supply the most meagre details of it. The violent reaction of the royal family towards Śaivism and the persecution of prominent Jain monks must have alienated the sympathies of the Jain writers from the reigning house of Anhilvad. Yet there is reason to believe that this long reign of more than half a century was not devoid of important incidents, which had far-reaching effects on the whole history of Gujarat. It seems that in the very year in which Bhīma ascended the throne Gujarat was faced with the invasion of Turuṣkas under the formidable leadership of Sultān Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī. The

[1] Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 205-06.
[2] Mūlarāja II is called *Mleccha-tamo*...etc. as in No. 11 above.
[3] Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 206-08.
[4] *PC*, p. 154.
[5] *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.

Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī relates that in the year 574 (A. D. 1178), the Sulṭān "marched an army towards Nahrwālah by way of Ūchchah and Multān. The Rāe of Nahrwālah, Bhīm Dīw, was young in years, but had numerous forces and many elephants, and when the battle took place, the army of Islam was defeated and put to rout, and the Sulṭān-i-Ghāzi returned again without having accomplished his designs.[1] Niẓam ud-Dīn tells us that "in the year 574 A.H. he again came to Uchch and Multan, and thence marched towards Gujrat through the desert. Rai Bhīm Deo, who was the ruler of the country, gave him battle; and after a severe struggle, the Sulṭān was defeated, and after much trouble he returned to Ghaznīn and rested there for a short time."[2] Firishta also repeats a similar story. We are told that "in the year 574, he again marched to Oocha and Moultan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Gujerat. The prince Bhīm-dew advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in their retreat, before they reached Ghizny."[3]

According to these three Muslim accounts Bhīma was no contemptible ruler, as the Jain authors try to paint him. It was no mean achievement for one so young in years to defeat one of the greatest military leaders of the age. The victory was so decisive that the Muslims apparently made no serious efforts to recover their position for about 20 years. It was not till the month of Safar in 593 A.H. (A.D. 1197) that Quṭb ud-Dīn

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 451-52.

[2] *TA*, Trans., p. 36 The *Zafar ul-Wālih* also states that when Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī advanced towards Nahrwālah by way of Ujja and Multān, "the infidel Bhīm Deo, the Rāī of Gujarat, who was young in years, came but with his minister (وكيل) to oppose the Muslim advance with many soldiers and elephants. But, curiously enough the author writes: "The two armies met and there was a hard struggle, which promised a victory in due time. So he returned to Ghazni." Thus perhaps like some other Muslim historians he avoided telling an unpleasant truth. See *Zafar*, Ed. by E. D. Ross, Vol. II, p. 675.

[3] *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. II, p. 170.

succeeded in raiding Aṇahilapāṭaka, Bhīma's capital. Ḥasan Niẓāmī, the author of the *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir*, gives the following account of this Muslim campaign :

"In the year 591 H.(1195 A.D.) when Quṭbu-d-Dīn was again at Ajmīr, intelligence was brought to him that a party of seditious Mhers, 'who were always shooting the arrow of deceit from the bow of refractoriness,' had sent spies and messengers towards Nahrwāla, representing that a detachment of the army of the Turks had arrived at Ajmīr, of no great strength and numbers, and that if from that quarter a force could be immediately sent to join them, before the enemy could find the opportunity of putting themselves in a state of preparation, they could make a sudden night attack upon them, and might rid the country of them, and if any one of the Turkish army were to escape from the talons of the eagle of death, he must necessarily take the road to flight, and with his two horses would make three stages into one, until he reached Delhi in a state of distraction.

When this treacherous plan was revealed Quṭbu-d-Dīn determined to anticipate it, and during the height of the hot season 'before the sun arose, fell upon the advance guard of the black infidels, and like lions attacked them right and left.' The action lasted during the whole day, and next morning, the immense army of Nahrwāla came to the assistance of the vanguard, slew many of the Musulmāns, wounded their commander, pursued them to Ajmīr, and encamped within one parsang of that place.

In this predicament, a confidential messenger was sent to Ghazna, 'to explain before the sublime throne the position of the army of the infidels, and to ask for orders as to future proceedings.' 'A royal edict was issued conferring all kinds of honours and kindness upon the Khusrū, and leaving to his entire discretion the subjection and extirpation of the turbulent.' A large army was despatched to reinforce him, under the command of Jahān Pahlawān, Asadu-d-Dīn, Arslān Kalij, Nasīru-d-Dīn

Husain, 'Izzu-d-dīn, son of Muwaiyīdu-d-dīn Balkh and Sharfu-d-dīn Muhammad Jarah. These reinforcements arrived at the beginning of the cold season, when 'the vanguard of the army of the winter began to draw its sword from the scabbard, and the season of collecting armies and the time of making raids had returned.'

'In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H. (January, 1197), the world-conquering Khusrū departed from Ajmīr, and with every description of forces turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rāī of Nahrwāla.' When he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandūl, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmāns, and had collected under their leader Rāī Karan,[1] and Dārābars,[2] in great numbers, 'at the foot of Mt. Abu and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter.' The Musulmāns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially in that very place Sulṭān Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī had fallen wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindus seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoned the pass, 'turned their face towards the fields of battle and the plain of honour and renown' for 'they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion.' 'The two armies stood face to face for some time engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabī'ul awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islam advanced from its camp, and at noon reached the position of the infidels.' A severe action ensued from dawn to midday, when

1 Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests that 'Karan' is the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa (c. 1164-82 A. D.). See *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 73-74; also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*.

2 Probably Dhārāvarṣa (c. 1163-1219 A. D.), the Abu Paramāra chief, who was a feudatory of Bhīma II. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 908 ff., chapter on the *Paramāras*; also *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 73-74; *IA*, 1927, p. 47.

'the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaderswere taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became one level.' Rāī Karan effected his escape from the field. 'More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants and cattle and arms beyond all calculation fell into the hands of the victors.' 'You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of all the inhabited world had come into their possession.'

'The city of Nahrwāla, which is the most celebrated in the country, full of rivers,' and the kingdom of Gujarat, which is 'a separate region of the world' came under the dominion of the Musulmāns, 'and high and low were treated with royal benignity and justice.' 'The chief nobles and pillars of the state were favoured with handsome robes of honour, and received abundant proofs of royal kindness,' then 'the standards of the Khusrū, victorious in battle returned to Ajmīr.''' [1]

The above quotation gives us some idea of the severe struggles that Quṭb ud-Dīn had to encounter for about two years (*c.* 1195-97 A.D.), before he succeeded in effecting his temporary occupation of Aṇahilapāṭaka in 1197 A. D. It was probably one of the episodes of this protracted struggle that gave Jayasiṁha Sūri his theme for his drama *Hammīra-mada-mardana.*[2] The account of Jayasiṁha, though tainted with the well-known bias of Jain authors, seem to contain some elements of truth. He tells us that when Bhīmasiṁha [3] was the *simanta-maṇi* of Surāṣṭra, and when Vīradhavala was reigning at Dhavalakapurī [4] a mighty 'army of horse of the *Turuṣka-vīras*' came to attack Gujarat by way of the Maru. Vīradhavala, however, promptly appeared in the Marudeśa

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 226-31; see also *TN*, Vol. I, p. 516; *TF*, Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, p. 180.

[2] Ed. by C. D. Dalal, *GOS*, No. X, 1920.

[3] II, 9. Must be identified with Bhīma II.

[4] Also known as Dhavalakka-nagarī, or sometimes Dhavalāṁka. Modern Dholka, in Ahmedabad District. V, 32.

before the *Mleccha-Cakravarti*. Somasiṁha, Udayasiṁha, and Dhārāvarṣa, the princes of the Maru country and Bhīmasiṁha of Surāṣṭra, joined him against the Mlecchas. In the meantime the territory of Jayaṭala,[1] the lord of Medapāṭa, who in his pride had not joined Vīradhavala, was invaded by the Hammīra. His capital was plundered with terrible brutality. Even the children were butchered; and the people were so demoralised that they threw themselves into wells rather than fall into the invader's hands.[2] The approach of Vīradhavala and the intrigues of his spies in the end compelled the Muslim prince to beat a hasty retreat towards Mathurā, his own principality. Vīradhavala then returned to his capital in triumph by way of Arbuda-giri,[3] Candrāvatī, the capital of the Paramāras,[4] the river Sarasvatī,[5] Anhilvad, the capital of the Gurjara king,[6] and Karṇāvatī on the Sābhramatī.[7] In this account Jayasiṁha characteristically gives all the credit to Vīradhavala, the generous patron of his religion, and does not even mention 'Rāī Karan' who according to the Muslim writers, was the real leader of these campaigns.[8]

1 II, 8. Probably Jaitrasiṁha, the ruler of Medapāṭa (*c.* 1213-52 A.D.) whose capital Nāgadrahapura (modern Nagda, 14 miles north of Udaipur) was destroyed by the troops of the Suratrāṇa (Sulṭān). See *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.; also *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 73, fn. 6; *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

2 III, 11. ff. 3 V, 8 ff. 4 V, 15 ff. 5 V, 18 ff. 6 V, 21 ff. 7 V, 29 ff.

8 The Muslim leader in this invasion is often designated by Jayasiṁha as *Mīlacchīkāra* (III, 3 ff.). It has been recently suggested that this name is a corruption of *Amīr-i-Shikāra*, an office conferred by Quṭb ud-Dīn on Iltutmish; *HR*, II, p. 467; also *IA*, 1929, p. 47. I do not know how this identification can be sustained on phonetic grounds. Dr. Barnett considers the identification as very improbable, but it seems to me possible that Jayasiṁha may have based his plot on some of the incidents which took place when Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.) captured Mandawar (مندور), probably mod. Mandor near Jodhpur in the Siwalik (Sapādalakṣa territory) in A. H. 624 (*c.* 1226 A. D.), or when he invaded Malwa in A. H. 632 (*c.* 1234 A. D.), captured Bhilsa, and sacked Ujjain. See *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 611 and 621 ff. Though he text sometimes gives the name as (مندر), the mention of 'Siwalik' A. H. 632 makes the identification of Mandawar with Mandu impossible; see *ibid*, p. 611, fn. 8. *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 53 places it 8 miles north of Bijnor in U.P. I think Raverty was right and Sir W. Haig wrong.

Besides these serious conflicts with the Muslims, there is evidence to show that there were other foreign invasions during the reign of Bhīma II. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, while Bhīma was reigning, 'the king of Mālava, named Sohaḍa, advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating that country, but the ministers of Bhīmadeva went to meet him, and addressed this couplet to him,

> Thy blaze of might, O sun of kings, gleams in the eastern quarter,
> But it will be extinguished, when thou shalt descend into the western region.

When Sohaḍa heard this disagreeable utterance of the minister he turned back again. Subsequently his son, named the glorious Arjunadeva, quite defeated the realm of Gujarat.'[1] The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha also refers to the invasion of Gujarat by *Mahārāja* Devapāla of Mālava[2] simultaneously with the Muslim invasion from the north. Lavaṇaprasāda, who was a minister of Bhīma, is credited in Bālacandra's *Vasanta-vilāsa* with victories over Coḍa, Kerala, Lāṭa, Mālava, Rāḍha, and the Hūṇas[3] To this war between Mālava and Gurjara princes during this period the literary and epigraphic records of the Paramāras bear testimony. Thus the *Pārijāta-mañjarī*[4] of Madana[5] tells us that the Paramāra Arjunavarman (1211-15 A. D.) defeated the *Caulukya-mahī-mahendra* Jayasiṁha.[6] Hultzsch inclined to the view that this Jayasiṁha is identical with Bhīma II, who like his predecessor Jayasiṁha, was known as 'the New Siddharāja.'[7]

1 *PC*, p. 154.
2 I, 19; II, 13-40.
3 III, 42-43.
4 Also known as *Vijayaśrī*.
5 The preceptor of the Paramāra Arjunavarman.
6 Also called *Gurjarendra* and *Gurjarapati*.
7 *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 99. Hall first suggested the identification, see *JAOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 39-40, No. 23.

But it is more likely that this ruler was Jayasiṁha [1] the temporary usurper of Bhīma II's throne, for whom we have got a grant, dated in V. S. 1280 (*c.* 1223 A. D.). The statement of Madana concerning the victory of the Paramāras over Gujarat kings is also borne out by the inscriptions of the former. Thus the Piplainagar and Bhopal grants of Arjunavarman (V. S. 1267-72) claim that the 'angered prowess' of Subhaṭavarman [2] was 'witnessed in the conflagration of the cities of Gurjara,[3] and repeats the story of Arjuna's victory over Jayasiṁha.[4] The same incidents are also recorded in the Mandhata grants [5] of his sons Jaitugi and Jayavarman.

The *Vyāyoga Pārthaparākrama* of Prahlādana seems to refer to hostilities between Bhīma II, and the Cāhamānas of Sākambharī. We are told that the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, who was a feudatory of the Caulukya prince, repulsed a night attack by Pṛthvīrāja (III), lord of Jaṅgala.[6] This is confirmed by the bardic tradition of war between the two kings.[7]

Another important foreign invasion that seriously troubled Gujarat during this period appears to have come from the south. The inscriptions of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa (*c.* 1210-47 A.D.) claims repeated victories over the Gurjaras.[8] One of Siṅghaṇa's earlier expeditions was apparently led by his Brāhman general Kholeśvara.[9] Fleet has suggested that this expedition took place in the time of Lavaṇaprasāda,[10] who, as we have seen, was the

1 This name occurs at the end of his grant : *Srī-Jayasiṁha-devasya* ; but in the grant itself the name is given as Jayantasiṁha. See *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 197-98. He is called *Jaitrasiṁha* in the Mandhata grant of Jayavarman : *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 121, line 15. On the identity of the prince defeated by the Paramāra Arjuna, see Kielhorn, *ibid*, p. 118, fn. 2.

2 Same as Sohaḍa of *PC*; father of Arjuna.

3 *Gurjara-pattane* ; see *JASB*, Vol. V, p. 378, V. 15; *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 15.

4 *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 17; *JASB*, Vol. V p. 379, V. 17.

5 *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 108-09, lines 12-13; *ibid*, p. 120, lines 14-15.

6 *GOS*, No. IV, p. 3.

7 *Ras*, Vol. I, pp. 202 ff.

8 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 240-43 and 524-25.

9 Ambeṁ inscription, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. III, p 85.

10 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 525.

chief minister of Bhīma II. The Yāvada claims to victory over the Gujarat kings seems to be confirmed by two pieces of literary evidence. Someśvara in his *Kīrti-kaumudī* tells us that during the time of Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala, Siṅghaṇa with a mighty army crossed the Tapti and overran the country about Broach. The capital of the Gurjaras trembled with fear, and the terror-stricken villagers fled *en masse* from their route, guiding their movements by the columns of smoke from the burnt villages that marked the advance of the Yādava army. Lavaṇaprasāda when he heard this, though he had but a small army advanced to the Mahī and 'did not consider them unconquerable.' In the meantime however four kings of Mārvāḍ rose against Lavaṇaprasāda, and were joined by the chiefs of Godhrā and Lāṭa. "In these circumstances Lavaṇaprasāda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards." The Yādava army, however, did not, according to Someśvara, advance further; but he gives no reason whatever for this, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it."[1] But as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has remarked "if the invasion spread such terror over the country, as Someśvara himself represents, and the army of Siṅghaṇa was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gurjara prince retreated unless he had agreed to pay tribute, or satisfied the Yādava commander in some other way."[2] His guess is confirmed by the *Lekha-paddhati*,[3] also known as *Lekha-pañcāśikā*, of an unknown author, which gives us the following draft of a treaty (*Yamala-patra*) between Siṁhana (Siṅghaṇa) and Lāvaṇyaprasāda, dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1288.

Saṁvat 1288 varṣe Vaiśākha Śudi 15.

Some'dyeha Śrīmad-Vijayakaṭake Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmat-Siṁhaṇadevasya Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara - Rāṇaka-Śrī - Lāvaṇya-

[1] *Kīrti-kaumudī*, IV, 43-63; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 241
[2] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 241.
[3] *GOS*, No. XIX, 1925.

prasādasya ca. Saṁrāja[1]*-kula-Śrī-Śrīmat-Siṁhaṇadevena Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇa-Śrī-Lāvaṇyaprasādena pūrvarūḍhyātmīyātmīya-daśesu rahaṇīyaṁ. Kenāpi-kasyāpi bhūmī nākramaṇīyā. Ubhayor-madhyād yaḥ ko'pi baliṣṭha-śatruṇā gṛhyate tadā tasya śatror upary-ubhābhyām-api kaṭakaṁ kartavyam. Atha ca śatru-daṇḍādhipo gṛhṇāti tadā dalena saṁvāhanā kāryā. Yady-ubhayor-api deśayor-madhyāt ko'pi rājaputraḥ kim-api vināśyāparadeśe praviśati tadā svadeśe kenāpi sthānaṁ na dātavyam. Anyatra vinaṣṭaṁ samāropaṇīyam. Likhita-vidheḥ pālanāya vyabhicāra-rakṣaṇāya datta-pratibhūḥ Dattāntaraṁ deva-Śrī-Vaidyanātha-patram utpāṭitam.*[2]

Commenting on this treaty, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar rightly remarked that "it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in this form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Siṁhaṇa is but another form of Siṅghaṇa, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the victorious camp, which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara."[3]

This treaty throws a flood of light on the internal history of Gujarat. It is dated in V. S. 1288 (*c.* 1231 A. D.). The inscriptions of Bhīma II noticed above shows that he was ruling at Aṇahilapāṭaka at least up to V. S. 1296 (*c.* 1238 A. D.). But it is significant that the treaty omits the name of the reigning sovereign and substitutes for it that of his minister the *Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara* Lāvaṇyaprasāda. The author of the *Kīrti-kaumudī* tells us that the kingdom of the young Bhīma was gradually divided among powerful ministers and provincial chiefs, while *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* refers to Bhīma's great anxiety on account of the chiefs, who had forcibly eaten away portions of the kingdom.[4] The statement of these chroniclers would seem to indicate

1 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggests *Sāmrājya* or *Samrāṭ*.
2 Text, p. 52; partially quoted in *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, fn. on p. 242.
3 *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 242.
4 *Ibid*, Part I, p. 196.

that the religious revolution in Ajayapāla's reign, his violent death, and the youth of the next two rulers must have shaken the very foundation of the authority of the central government at Aṇahilapāṭaka. To the task of re-establishing the authority of his house, Bhīma appears to have devoted his whole energies. But though he may not have been a mere 'simpleton' (*Bholo*), as he is sometimes represented to be, he does not appear to have met with any substantial success. Besides the disorder and economic distress caused by repeated invasions he was faced with the treachery and disaffection of many of his powerful feudal barons. The statements of the Jaina authors on this point are remarkably confirmed by the *Kadi grant* of Jayantasiṁha, also known as Jayasiṁha.[1] It was found as in No. 6 of Bhīma II, and contains 42 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion of the grant is almost similar to the other Kadi grants of Bhīma II. But after tracing the Caulukya genealogy up to this prince [2] it replaces the usual *pādānudhyāta* by *tadantaraṁ sthāne* and mentions the name of *M.-P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda-prauḍha-pratāpa-Caulukya-kula-kalpa-vallī-vistāraṇa-dīpta-Abhinava-Siddharāja* Jayaṁtasiṁhadeva, established at the *rājadhānī* Aṇahilapura. It then records that this prince, in V.S. 1280 (*c.* 1223 A.D.), granted the village of Sāmpāvāḍā in Vardhi[3]-*pathaka* to the donee of inscription No. 13 of Bhīma II. The inscription ends with *Śrī-Jayasiṁhadevasya*.[4]

This grant shows that some time between V.S. 1275 and 1283, the dates of Bhīma II's Bharana and Kadi (No. *ii*) inscrip-

[1] Called Jaitrasiṁha in the Mandhata grant of the Paramāra Jayavarman, see *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 121, V. 15.

[2] To Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja is given, in addition to the usual epithets, the title *Ekāṅga-vīra*. It also contains *parābhūtadurjaya-Garjanak-ādhirāja* for Mūlarāja II.

[3] The plate gives *Varvi*, while Bühler gives in the abstract Varphi. But as the donor addresses the officers and residents of *Vardhi-pathaka*, *Varvi* is clearly a scribe's mistake for Vardhi, which is frequently mentioned in Caulukya grants from the time of Mūlarāja I. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 943, 1011, etc.

[4] Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol VI, pp. 196-98.

tions, the latter was ousted from his ancestral throne by a usurper. As Jayantasiṁha calls himself a Caulukya, he was probably one of Bhīma's relatives; but the actual relationship must remain for the present uncertain. The Kadi grant (No. *ii*), of Bhīma, dated in V.S. 1283, shows that the usurper's tenure of power was comparatively short, and that Bhīma had won back his throne at Aṇahilapāṭaka sometime before *c.* 1226 A.D. But the most serious danger that threatened the Caulukyas of Anhilvada came from one of their distant branches, which was founded by Dhavala, the husband of Kumārapāla's maternal aunt. The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* calls this chief Bhīmapallī-pati and the line founded by him as Dhavala-*kula*.[1] His son was Āna or Arṇorāja, who, we are told, served under Kumārapāla and killed the chiefs of Medapāṭa and Candrāvatīpura.[2] In return for his services Kumārapāla granted him the village of Vyāghrapalli, about 10 miles S.W. of Aṇahilapāṭaka.[3] It was from this village that his family came to be known in the Vernacular form as *Vāghelā*. Udayaprabha[4] relates that Bhīma II, considering that Arṇorāja, son of Dhavala, had made Kumārapāla king and was an object of that prince's favour, entrusted the task of administration to Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda.[5] It was this Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala[6] who, while acknowledging the nominal sovereignty of Bhīma II, gradually carved out a principality round Dhavalakka (Dholka), between the Sabarmati and the Narbada. Though the Jain writers often invest Vīradhavala and even his father Lavaṇaprasāda with royal titles, it is significant that even as late as V.S. 1287 an Abu stone-inscription represents both of them as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* and *Rāṇakas*. But it is to be noted that a Girnar inscription,

[1] V. 79; or *Dhavalānvaya*, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 106 ff.
[2] V. 35.
[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 198.
[4] The author of *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī*.
[5] His mother was Sallakṣaṇadevī; see *BI*, p. 215, V. 9.
[6] His mother was Madanadevi or Madanarājñī, *PG*, p. 154; *BI*, p. 215, V. 13.

dated in V.S. 1288, not only omits Bhīma's name, but invests Lavaṇaprasāda with the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* and his son with that of *Mahārāja*. It was in this very year that the *Yamala-patra* of the *Lekha-paddhati* and also an Abu inscription omit mention of the name of Bhīma. As Bhagvanlal Indraji has suggested, the Vāghelās perhaps rose to power by aiding Bhīma to recover his throne from the usurper Jayantasiṁha[1] (*c.* 1275-1283 V.S.). Though it is evident from epigraphic evidence, that Bhīma II continued to reign till V.S. 1296, he was apparently not strong enough to destroy this *imperium in imperio* which after Lavaṇaprasāda's death, Vīradhavala continued to build up in the south. The formal transference of the crown of Aṇahilapāṭaka was perhaps not completed even as late as V.S. 1300, when according to the *Therāvalī* Vīsaladeva ascended the throne, yet for all practical purposes, during the period V.S. 1288-1300 Vīradhavala seems to have acted as an independent sovereign.

The Jain authors are at pains to assert that the transference of power from the time of Bhīma to the Vāghelās was peaceful, and did not involve any violent measures by the latter. Thus according to the authors of the *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana*, Kumārapāla appeared to his grandson Bhīma and directed him to appoint Vīradhavala as his heir-apparent. "Next day in court, in the presence of the nobles, when Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala entered, the king said to Lavaṇaprasāda 'Your father Arṇorāja seated me on the throne, you should therefore uphold my power; in return I will name your son Vīradhavala as my heir-apparent.'"[2]

The anxiety of the Jain authors to whitewash the usurpation of Vīradhavala and his father is evidently to be explained by the fact that after the violent measures of Ajayapāla, the Jain religion had found new patrons in the line of Vyāghrapallī.

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 196.
[2] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 196-97.

And, as in the case of Kumārapāla, the substantial backing of this powerful and wealthy mercantile community no doubt greatly facilitated the task of Vīradhavala. In consolidating his power Vīradhavala, we are told, was ably assisted by two Jain Bania ministers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.[1] Jayasiṁha in his *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti* tells us that these two brothers were at first ministers[2] of Bhīma, and the latter at the request of Vīradhavala gave them to the Vāghelā prince 'as a matter of friendship.'[3] This is probably intended to hide the fact that these two ministers deserted him and joined the party of Vīradhavala. According to Bālacandra's *Vasanta-vilāsa* it was the *Rājalakṣmī* who appeared to Vīradhavala in a dream and asked him to appoint the two brothers of the Prāgvaṭa family as his *Mantri-yugma*.[4] Whatever may be the reason that led to their appointment, their influence on the reign of Vīradhavala is apparent. Not only do the Jain authors ascribe all his success directly or indirectly to them and their family, but even all the epigraphic records of his reign are connected with their achievements. Besides the inscriptions Nos. 15 and 16 of the reign of Bhīma, which practically belong to these two brothers, the following published records of their time may be mentioned :

(1-30) *Abu stone-inscriptions*.—These 30 short inscriptions are engraved in the temple of Neminātha[5] at Abu. They are all incised either on the lintels of the doorway of the main temple or that of the cell-shrines in the corridor of the temple recording the erection of these shrines or of images of Tīrthaṅkaras. The records all belong to Tejaḥpāla, and contain dates from 1287

1 For their genealogy see inscription No. 16 of Bhīma II, above, p. 1013.

2 *Karaṇa-pada-kṛta-vyāpṛta*, V. 50.

3 *Ibid*, Vs. 38-51.

4 III, 51 ff. ; for another version, see *PC*, pp. 156 ff.

5 Same as in No. 15 of Bhīma II, see above, pp. 1012-13.

to 1297 V.S. They are of interest as showing that the minister in the years following V.S. 1287, when the temple was erected, did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had erected.[1]

(31) *Girnar stone-inscription.*—Found over the west doors of the temple of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla on Mt. Girnar. It opens with (*Oṁ*) *namaḥ Sarvajñāya* and a mutilated invocation to Nemi-Jina. Then follows the date, V.S. 1288 (A.D. 1232). The rest is devoted to a *praśasti* of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla describing their various building and charitable activities. Besides the genealogy of the ministers,[2] the only important information supplied by the record is as follows:

(*i*) In *c.* (V.)S. (12)79,[3] Vastupāla's son Jayantasiṁha was transacting the business of the Seal[4] at Stambhatīrtha (Cambay).

(*ii*) In V.S. (12)76, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were appointed to carry on the business of the Seal in Dhavalakkaka and other cities in the Gurjara-*maṇḍala* by the *Mahārāja* Vīradhavala, son of *M.* Lavaṇaprasāda, of the Caulukya lineage (*kula*).

(*iii*) In V.S. (12)77, the *Mahāmātya* became *Saṅghādhipati* and made pilgrimages to Śatruñjaya, Ujjayanta and other *Mahātīrthas*. The inscription was composed by the *Gurjara-Purohita Ṭha(kkura)* Someśvara, and written by the *Kāyastha* Jaitrasiṁha.[5]

(32-36) *Girnar stone-inscriptions.*—All these five inscriptions are on the doors of the same temple as No. 31. They all describe the numerous charitable and building

1 Edited by Lüders, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 207-08 and 223-29. The inscriptions do not mention the name of any king.

2 Almost the same as in No. 16 of Bhīma; see above, p. 1012.

3 *Saṁ* 79 *varṣa-pūrvaṁ* was translated by Burgess as 'before the Saṁvat year 79.' But C. D. Dalal pointed out that it should mean 'beginning with the year 1279': see *ARB*, pp. 283-84; *GOS*, No. VII, p. xii, fn. 2.

4 *Mudrā-vyāpārān vyāpṛṇvati.*

5 *ARB*, pp. 283-86; *ASWI*, Vol. II, pp. 170-73. The pilgrimage of Vastupāla in V. S. 1277 is also mentioned by the *PC*, p. 157.

activities of the two ministers. They were composed by Maladhāri Naracandra, Someśvara, Maladhāri Narendra, Maladhāri Saracandra and Udayaprabha. They are all dated in V. S. 1288.[1]

(37) *Girnar stone-inscription.*—Incised 'on the rock to the east of Rājala and Vājela caves and west of the road to Gaumukha.' It records the erection of four new and beautiful Jain temples for the spiritual benefit of the donor and his wives. The date is V.S. 1289.[2]

Besides the above inscriptions, the Jain authors have left a number of literary compositions on the life and works of the two ministers.[3]

As Vīradhavala's principality lay between the Sabarmati and the Narbada, he had to bear the brunt of the assaults of the Yādava ruler Siṅghaṇa. I have already referred to one such expedition by Siṅghaṇa and his treaty with Vīradhavala's father in V.S. 1288. The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* gives a detailed account of another attack by Siṅghaṇa in collaboration with the Mālava-nareśa Devapāla (*c.* 1218-29 A.D.) and the *Maṇḍaleśvara* Saṁgrāmasiṁha who was the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Siṁha, the lord of Lāṭa.[4] But thanks to the activity of Vastupāla's spies the alliance was dissolved and the allies dispersed. The Ambem inscription tells us that Rāma, the son of Kholeśvara, led a Yādava army as far as the Narmadā,

[1] *ARB*, pp 286-302.

[2] *ARB*, p. 315. But in *ASWI*, Vol. II, p. 173, the date is given as V. S. 1288. See *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 73, No. 507. For notices of other inscriptions see *GOS*, No. VII, pp. x-xii.

[3] See *Kīrti-kaumudī* by Someśvara, Ed. by A. V. Kathavaṭe, Bombay, 1883 (No. XXV of Bombay Sanskrit Series); *Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana* of Arisiṁha; *Vasanta-vilāsa* of Bālacandra, *GOS*, No. VII, 1917; *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha, *GOS*, No. X, 1920; *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti* by the same, *GOS*, No. X, *Appendix* I, pp. 58-66; *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī* by Udayaprabha, *GOS*, No. X, *Appendix* II, pp. 67-90; *Vastupāla-prabandha* by Rājaśekhara, *GOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 80-114. See also *Nārāyaṇānanda* by Vastupāla himself, *GOS*, No. II.

[4] The Dabhoi Inscription of Vīsaladeva, V. S. 1311, seem to refer to an unsuccessful combined attack by the lords of Dhārā and the Dakṣiṇa; see *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 20 ff., V. 25.

where 'he slew a number of Gurjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has shown that his expedition must have taken place shortly before Śaka 1160 (*c.* 1295 V.S.).[1] Possibly therefore Rāma lost his life in the expedition referred to by the drama of Jayasiṁha. The *Vasanta-vilāsa* describes a victory of Vastupāla over the Cāhamāna ruler of Lāṭa named Śaṅkhu. He attacked Stambhatīrtha from Bhṛgukaccha with a cavalry force but after a fierce struggle was forced to retreat to Bhṛgupura.[2] This Śaṅkhu, who is also referred to by other Jain writers,[3] is, I think, to be identified with the Saṁgrāma of the *Hammīra-mada-mardana*. Besides these wars, Vīradhavala is credited with other victories. I have already referred to his success against a Muslim invader who advanced as far as Medapāṭa. Someśvara records his campaigns against the chiefs of Vāmanasthalī, near Junagadh, Godhra in Eastern Gujrat, and Cutch.[4] Not all of these were successful. In the last campaign we are told that Vīradhavala was defeated and made a prisoner.

Vīradhavala must have died sometime before V.S. 1295,[5] for a colophon of a MS. of the *Yogaśāstra*[6] contains that date as in the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka*-Vīsaladeva. Merutuṅga narrates that when Vīradhavala died, 'owing to his excessive popularity, 120 followers elected to burn themselves with his corpse.'[7] Jain tradition related that Vīsaladeva poisoned his father and prevented by arms the accession of his elder brother Vīrama.[8] That the succession was disputed seems to be proved by the colophon of a palm-leaf MS.[9] which is dated from the

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 210 and 212.

[2] IV, 17ff.

[3] Śaṅkha in *PC*, p. 162ff.

[4] *Kīrti-kaumudī*, XXIII-XXIV; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 200-01.

[5] According to Rājaśekhara and Harṣa Gaṇi, Vīradhavala died at Dholka, not long before the death of his minister Vastupāla in V. S. 1297 (A.D. 1240): *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 190.

[6] No. 37 of Sanghavi's Bhandar at Pattan; see *GOS*, No. VII, p. xi, fn. 2.

[7] *PC*, p. 167.

[8] BG, Vol I, Part II, p. 203.

[9] 'No. 282 in the Jaisalmere Bhandar;' see *GOS*, No. VII, p. xi, fn. 4.

rājadhānī of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka*-Vīrama, in V. S. 1296, in the victorious reign of *M.*-Bhīmadeva. These two colophons seem to indicate that the kingdom was for a time divided between the brothers. The presence of Bhīma II's name in the colophon of Vīrama and its absence in the case of Vīsala may show that while the elder brother still continued to pay nominal allegiance to the government of Aṇahilapura, the younger and more ambitious brother was determined to end the anomalous position and assert his complete independence. The Ahmedabad pillar inscription of V. S. 1308 [1] shows that Vīsaladeva had then already assumed imperial titles, while by the year V.S. 1318 [2] he had ousted the line of Bhīma and captured the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka itself.

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Vīsaladeva.[3]

(I) *Ahmedabad pillar-inscription.*—On a pillar in the mosque of Aḥmad Shāh I (A. D. 1411-43), in the Bhadr at Ahmedabad. It contains 10 lines, incised on a pillar to the right of the pulpit. The preserved portion opens with the date, (V.) *Saṁvat* 1308 (*c.* 1251 A.D.) It records that on that date, in the victorious reign of *M.*-Vīsaladeva, while the *Mahāpradhānas* appointed by him (were) the *Rāṇaka* Vardhama and Mūlarāja, a trellis (*jāli*) was caused to be made in the *maṇḍapa* of the god Uttareśvara by Pethaḍa, the *masāhaṇī*, of Bai Soḍhala-devī. The overseer *Upadraṣṭā*) was the *Rā*(*uta*) Mallā, the *Sūtra*(*dhāra*) Sūmaṇa.[4]

(2) *Dabhoi stone-inscription.*—Incised on a large stone fixed in the inner side-wall of the Hīra Bhāgolā gate at Dabhoi. The inscription, which contains 59 lines, is very badly damaged and in many portions is extremely fragmentary. It seems to open with 3 verses invoking Siva-Vaidyanātha, and then in Vs. 4-79 gives an eulogistic description of the predecessors of Vīsaladeva. Vs.

1 *EI*, Vol. V, pp 102 ff.

2 *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 210 ff.

3 His mother was Vayajaladevī; *BI*, p. 215, V. 18.

4 Edited by Rev. J. E. Abbot, *EI*, Vol. V, pp. 102-03. *Masāhaṇī* may be a mistake for *Mahāsādhaṇi*. In Kittel's Kannada Dictionary *sāhaṇi* means a groom.

4-7 seem to have contained references to Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka. From Vs. 8-79, we have a description of the achievements of the Vāghelās from Arṇorāja to Vīsaladeva.[1] The proper object seems to have been to record the building or restoration of a temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi (Darbhavatī) by the order of Vīsaladeva. The *praśasti* was composed by Someśvara, the royal priest[2] and written by the Brāhman Prahlādana. It was incised by the *Sūtradhāra-dhurī* Padmasiṁha. The date, (V.) *Saṁvat* 1311 (A.D. 1253) comes at the end.[3]

(3) *Kadi grant.*—Found as No. 6 of Bhīma II.[4] It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with *Om svasti* ; then follows the date, V. S. 1317[5] (A. D. 1261), when the *P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda-prauḍha-pratāpa-Caulukya-kula-kamalinī-kalikā-vikāśa-mārtaṇḍa-Siṁghaṇa-sainya-samudra-saṁśoṣaṇa-Vaḍavānala-Mālavādhīśa-māna-mardana-Medapāṭaka-deśa-kaluṣa-rājya-vallī-kaṁdocched-ana-Kuddāla-kalpa-Karṇāṭa-rāja-jaladhi-tanayā-svayaṁvara-Puruṣottama-bhuja-bala-Bhīma-Abhinava-Siddharāja-apar-Arjuna* Vīsaladeva ruling victoriously at Aṇahillapāṭaka, and when the *Mahāmātya* Nāgaḍa was in charge of the Seal. It then states that on this date the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka* Sāmantasiṁha, who ruled at Maṇḍali in Vardhi-*pathaka*, for the spiritual benefit of his grandfather *Rāṇā* Lūṇapasāja, granted 12 ploughs of land in the villages of Mehūṇā and Riṇasīhavasaṇa, 12 shops at Maṇḍalī, and some other gifts for the purpose of feeding in Āśāpallī,[6] at a formerly instituted *Sattra*, 8 new Brāhmans, and to keep the drinking-fountain filled. All this was made over for management to the *Mahāmunīṁdra-rājakula*

1. The inscription contains references to many historical incidents.
2. The same as the author of the *Kīrti-kaumudī*.
3. Edited by Bühler, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 20-32.
4. See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1007.
5. On the 4th of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha—Thursday; 19th March, A.D. 1261.
6. Identified with Ahmedabad; see Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, 17-18; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 205.

Viśvāmitra, the head of the *maṭha* of Mūleśvaradeva at Maṇḍapikā. The *Dūtaka* was *Mahā-sāndhivigrahika Ṭha(kkura)* Śrīdhara, the writer *Mahākṣapaṭalika Ṭha(kkura)* Govinda. The inscription ends with *Aparārjuna-M.-Śrī-Śrīmad-Vīsaladevasya.*[1]

These 3 inscriptions cover the period 1308 to 1317 V.S. We have seen that Vīsaladeva was already a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* in V. S. 1295. Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* asserts that he became king in V. S. 1300. He probably means that he ascended the throne at Aṇahilapāṭaka on that date. For, as we have seen, Bhīma II was actually ruling in that city in V. S. 1296 (A. D. 1238). Then there is evidence to show that Bhīma was succeeded in that city by one Tribhuvanapāla, who ruled up to V. S. 1299. This is proved by the *Kadi grant*[2] of the latter. This inscription contains 42 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion gives us the Caulukya genealogy from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.[3] We are then told that *M.-P.-Pb.*- Tribhuvanapāla, who meditated on the feet of Bhīmadeva (II), and who resided at Aṇahillapāṭaka, in V. S. 1299 (*c.* 1242 A. D.) granted the villages of Bhāṁṣara and Rājapuri in the Viṣaya and Daṇḍāhi *Pathakas*[4] to feed the *Kārpaṭika* (mendicants) at the almshouse (*satrāgāra*) built by *Rāṇā* Luṇapasāū in the Māulatalapada, for the spiritual benefit of his mother *Rājñī* Salakhaṇadevī. The management of the endowment was entrusted to Vedagarbharāśi, the *Sthānapati* of the temple of Mūleśvara (Śiva) at Maṇḍalī, and his descendants. The writer of the grant was *Ākṣapaṭalika Ṭha(kkura)* Somasīha, the *Dūtaka Ṭha(kkura)* Vayajaladeva. It ends with *Śrī-Tribhuvanapālasya.*[5]

1 Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 210-13. Note also the unfinished *Cambay stone inscription* in which the last name is that of Vīsaladeva. As the record is undated, it is impossible to say definitely whether it belongs to him. *BI*, pp. 214-18.

2 Found as No. 6 of Bhīma II; see above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1007.

3 The *Vaṁśāvalī* agrees with No. 19 of Bhīma II, see *ibid*, p. 1016.

4 The king addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Viṣaya and Daṇḍāhi-*Pathakas*.

5 Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 208-10. This prince is possibly to be identified with the Tribhuvana-*Rāṇaka* who fought and killed Bāla, a general of Gubila Jaitrasiṁha

This grant shows that besides his brother Vīrama, Vīsaladeva had probably to fight Tribhuvanapāla, the immediate successor of Bhīma II, before he could seat himself on the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka. If Merutuṅga is to be believed, Vīsaladeva's struggle for the crown was settled by V.S. 1300. Tribhuvanapāla had therefore a short tenure of power, which probably extended from *c.* 1296 to 1300 V.S.

The first important event in the reign of this prince was the downfall of his father's two great ministers, Vastupāla [1] and Tejaḥpāla. According to the Jain writers, it was Vastupāla who was instrumental in securing the crown for Vīsaladeva. Someśvara records that in spite of this service, they suffered great indignities at the hands of the king, and were nearly obliged to undergo the ordeal of *ghaṭa-sarpa* in order to prove themselves innocent of peculation.[2] On another occasion Vastupāla came into violent conflict with Siṁha, the king's maternal uncle, and 'abandoned the hope of life.' [3] On both these occasions, we are told, the royal priest Someśvara saved them by his intervention. Before these incidents, it seems that the king had relieved them of their high offices and appointed a Brāhman named Nāgaḍa as his chief minister. The Kadi grant shows that Nāgaḍa was transacting the business of the Seal as late as V.S. 1317. The appointment of Nāgaḍa like that of Kapardin in the reign of Ajayapāla probably marks a Brāhmanical reaction in the king's administration; and we are therefore not at all surprised to see the Jain chroniclers completely ignoring Vīsaladeva after recording the incidents about the Jain ministers.[4] But the inscriptions of the king shows that his reign was not without its share of military glory.

(*c.* 1232-52), when the latter was trying to recover Koṭṭadaka (mod. Kotaḍa); see *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

[1] For some additional inscription of Vastupāla and his family, see *ABOI*, 1927-28, pp. 170-82. These stone-inscriptions contain dates from V. S. 1281-92. See also *RMR*, 1910-11, for another inscription dated in V.S. 1296.

[2] *BG*, Vol. I, 203; *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 190.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

The fragmentary Dabhoi inscription seems to claim that Vīsaladeva successfully fought with the *Dhārādhīśvara* and *Dakṣiṇeśvara* and kept a hero's vow (*vīra-vrata*) on the banks of the Sindhu.[1] His success against the rulers of Mālava and the South is confirmed by the epithets applied to him in the Kadi grant. The name of the Southern prince is given as Siṅghaṇa (*c.* 1210-47 A.D.), who was certainly the Yādava ruler of that name, and who had been raiding the Gujarat frontier since the days of Lavaṇaprasāda. The statement contained in the Kadi grant, that Vīsaladeva won in a *Svayaṁvara* the daughter of the Karṇāṭa-rāja, may indicate an alliance between the Caulukyas and the Hoysaḷas of Dorasamudra against their common enemy the Yādavas of Devagiri.[2] Bühler suggested that the Mālava prince who was defeated by Vīsaladeva was Pūrṇamalla.[3] But it is more likely that he was either Jaitugideva (*c.* 1239-43 A.D.) or Jayavarman (*c.* 1256-69 A.D.), the two immediate successors of Devapāla, the opponent of Vīradhavala, who fought with Vīsaladeva. Bühler is however probably right in his guess that the ruler of Medapāṭa defeated by the Caulukya king was the Guhila Tejasiṁha (*c.* 1260-67 A.D.) mentioned in an Abu inscription.[4]

According to Merutuṅga, Vīsaladeva[5] was succeeded by Arjunadeva in V.S. 1318. The Cintra *praśasti* of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva reveals the fact that Arjuna was not the son but the nephew of Vīsaladeva. We are told that "after the illustrious Viśvamalla had anointed Arjuna, the son of (his younger brother) Pratāpamalla, he enjoyed (in heaven) the banquets of ambrosia and the nectar of the lips of the celestial maidens."[6] The same record gives us the name of Nāgalladevī

1 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 28, line 29, and pp. 23-24 and p. 28, line 30.

2 Bühler first suggested the identification of the Karṇāṭa king : *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

3 *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 191. For another epigraphic reference to Vīsala's invasion of Mālava, see *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 106 ff.

4 *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

5 Sometimes known as Viśvamalla or Viśvala or Vīsala, see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 272.

6 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 272.

Vīsaladeva's queen. A stone tablet at Kodinara in Kathiawar contains two *praśastis* of the Nāgara Brāhman Nānāka, the court poet of Vīsaladeva which record the inauguration of *Sārasvata-krīḍā-ketana* and *Sārasvata-sarovara* by him. One of these *praśastis* is dated in V.S. 1328.[1]

Of the reign of Arjuna we have the following published records :—

(1) *Veraval grant.*—Found in the temple of Harsata at Veraval in Kathiawar. It contains 45 lines of writing in very bad Sanskrit, opening with *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Viśvanāthāya* and an invocation to that deity. It is then dated in *Rasula-Mahaṁmada-saṁvat*[2] 622 (A.D. 1264), in V.S. 1320 (A.D. 1264), in *Valabhīya* (*S.*) 945, and Siṁha-*Saṁvat* 151, when *P.-Pb.-Umāpativara-labdha prauḍha-pratāpa-Niḥśaṅka-malla -Ari-rāya-hṛdya-śalya Caulukya-Cakravarti-M.*-Arjunadeva was ruling victoriously at Aṇahilla-pāṭaka and while the *Mahāmātya-Rāṇaka* Māladeva was transacting the business of the Seal, and *Amīr-Rukunadīna*[3] was reigning in the coast of Haramuja.[4] At this date, with the permission of the *Pañcakulas*, in the town of Somanāthadeva, *Mahan(ta)* Abhayasīha the *pāri(pārśvika)* of *Mahattara-Gaṇḍaśrī*-Paravīrabhadra, the great teacher of the Pāśupatas, the (ship-owner),[5] Noradīna Pīroja,[6] a native of Haramuja-deśa, brought a piece of land in the Sīkottarī-mahāyānapalī outside the town of Somnath and built a *mijigiti* (masjid) on it. For the maintenance of this place of worship he gave the whole *palladikā* belonging to the temple of Bhūteśvara, in the centre of Somnath, the *dānapala* of an oil-mill, and two shops in front of the *mijigiti*. Any surplus that remained was to be sent to the holy districts of Mecca and Medina.

Edited by H. H. Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 98-108.

Hijra year.

Amīr Rukn ud-Dīn.

The small island of Hurmuz, which gives its name to the straight leading out of the Persian Gulf.

Nau (*vāha*).

Nūr ud-Dīn Fīrūz.

The trustees appointed for the management of the endowment included the Muslim congregations (*jamātha*, *i.e.*, *Jamā'at*) of *Nākhuyā-naurika* (ship-owners), of wharf-people (*Ghaṭṭaka*) who are devoted to the Martyr[1] with their preacher (*Khalībā*), and of the Musalmans among the landholders (*pathapati*) and the (Persian) artisans (*cuṇakara*). The inscription ends with the statement that any one who plundered this place of worship and its income will bear the guilt of the five deadly sins (*pañca-mahāpātaka*).[2]

(2) *Rav stone-inscription.*—"It is engraved on a memorial slab at the corner of the courtyard wall of an old temple" at the village of Rav, about 60 miles east of Bhuj in Cutch. It speaks of Arjunadeva as "great king of kings, supreme ruler, supreme lord." It is dated in V. S. 1328 (A.D. 1272), when Māladeva was his chief minister, and records the building of a step-well in the village of Rāv.[3]

(3) *Girnar stone-inscription.*—Found on the famous Girnar hill in Kathiawar at the entrance of the *maṇḍapa* of Gaṇadhara situated in the west of the main temple of Nemi-nātha. It contains 7 lines of Sanskrit prose. It is dated in V.S. 1330 in the reign of Arjunadeva, when Pālha was (transacting the business of the Seal) in Saurāṣṭra. It records the grant of the right of engraving inscriptions (*sūtradhāratvaṁ*) in the temple of Neminātha and at other sacred places on the hill of Girnar to *sūtradhāra* Haripāla, son of *sūtradhāra* Goga, belonging to the Mevāḍa community by Udayaprabha and other Jain priests and the *Pañcakula* headed by Dhāndhā.[4]

These three inscriptions cover the period V.S. 1320 to 1330 (*c.* 1264-73) Merutuṅga states that Arjunadeva's reign extended

1 'Ali.

2 Edited by Hultzsch, *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 241-45; *BI*, pp. 224-27.

3 Noticed by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 191; see *Kachdesno Itihās* by Atmaram K. Dvivedi, p. 18, also *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 204 and fn. 3.

4 Edited by D. B. Diskalkar, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society*, Vol. XIV pp. 242-48.

up to V.S. 1381.[1] According to Abu'l-Faẓl and 'Alī Muḥammad he reigned for only 10 years.[2] As the earliest known inscription of his successor is dated in V.S. 1332, we may tentatively accept with Bühler Merutuṅga's date.[3] We know of very few political incidents in his reign; but his two inscriptions show that his authority extended from Patan to Cutch and the South of Kathiawar. His Veraval inscription is of great interest, as it bears witness to his tolerance in religious matters. The generous statesmanship which allowed Muslim communities to thrive and to build and endow mosques in one of the most sacred cities of the Caulukya kingdom forms a remarkable contrast to the policy of plunder and desecration practised by the early Turkish conquerors of India.

According to Merutuṅga, Arjunadeva was succeeded by Sāraṅgadeva in V.S. 1331.[4] The latter's Cintra *praśasti* shows that he was the son of Arjunadeva.[5] Of his reign we have the following published records and dates:

(1) *Khokhrā stone-inscription.*—This mutilated inscription is incised on a Pāliā at Khokhrā in Cutch, which was originally in the fort of Bhadreswar. 'The Pāliā has a figure of a cow feeding probably on Indian corn (maize) and suckling her calf,' and at present contains 6 lines of writing. It opens with *Oṁ* and gives the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1332 (A.D. 1275), when *M.-P.-Pb.-Prauḍha-pratāpa-Nārāyaṇāvatāra-Lakṣmī-svayaṁvara-Mahārāja*-Sāraṅgadeva was ruling victoriusly at Aṇahillapāṭaka, and when the *Mahāmātya-Śrī-Māvava-mahaṁ rādhi*[6]*-Śrī-Kānha* was transacting all the royal business.[7]

1 *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.
2 *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260; *MA*, Trans. 159.
3 *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 191.
4 *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155.
5 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 281, V. 12.
6 These words baffle emendation.
7 Noticed by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. XXI, pp. 276-77.

(2) *Amaran inscription.*—Found at Amaraṇ, Jamnagar State, Kathiawar. It is dated in V.S. 1333 in the reign of *Mālava - dharā - dhūmaketu - Gūrjjara - dharaṇī- samuddharaṇa-varāha-Saptama-cakravarti-Bhuja-bala-malla-Mahārāja*-Sāraṅga-deva, when Pālha was officer-in-charge of Saurāṣṭra. It records a benefaction by a prince (name lost), son of the Cāpotkaṭa *Rāṇaka* Bhojadeva.[1]

(3) *British Museum inscription.*—Dated in (V.) S. 1335 in the reign *Kalyāṇa-Vijaya-rājya* of Sāraṅgadeva.[2]

(4) *Cintra stone-inscription.*—Incised on a long slab of polished black stone which is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra. Its contents however show that it originally belonged to a temple at Veraval or Somnath. It contains 66 lines of writing, and opens with *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*; then follow three verses containing a *maṅgala* addressed to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. Next come the genealogy of the Vāghelās from Viśvamalla[3] to Sāraṅgadeva (Vs. 4-13). Next is described the spiritual family of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata[4] ascetic Tripurāntaka, the benefactor of the Tīrtha of Somnātha (Vs. 14-39). Verses 40-46 inform us that Tripurāntaka built temples, and dedicated 5 *Liṅgas*, and erected a *toraṇa* at Somnath. Verses 47-72 'enumerate the benefactions which Tripurāntaka made in order to provide for the service of his temples' and the rules regarding the worship. V. 76 states that the *praśasti* was composed by Dharaṇīdhara, written by the *mantrin* Vikrama, and incised by the *Śilpin* Pūṇasīha. At the end we are told that the *Liṅga-pratiṣṭhā-mahotsava* took place in V.S. 1343 (1287 A.D.)[5]

1 Edited by Diskalkar in the Gujrati journal *Purātatva*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 37-41.

2 Noticed by Kielhorn from a rubbing supplied by Burgess, *EI*, Vol. I, and Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 34, No. 237.

3 Vīsaladeva.

4 The head establishment of this sect was in Karohaṇa (mod. Karvan on the Miyagam-Dabhoi railway) in Lāṭa (Central Gujarat).

5 Edited by Bühler, *EI*, 1892, Vol. I, pp. 271-87. A copy of the *praśasti* was first published in *Murphy's Travels in Portugal* (1798), and the plate was then reproduced by Burgess in No. 9 of the *Memoranda of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Bombay, 1879. The record is sometimes known as *Veraval inscription*, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 87, No. 611.

(5) *Anavada stone-inscription*.—Found during excavation work at Anavada, the old Aṇahilapāṭaka, nearly 3 miles from Patan, in the Kadi division. It contains 24 lines, and begins with the opening stanza of Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda*. Then follows the date, (V.) *Saṁvat* 1348 (*c.* 1291 A.D.), when *M.* Sāraṅgadeva was reigning at Aṇahilavāṭaka, and while *Mahā-sāṁdhi (vigrahika) Mahāmā(tya)* Madhusūdana was transacting the business of the Seal, and the *Pañcakula* consisted of Peṭhaḍa and others. It then records a list of gifts which was made on that date and also previously by various persons, merchants and shipowners (*nau-vittaka*), etc., for the worship, offerings and theatricals in honour of Kṛṣṇa.[1]

(6) *Cambay stone-inscription*.—Found in the Jain temple of Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha at Cambay, in the Kaira collectorate of Gujarat. It contains 29 lines of damaged writing in Sanskrit, beginning with an invocation to Pārśvanātha and then follows a date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1165.[2] Next comes the genealogy of the Vāghelās. Lūṇigadeva, his son Vīradhavala, Pratāpamalla, his son Arjuna (lines 5-6), and Sāraṅgadeva (line 26). In line 25 occurs the date V.S. 1352 (*c.* 1295 A.D.).[3]

These inscriptions cover the period V. S. 1332 to 1352 (*c.* 1275-95 A.D.).[4]

This agrees with the statement of Merutuṅga, according to whom Sāraṅgadeva ruled from V.S. 1331 to 1353, or roughly

[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, pp. 20-21.

[2] 'Without any indication as to what it refers to.'

[3] Very imperfectly edited in *BI*, pp. 227-33, see also Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 36, No. 249. Though it contains a date for Sāraṅgadeva, it is doubtful whether it belongs to his reign.

[4] For a MS. dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1350, in the reign of Sāraṅgadeva, while his army was encamped near Āśāpalli, see Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, 17-18; *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 205. Bhagvanlal identifies Āśāpalli with Ahmedabad. H. H. Wilson notices (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, p. 311) an Abu inscription of Sāraṅgadeva, dated in V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1294), when the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vīsaladeva of Candrāvatī was his feudatory. See also *Ras*, Vol. I, p. 264. The *BG* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 204) mentions it but Kielhorn omits it in his list of Northern Inscriptions (*EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*).

from 1274-75 to 1296-97 A.D.[1] Abu'l-Faẓl and 'Alī Muhammad assigned him a reign of 21 years.[2] Unfortunately very few facts throwing light upon the political incidents of his reign are known. The Amran inscription however tells us that he revived the fortune of the Gurjara country and was a veritable *dhūmaketu* to the Mālava kingdom. The *Cintra Praśasti* seems to indicate that the traditional hostilities against the Yādavas of Devagiri and the rulers of Mālava were successfully continued under him. We are told by Dharaṇīdhara, the author of the *praśasti*, that the ruler of the Gurjara kingdom was "passionately addicted to the sport of rescuing the earth......Through his power he in battle reduced the powers of the Yādava and the Mālava lords, just as the lord of birds formerly (overcame) the huge-bodied elephant and the tortoise"[3] Bühler rightly identified the Yādava foe of Sāraṅga with Ramacandra, the last independent Hindu monarch of Devagiri, who ascended the throne in 1271 A.D. and died in 1309-10 A.D., a feudatory of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.).[4] The Mālava king, whom he could not identify is perhaps the (Paramāra?) Jayavarmana II for whom we seem to have inscriptions ranging from *c*. 1256 to 1260 A.D.[5]

Sāraṅgadeva was succeeded by Karṇadeva, popularly known as *Ghelaro* or the 'insane prince'[6] in *c*. 1296-97 A.D. Merutuṅga assigns him the period V.S. 1353 to 1360 (A.D. 1296-97 to 1303-04). According to Abu'l Faẓl he reigned for 6 years 10 months and 15 days.[7] All accounts agree that he was the last Vāghelā king of Anhilvad. We have already noticed conflicts

[1] *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

[2] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260. *MA*, Trans., p. 159.

[3] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 272 and 281, Vs. 12-13.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 273. *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 530-33. *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 96.

[5] See *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 117, and specially Kielhorn's note, *ibid*, p. 118. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 903 ff.

[6] Or simply *Ghelo* (insane), *Ras*, Vol. I, pp. 264 and 266.

[7] *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260. The *MA* (Trans., p. 159) assigns him 6 years and 2 months.

between the Muslims and the Caulukyas in the time of Bhīma II and Vīradhavala. On that occasion the Muslims advanced from the region of Mathura southwards to Medapāṭa. After about 50 years' inactivity they again renewed their depredations on the Caulukya dominions. Unfortunately for Karṇa, his accession nearly synchronised with that of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.) one of the ablest military leaders among the Turkish Sulṭāns of Delhi. Within a short time of his usurpation of the crown 'Alā ud-Dīn turned his attention to the fertile plains and wealthy ports of Gujarat.[1] Baranī tells us that at the beginning of the 3rd year of his rule "Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, with their *amīrs* and generals, and a large army marched against Gujarat. They took and plundered Naharwāla and all Gujarat. Karan, Rai of Gujarat, fled from Naharwāla and went to Rām Deo of Deogīr. The wives and daughters, the treasure and elephants of Rai Karan, fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. All Gujarat became a prey to the invaders and the idol which, after the victory of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and his destruction of (the idol) *Manāt*, the Brāhmans had set up under the name of Somnāth, for the worship of the Hindus, was removed and carried to Delhi, where it was laid down for people to tread upon. Nusrat Khān proceeded to Kamāya (Cambay) and levied large quantities of jewels and precious articles from the merchants of the place who were very wealthy. He also took a handsome slave from his master (afterwards known as) Kāfūr Hazār-dīnārī, who was made *Malik-nāib*, and whose beauty captivated 'Alā ud-Dīn. Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān returned with great booty."[2] Firishta adds the information that amongst the wives of Karṇa, who were

[1] The *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 266) mentions the story that Karṇa had two Nāgara Brāhman ministers named Mādhava and Keśava. Karṇa took by force the former's wife, who was a *padminī*, and slew Keśava. Mādhava thereupon went to 'Alā ud-Dīn and brought in the Muslims.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 163; see also *TA*, Trans. p. 157; *MA*, Trans., pp. 160 ff.; *Ẓafar ul-Wālih* of 'Abdallāh Muḥammad. Ed. by E. Denison Ross, London, 1921, Vol. II, p. 789; *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 263. *Ras*, Vol. I, pp. 265 ff.

captured in this expedition was 'Kowla Devy,'[1] whose 'beauty, wit and accomplishment so captivated 'Alā ud-Dīn that he took her into his harem.'[2] The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* states that before Karṇa fled he engaged the Muslim generals in battle ; and the *Zafar ul-Wālih* informs us that it was 'a hard struggle.' This campaign did not however completely end Karṇa's career. He appears to have maintained his independence in the hilly territory known as Baglan in Nasik ; and Firishta tells us that when in 1306 A.D., according to the instructions of Malik Kāfūr, Alaf Khān tried to join him in 'the borders of the Deccan' from Gujarat 'by the route leading through the mountains of Buglana, so as both to enter the Deccan together,' he was successfully opposed by Karṇa. Immediately before this Malik Kāfūr had tried to persuade the Caulukya king to hand over to him Devaladevī, his daughter by Kāvalādevī. For we are told that at her request the Sulṭān had issued express injunctions to his generals to seize her daughter and send her to Delhi. But 'The Rāja could by no means be brought to agree' to this demand. Finding that his own military efforts had no effect on local rajas, he directed Alaf Khān to join him in Gujarat. But Firishta relates that for two months Karṇa defeated all his efforts to force a passage, fighting several actions. At this time Śaṅkara the son of the Devagiri Yādava Rāmadeva made offers of help to Karṇa, who agreed to give him his daughter, who was only 13 years of age. When Bhīmadeva, Śaṅkara's brother, was escorting the girl to Devagiri, and had nearly reached the capital city, a section of the troops of Asaf Khān, numbering about 300, who had gone 'without leave to see the caves of Eloora, in the neighbourhood of Dewgur' surprised the escort and captured the young bride.[3] According to Firishta,

[1] 'Kowla' is quite correct, *Kamala* through the intermediate *Kaṁvlā*. Dr. Barnett suggests that the vernacular form of the name was probably Kavalādevī, in Sanskrit Kamaladevī.

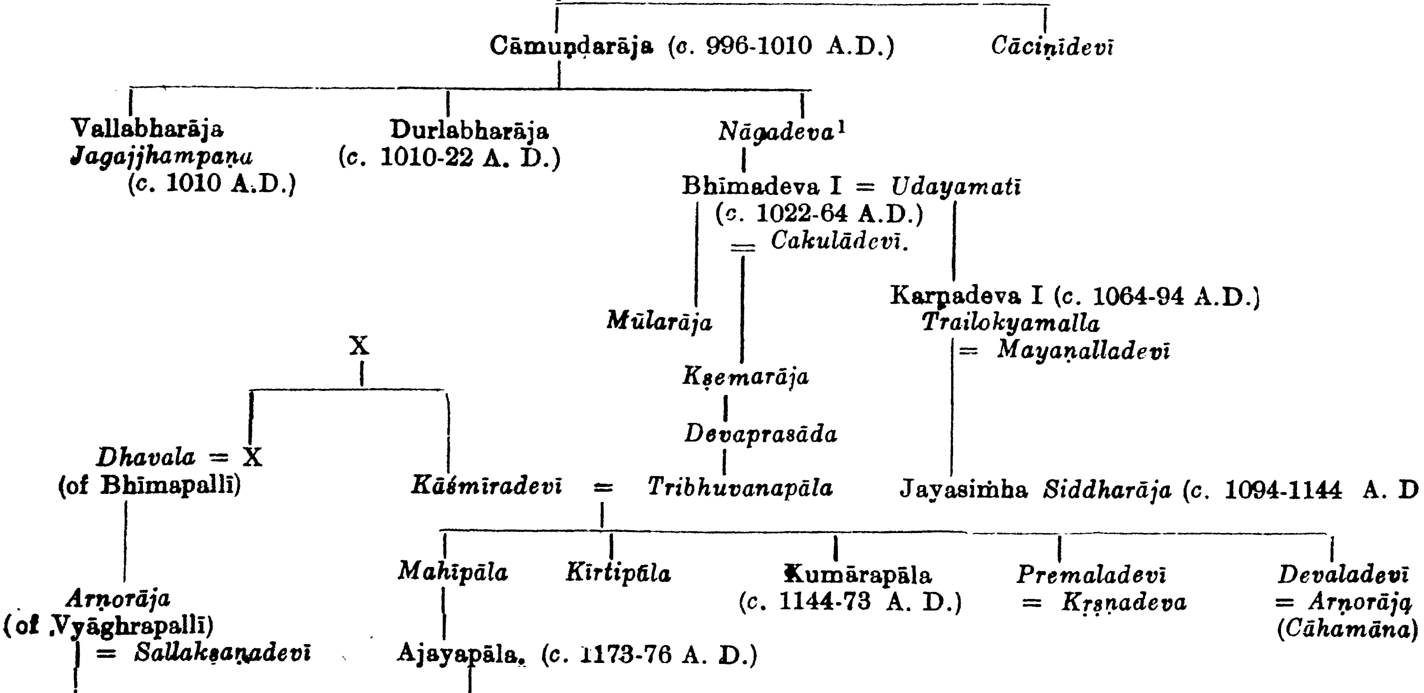
[2] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 327-29. The *M.A* (Trans. p. 162), says 'formed an unlawful connection with the mother of the damsel' (Dewalde).

[3] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 365-68. Devaladevī, who like her mother, was famous for her beauty, was married to Khiẓr Khan, the eldest son of 'Alā ud-Dīn. Amīr Khaṣrau

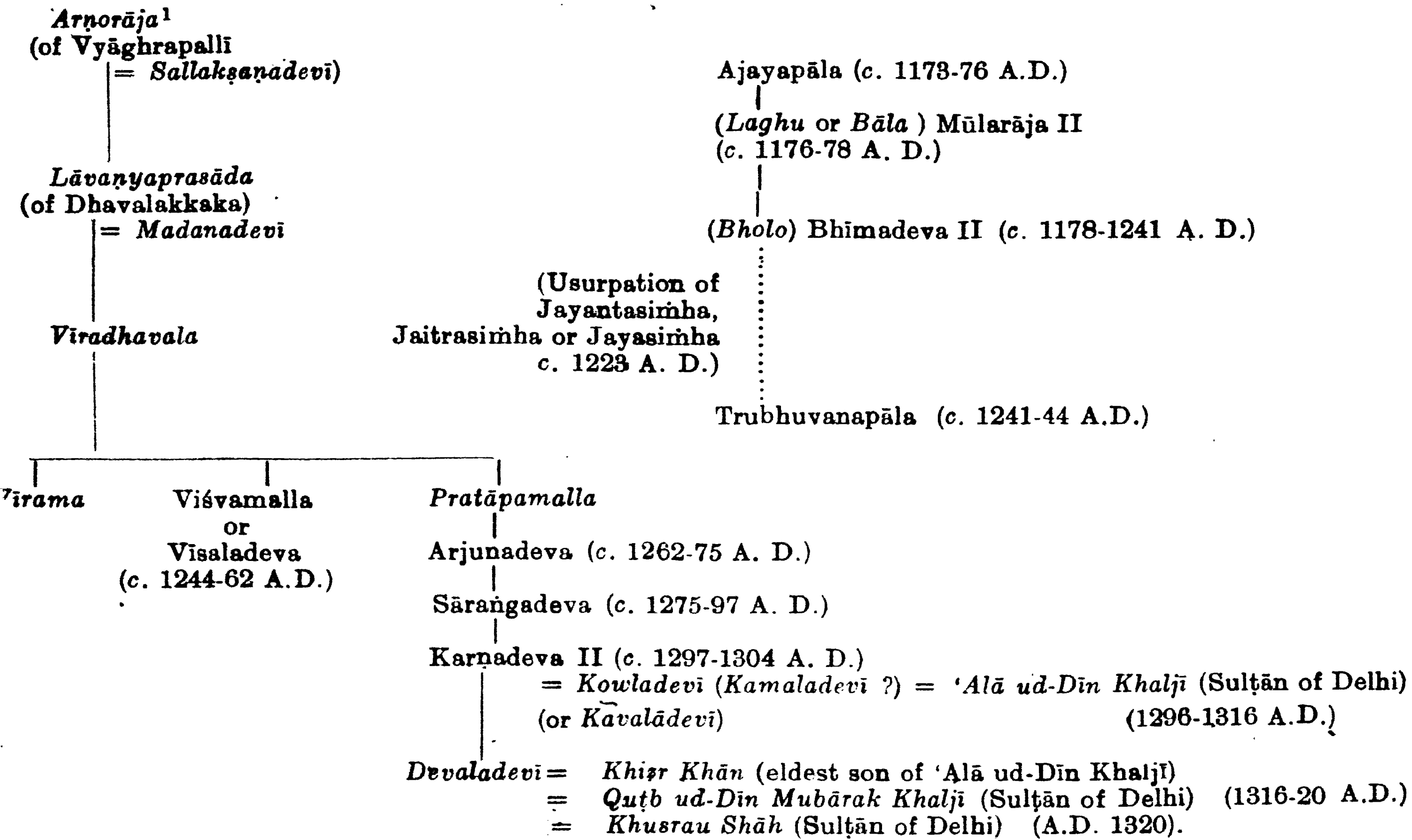
before this incident Alaf Khān, being much concerned at the reports of these marriage-arrangements and fearing for his head, had made one supreme effort to pierce Karṇa's mountain-defences. His army, we are told, 'entered the mountains in all directions and engaging the Raja gave him total defeat. Kurrun Ray fled to Dewgur, leaving his elephants, tents and equipage on the field.' After this history loses sight of Karṇa, and he probably died as a refugee somewhere in the Deccan.[1]

composed poems on their love. After the murder of the blinded Khiẓr by his younger brother Mubārak, about 1318-19 A.D. the latter married her forcibly against her will. After the murder of Mubārak by Khusrau in 1320 A.D. she was forced into the harem of the usurper. Such is the reward that fate often reserves for beauty.

[1] The Vāghelās continued to rule in Gujarat as petty chiefs in the Muḥammadan period. See the *Adalji well-inscription* of Rāṇī Ruḍādevī, wife of the Vāghelā Vīrasiṁha of Daṇḍāhideśa in the reign of Maḥmūd Begarhā, 1458-1511 A.D., dated in V.S. 1555. *ARB.*, pp. 264-66; also *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 206.



1 Names in italics did not reign at Anhilvada.



[1] Names in *italics* did not r[illegible]n at Anhilvada.

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[1] (*Note.*—In addition to these see the texts mentioned by Bhagvanlal in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 149, fn. 1.)

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CHAPTER XVI

The Cāhamānas (Cauhāns) of the Punjab, Rajputana and Gujarat

The bardic tradition of the Rajputs regards the Cāhamānas[1] (*Cauhāns*) as one of the four fire-born races (*agni-kula*). With the founders of the Pratīhāras (*Parihārs*), Caulukyas (*Solaṅkis*) and Paramāras (*Pāvars*), their founder is said to have sprung from the fire-altar of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Abu.[2] He is stated to have been 'quadriform (*Caturaṅga*), whence his name *Cauhan*.'[3] The first seat of the government of 'Anhal, the first created Cauhan' was Māhiṣmatī on the Narbada, from which city the power of the twenty-four *Śākhās* of the tribe spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Unfortunately, authentic archaeological and literary records which bear upon the history of the tribe and its branches contain nothing to support the data derived from bardic songs. Unlike the Paramāras, the authors of the inscriptions and the *kāvyas* in the court of the Cāhamāna princes even as late as the 14th century A.D. seem to have been ignorant of the origin of their patrons from the fire-pit. It is unknown not only to Someśvara's Bijolia stone-inscription, dated V.S. 1226 (*c.* 1169 A.D.) but also to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, which appears to have been composed in the life-time of Pṛthvīrāja III (*c.* 1179-92 A.D.)

[1] There are variants of this name: *Cāhuāṇa*, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70, fn. 4; *Cāhavāṇa*, *ZDMG*, Vol. XL, pp. 38 ff.; *Cāhuvāṇa*, *IA*, 1890, p 216, fn. 5; also *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, Ed. by Peterson, p. 1, *śloka* 2; *Cāhumāna*, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173 ff., No. 9.

[2] *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 112 ff.; for variations of the story of fire-origin, see *ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 1441 ff. I reserve the discussion on the origin of the Rajputs for the 3rd volume of the present work.

[3] *AR*, Vol. I, p. 113. In another place it is stated that like Viṣṇu, who created him, he was 'four-armed' like his creator, and 'was thence styled Caturbhuja Cahuhan:' *ibid*, Vol. III, p. 1443.

and even to the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri, the grandson of the spiritual adviser of Hammīra of Ranthambhor (*c.* 1283-1301 A.D.). Like Padmagupta-Parimala, the court-poet of the Paramāra Sindhurāja (*c.* 995-1010 A.D.), these authors would certainly have utilised the myth to glorify their patrons, if it was known in their time. The authors of both the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* trace the origin of the tribe to an eponymous Cāhamāna who was born from the Sun (*Sūrya-maṇḍala*). According to the Bijolia inscription Sāmanta, the earliest representative of the family on its list, was born in the Vatsa gotra at Ahicchatrapura.[1] This Ahicchatrapura has been identified by some with Nāgapura (mod. Nagaur, Jodhpur State).[2] An inscription recently found in the possession of the descendants of Gyanji Jabi, Colonel Tod's *guru*, says that Ahicchatrapura was the capital of Jāngludesa[3] (*Jāṅgala-deśa*). Rai Bahadur Ojha would identify 'Jāṅgala country' with the region now known as Bikaner and Northern Marwar. Recent discussion[4] however has shown that 'Jāṅgala-deśa' does not mean a particular tract of land. *Jāṅgala* literally means a forest or waste, and it has been shown that Jāṅgala settlements were attached to various ancient Indian States like Madra and Kuru. According to the *Mahābhārata* Ahicchatra was the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla, and this section of the state may possibly have abounded in forests and hence acquired the name of Pañcāla-jāṅgala.[5] In that case we must suppose that

[1] In the Sundha hill-inscription of Cāciga (V.S. 1319) the eponymous Cāhamāna is stated to have been a source of great pleasure to the sage Vatsa (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 70 ff.). The Mt. Abu inscriptions of Luntiga (V.S. 1377) says that when the Solar and Lunar races came to an end, the holy Vacca (*i.e.*, Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Cāhamānas (*EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.). In the recently published Sevadi grant of Ratnapāla (V.S. 1176), however, the *Cāhamāna-vaṁśa* is said to have sprung from a person who came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the East (*EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 304 ff.). These composers of Cāhamāna records were also ignorant of the fire-origin of their patrons as late as the 14th century A.D.

[2] Ojha, *Nāgari-Pracāriṇī-Patrikā*, Vol. II, Part III; *JASB*, 1922, p. 289.

[3] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 264, fn. 1.

[4] Sinha, *JASB*, 1922, pp. 287 ff.

[5] Like *Kuru-jāṅgala*, *Mādreya-jāṅgala*, etc.

the Cāhamānas, at least in the middle of the 12th century A.D., claimed to have migrated from the Upper Ganges-Jumna Valley. But it is significant that the authors of the two literary works referred to above do not mention Ahicchatra, and on the contrary seems specifically to associate the rise of the Cāhamānas with the lake Śākambharī (Sambhar), situated on the borders of the Jodhpur and Jaipur States. The provenance of the earliest inscriptions and the identification of some of the places mentioned therein suggest that the Sambhar region was possibly the cradle-land of the tribe. The well-known tradition, both literary and epigraphic, that the Cāhamānas took Delhi from the Tomaras, supported by references to conflicts between some of the earlier Cāhamānas and Tomara chiefs, seems to indicate that the movement of the tribe was from Sambhar towards the Ganges-Jumna Valley, and not *vice versa*.[1]

Epigraphic evidence supports the bardic tradition that the Cāhamānas were divided into many branches. Some of these were unquestionably feudatories of the Pratīhāras of Avanti and Kanauj. Thus the Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛvaḍḍha (V.S. 813 = A.D. 756) show that he owed allegiance to Nāgāvaloka, rightly identified with Nāgabhaṭa I (*c*. 725 A.D.), while the Harṣa stone-inscription reveals the dependence of Gūvaka I on another Nāgāvaloka, *alias* Nāgabhaṭa II[2] (*c*. 815 A.D.). The Partabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II (V.S. 1003=A.D. 946) mentions his feudatory the Cāhamāna *Mahāsāmanta* Indrarāja.[3] During the period *c*. 750 to 950 A.D. most of the regions over which the Cāhamānas ruled were certainly included in the Pratīhāra dominions. It was probably Vigraharāja II (A.D. 973), of the Śākambharī branch, who first became free from the control of the 'house

[1] The theory that *Sapādalakṣa* is derived from the word 'Siwalik,' a range of hills running parallel to the Himalayas from Kangra to Nainital, is far from certain. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 937, fn. 3.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 199-200; *IA*, 1911, Vol. XL, pp. 239-40.

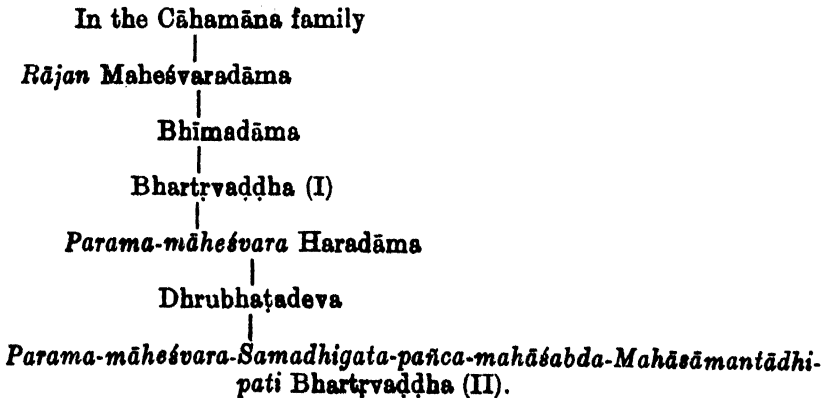
[3] *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-81.

of Raghu' (Pratīhāras), to whom his father Siṁharāja had still paid homage.[1]

The history of the Cāhamānas may be conveniently grouped round the following heads: (1) *Cāhamānas of Lāṭa*, (2) *Cāhamānas of Dhavalapurī*, (3) *Cāhamānas of Partabgarh*, (4) *Cāhamānas of Śākambharī*, (5) *Cāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura*, (6) *Cāhamānas of Naḍḍūla*, (7) *Cāhamānas of Jāvālipura*, and (8) *Cāhamānas of Satyapura*. Of these the last three (Nos. 6, 7 and 8) were undoubtedly connected with No. 4; but the relationship of the first three with each other or with the rest is at present unknown.

(1) *Cāhamānas of Lāṭa.*

The earliest reference to the existence of Cāhamānas in Lāṭa was revealed by the discovery of the *Hansot grant of Bhartṛvaḍḍha.* It was found in the possession of a person in the town of Hansot, in the Anklesvar taluka of the Broach district, Bombay Presidency. It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with *Oṁ Svasti,* after which comes the following: 'The Cāhamāna family, exalted with a large army, who have succeeded in adorning their territory, who are a receptacle of victory, like Meru (which is lofty with large ridges, adorned with the circle of *Siddhas*, the support of Jaya, or the sun.' Then comes the genealogy of the donor:



[1] *IA*, 1913, pp. 58 and 62, V. 19.

It is then announced that this last prince, while staying at Bhṛgukaccha (mod. Broach), granted the village of Arjunadevīgrāma in the Akrūreśvara[1] *viṣaya* to the Brāhman *Bhaṭṭa* Būṭa (?) and two others. The grant was written by the *Vālabhya*[2] Bhaṭṭa Kakka. It was issued from Bhṛgukaccha, with *Bhaṭṭa* Llalluva as its *Dūtaka*, in the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* of the illustrious Nāgāvaloka, in the (V.) year 813 (A.D. 756).[3]

This inscription gives us six generations of Cāhamānas who appear to have resided in the region of Broach. By assigning a period of 30 years for each generation Konow arrived at *c.* 500 A.D. as the date of Maheśvaradāma.[4] Noticing the occurrence of names which were common to the Maitrakas of Valabhī[5] and the occurrence of the epithet *Vālabhya* (from Valabhī ?) before the name of the writer of the grant, he also suspected intimate contact between the two families.[6] But the most striking feature of these princes' names is certainly the ending *-dāma* in three of them, which is likewise found in the names of several descendants of the Western Kṣatrapa Caṣṭana. In the opinion of Rapson, it may well be a Sanskritised form of a Persian word.[7]

The identification of Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa I of the Gurjara-Prātihāra family is now generally accepted. The existence of a Gurjara ruling family in the Broach region till *c.*

1 Probably the present Anklesvar taluka; *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

2 'From Valabhī '?—*ibid*, p. 204.

3 Edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 197-204.

4 I would rather assign 25 years, and propose *c.* 600 A.D. as the date of Maheśvaradāma.

5 Cāhamāna *Dhrubhaṭa* (= Dhruvabhaṭa) = Maitraka Dhruvabhaṭa Śīlāditya VII (A.D. 766).

6 'It is possible that Bhartṛvaḍḍha II's sister was married to Śīlāditya VI, so that Śīlāditya VII may have worn the name of his maternal grandfather': *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 199.

7 'Spalaga-dama': see Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins* (*Andhras, Kṣatrapas*, etc.), 1908, p. cv. For a *Kacchapaghāta* name ending in *dāman*, see my chapter on the *Kacchapaghātas*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 822; also fn. 5 on the same page.

706-36 A.D.[1] seems to indicate that Bhartṛvaḍḍha II may have succeeded Jayabhaṭa III, the last representative of that family, as the viceroy of Lāṭa. Bhartṛvaḍḍha's predecessors, however, may have been settled, as Konow suggests, in Broach for a long time previously.[2] But the fact that they are assigned only vague praise in the grant of their successor, combined with the absence of any titles of even feudatory rank, indicates that their position as rulers of Gujarat was not very conspicuous.

For about five centuries nothing is heard of the Cāhamānas in Gujarat. The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha[3] reveals the presence of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Saṁgrāmarāja, also known as Saṁgrāmasiṁha, who was a contemporary of the Vāghelā Vīradhavala (*c*. 1233-43 A.D.). He is said to have been the son of Sindhurāja and nephew of Siṁha, lord of Lāṭa-*deśa*. The drama represents him as in alliance with the Devagiri Yādava Siṁhaṇa (*c*. 1210-47 A.D.) and the Mālava Paramāra Devapāla (*c*. 1218-36 A.D.) against the Ḍholka chieftain. The allied invasion however, failed, largely owing to the activity of the spies of Vastupāla, the able minister of Vīradhavala. The alliance was dissolved and Saṁgrāma-rāja was forced into an alliance with Vīradhavala. The *Vasanta-vilāsa* of Bālacandra also contains[4] an account of the hostilities between Vīradhavala and the princes of Lāṭa. It relates that Stambhatīrtha (mod. Cambay) was conquered by the Dholka chiefs from the king of Lāṭa: The latter, according to this authority, was of Cāhamāna lineage, and named Śaṅkhu. On one occasion he started from Bhṛgukaccha to attack Stambha-tīrtha with a cavalry force. But in the battle which followed Śaṅkhu was defeated and compelled to retire to Broach. As the father of Śaṅkhu was named Sindhurāja, he is almost certainly identical with the Saṁgrāmarāja of the *Hammīra-mada-mardana*. Jayasiṁha says of Śaṅkhu that his 'left foot was

1 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 177.
2 *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 198 ff.
3 *GOS*, No. X, 1920.
4 *GOS*, No. VII, 1917.

adorned with the figures of 12 *Maṇḍalādhipatis* on golden *dāmas*,'[1] and he defeated the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa on the Narbada.

From these statements it is clear that Broach was the centre of the Cāhamāna principality. Being situated on the frontiers of the Caulukyas, the Yādavas, and the Paramāras, it was in a difficult position. Though Bālacandra calls Saṅkhu a *bhūpati* or king, it is doubtful whether they at any time really enjoyed sovereign power. Jayasiṁha more appropriately calls him a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. It is likely that, though possessing considerable power and prestige, these princes were always compelled to acknowledge, at least tacitly, the sovereignty of their stronger neighbours. The dominance of the great kingdoms of Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan during the period *c*. 750-1175 must have kept them in insignificance. It was only after the decline or downfall of the states towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century that they were given opportunities to rise in importance.

As to the relationship of the family of Bhartṛvaḍḍha and Saṅkhu nothing is at present definitely known. But as Broach was the base of power of both the families, it may be conjectured that they were connected by blood.

(2) *Cāhamānas of Dhavalapurī.*

The existence of this branch was made known by the discovery of a *Stone-inscription at Dholpur*: It contains 26 lines, incised on a black stone in the Residency of the Dholpur State, Rajputana. It opens with a eulogy of the Sun-god (*Bhāsvat*, *Bhāskara*). Then follows the genealogy of a king named Caṇḍamahāsena :

In the *Cāhavāṇa-vaṁśa*
|
Isuka
|
Mahiṣarāma = Kaṇhullā...performed *sati* when her husband died.
|
Caṇḍamahāsena or Caṇḍa.

[1] *GOS*, No. X, V. 28.

This last prince lived in Dhavalapurī.[1] The proper object of the inscription is to record the building of a temple of Caṇḍasvāmin, together with a pond and a well. The date of the consecration of the temple is V. S. 898 (A.D. 842).[2]

Caṇḍamahāsena's family appear to have been feudatory princes. Possibly he acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja, who had captured Kanauj sometimes before 836 A.D. The only thing known about him is that the *Mleccha* lords who were established on the banks of the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal) paid him homage ;[3] I am unable to suggest the identification of these *Mlecchas.*[4]

(3) *Cāhamānas of Partabgarh.*

This branch is known from the *Partabgarh stone-inscription* of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla II,[5] whose gift of a village for the cult of the goddess Vaṭa-Yakṣiṇī-devī in V. S. 1003 (A.D. 946) is recorded in it. But it also contains references to earlier grants to various shrines attached to the monastery of Hari-Ṛṣīśvara. We are told that the provincial governor of Mahendrapāla resident at Ujain, at the request of the Cāhamāna *Mahāsāmanta* Indrarāja, granted a village for the cult of Indrādityadeva. The inscription gives the following genealogy of the Cāhamāna chief :

Princes of the *Cāhamān-ānvaya*...who were a source of great pleasure to king Bhojadeva.
⋮
Govindarāja
|
Durlabharāja
|
Indrarāja

1 Identified with mod. Dholpur, *ZDMG*, Vol. XL, p. 38.

2 Edited by Hultzsch, *ZDMG*, Vol. XL, pp. 38-42.

3 *Carmaṇvatī-taṭa-dvaya-saṁsthita-Mlechādhipa-pravarāḥ, ipsitaṇā praṇatā sevām kurvanti yasyānu.*

4 Is it possible that there were during that period some Arab settlements in the Chambal valley as a result of a long series of Arab raids from the lower Indus valley? See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, Chapter I.

5 Edited by G. S. Ojha, *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 160-61. See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 585 ff.

This last prince built the great temple of the Sun-god, named after him (*Indr-āditya*), at the village of Ghōṇṭā-Varṣika.[1] As grants are recorded to this temple in V. S. 999 (A.D. 942) it is certain that Indrarāja built the temple on or before that date.

It appears from the eulogy of Indrarāja's predecessors that his family first rose into importance in the service of Bhoja and his successors. Indrarāja was a vassal of Mahendrapāla II, and was immediately subordinate to the governor of Ujjain. This is apparent from the fact that he had to apply to the latter in order to secure a grant of land for his temple.

Nothing is known about any possible successors of Indrarāja.

(4) *Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.*

The earliest inscription of this branch is still the Harṣa stone inscription[2] of the time of Vigraharāja II dated in V. S. 1030 (A.D. 973). It carries back the genealogy of the Cāhamānas for six generations up to Gūvaka I, who, as we shall presently see, was a contemporary and feudatory of the Pratīhāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 815 A.D.). The much later Bijolia rock-inscription, dated in V. S. 1226 (*c.* 1169 A. D.), in the reign of Someśvara, however, gives the names of 27 predecessors of Someśvara. Morison in 1893, first published a list of Cāhamāna princes from a Sanskrit work named *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*,[3] which on comparison was found to agree closely with the list supplied by the two inscriptions mentioned above. To these lists

[1] Said to be situated in Daśapura (mod. Mandasor). The village has been identified with mod. Ghotarsi, 7 miles east of Partabgarh.

[2] Sometimes called *Haras Inscription*, see *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 14, No. 82.

[3] *WZKM*, Vol. VII, pp. 187-92. *PB*, now edited with Jonarāja's commentary, by S. K. Belvelkar, *Bibliotheca Indica*, New Series, No. 1400, Calcutta. The author of the work is unknown. Sarda has suggested that it may be Jayanāka, the Kashmirian poet, whose entry in Pṛthvīrāja's court is recorded in Sarga XII. As it mentions the defeat of Muḥammad Ghūrī by Bhīma I, which took place in 1178 A.D., it is suggested that the work was compos d between that date and about 1200 A.D. The work is incomplete.

and that given in *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra[1] H. B. Sarda[2] has added two more pedigrees contained in the *Prabandha-kośa*[3] and the *Surjan-carita*.[4] The last scholar has contributed a critical and comparative chart of all these genealogies, and drawn the reasonable conclusion that, in the present state of our knowledge, the lists supplied by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and tested by the evidence of the Bijholi inscription may be accepted as reliable.

According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* and all the other literary traditions noticed above, the first historical person on the Cāhamāna genealogy is Vāsudeva. The 3rd and 4th *Sargas* of the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* describe the mythical origin of the lake Śākambharī, which through the favour of the two goddesses Śākambharī and Āśāpuri was ever after to remain in the possession of Vāsudeva and his descendants, who thus became known as *Śākambharīśvara*.[5] In his lineage was born Sāmanta-rāja, the first name on the Bijolia list. He was a feudatory prince (*Sāmanta*) and was possibly also known as Ananta. As I have already noticed, this inscription records that he was a *vipra* and born in the Vatsa-*gotra* at Ahicchatrapura. If there is any historical basis for the statement of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* that Vāsudeva was already connected with the Sambhar region, then Ahicchatra must be located near the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States. As Sāmanta is the 12th king, counting backwards from Vigraharāja II (A. D. 973), we may perhaps assign him roughly to about the middle of the

[1] *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-73.

[2] *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 259-81.

[3] Of Rājaśekhara. See *Gaüḍavaho*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXIV, Introduction, p. cxxxv, Note 11, footnote. Stated to be 4 or 5 centuries old, *JRAS*, 1913, p. 265.

[4] Composed at Benares by Candraśekhara, a Bengali Vaidya (Gauḍa Ambaṣṭha) poet in the court of Surjan Siṁha of Bundi, Akbar's Cāhamāna general. I am at present engaged in editing this *Mahākāvya* (No. 1135 of the Govt. Collection of MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

[5] Vs. 1-5. The country round the lake was known as *Sākambharī-pradeśa*; *ibid*, V. 3. Also *infra*, p. 1099, fn. 3.

7th century A. D.[1] Since the succession between Sāmanta and Vāsudeva does not appear to have been immediate, it is difficult to decide the exact time when Vāsudeva carved out his principality round Sambhar. The succession from Sāmanta to Durlabharāja I is given as follows :

1. Sāmantarāja (also known as Ananta?) : after him,
   |
2. Purṇatalla [2]
   |
3. Jayarāja [3]
   |
4. Vigraharāja I
   |
5. Candrarāja — 6. Gopendrarāja
   |
7. Durlabharāja (I) (son of 5)

Practically nothing but vague praise is assigned to these princes, and they were apparently insignificant. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* Durlabharāja I was succeeded by his son Govindarāja. But the Bijolia inscription places Gūvaka after Durlabha. Sarda has accepted Gūvaka as an *alias* of Govindarāja. The Harṣa stone inscription of Vigraharāja traces his descent to prince Gūvaka. Scholars agree in identifying the Gūvaka of the Bijolia inscription with the Gūvaka of the Harṣa record.[4] They also agree that 'Nāgāvaloka the foremost of kings,' in whose court Gūvaka is stated to have 'attained pre-eminence,' is the Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 815 A. D.).[5]

[1] *Prabandha-kośa* however gives V. S. 608 (A.D. 551) as the date of Vāsudeva, see *Reports on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India*, by Hultzsch, Vol. III, Madras, 1905, No. 1966, p. 112. The MS. was found in the private library of a Maratha Brāhman of Tanjore; also *JRAS*, 1913, p. 266, fn. 1.

[2] Sarda omits this name from his list of names given from Bijolia inscription, see *JRAS*, 1913, p. 270. The fact that *PB* (Vs. 7-8) seems to omit this name makes me a little doubtful about the reading of the transcript in *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 51, No. 344.

[3] Sometimes Jayantarāja, or Ajayapāla.

[4] D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Śaiva temple referred to in the Harṣa inscription of Vigraharāja (V. S. 1030) was originally constructed by Gūvaka I, *IA*, 1913, p. 58.

[5] *IA*, 1911, pp. 239-40; *ibid*, 1913, p. 58.

The implication of this statement of the Harṣa stone inscription is no doubt that Gūvaka I was a feudatory of the powerful Pratīhāra monarch.

According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, the next prince was Govindarāja's son Candrarāja II. This agrees with the Harṣa inscription; but the Bijolia epigraph gives the variant Śaśinṛpa.[1] His son was Gūvaka II.[2] According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, his sister Kalāvatī chose for her husband the king of Kanauj.[3] Gūvaka's son was Candanarāja. According to the Harṣa inscription, he defeated and slew in battle a Tomara prince (*Tomareśa*) named Rudrena,[4] who has not yet been identified. There is reason to believe that the Tomaras were settled in the region round modern Delhi in the 9th century A. D.[5] The north of the present Jaipur State is reported to be divided into two divisions *viz.*, Taṁvrāvāṭī and Sekhāvāṭī. The former name is said to be derived from the Rajput tribe Taṁvar, who are the same as the Tomaras of the inscriptions. As Taṁvrāvāṭī is not very far from the Sambhar region, Rudrena may have been a prince of this locality.[6] This conflict and the death of Rudrena may then be regarded as the opening act of that grim struggle which in the middle of the 12th century was to extend the arms of the Cāhamānas to the foot-hills of the Himalayas. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, Candana's queen Rudrāṇi, also called Ātmaprabhā, set up 1,000 *liṅgas* on the banks of *Puṣkara*, 'which shone like lights in darkness.'[7] Candana's son by this queen was Vākpatirāja, called Vappayarāja and Vindhyanṛpati (?) in the Bijolia inscription. The Harṣa inscription gives him the epithet *Mahārāja*, and states that he put to flight one Tantrapāla, who

1 The meaning of both the names is the same, 'moon-king.'

2 The Bijolia inscription seems to spell the name 'Gūvāka.' See *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 51, No. 344. *JASB*, LV, I, 41 has 'Gavāka.' *JRAS*, 1913, table on p. 270.

3 Vs. 30-31. She had 12 other suitors, but they were all defeated by her brother.

4 Kielhorn read the name as 'Rudreṇa.' *EI*, Vol. II, p. 121, V. 14. But D. R. Bhandarkar proposes to read it as 'Rudra,' *IA*, 1913, p. 58, and fn. 2.

5 See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Tomaras*. 6 *IA*, 1913, p. 59.

7 Vs. 37-38. She was also probably known a Yoginī; see *JRAS*, 1913, p. 268.

was 'coming haughtily towards the Ananta country' to deliver a message of his overlord.[1] The identity of the defeated prince is unknown; but it may be assumed that the kingdom of the Cāhamānas was called Ananta-*gocara*, after the name of its second prince. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, Vākpati I was a great warrior and won 188 victories. He was also a devotee of Śiva, and built at Puṣkar a temple (*prāsāda*) for Vyomakeśa (Śiva), 'which looked like Kailāsa.'[2] He was succeeded by his son Siṁharāja. The Harṣa inscription gives him the epithet *Mahārājādhirāja*, and states that he subdued the Tomara chief (*nāyaka*) Salavaṇa[3] and put to flight and captured the hosts that had gathered under his command. The princes who were captured in this struggle were kept in prison till his overlord, who belonged to the 'family of Raghu,' came in person to his house to liberate them.[4] The *Raghu-kula-cakravartin*[5] referred to in this passage is most probably one of the successors of the Pratīhāra monarch Nāgabhaṭa II, to whom, as we have seen, Gūvaka I owed allegiance. It is difficult to identify the Pratīhāra prince; but as we have the date 973 A.D. for the successor of Siṁharāja, he must be either Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 946) or one of his weak successors. The fact that the overlord had to come personally to the house of his feudatory to effect the release of prisoners is sufficient evidence of the increasing importance of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and of the decline of the imperial power of Kanauj.

1 *IA*, 1913, pp. 58 and 62, V. 16. The overlord may have been either the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla I (*c.* 914-31 A.D.) or one of his immediate successors. According to some 'Tantrapāla' may denote the designation of an individual; see *EI*, XIX, *Appendix*, p 14, fn. 4. For 'Ananta,' see also V. 28.

Vs. 41-43. It was probably from Vākpati's son Lakṣmaṇa that the Cāhamānas of Naḍḍūla took their rise, see *infra*, pp. 1104 ff. Vākpati had another son, named Vatsarāja see *EI*, Vol. II, p. 129.

3 The passage may also mean 'subdued the *Tomara nāyaka*...together with Lavaṇa' see Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, pp. 57 ff., and Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff.

4 *IA*, 1913, pp. 58 and 62, V. 19.

5 Rājaśekhara tells us that the Pratīhāra princes of Kanauj claimed descent from the *Raghu-kula*: see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 576.

Simharāja was succeeded by his son Vigraharāja II, for whose reign we have the *Harṣa stone-inscription*: This was found 'engraved on a large slab of black stone which lies in the porch of the temple of what is known as *Purāṇa* Mahādeva on a hill near the village Haras, situated in the Sikar principality of the Shekhawati province, Jaipur State,' Rajputana. It contains 40 lines of writing, and is somewhat damaged. It seems to open with *Oṁ oṁ namaḥ Śivāya.* The first verse pays obeisance to Gajānana; the next 10 verses eulogise Śiva, who appears to have been given the name Harṣa. Verse 12 praises the 'mansion of the divine Harṣadeva.'[1] Verses 13-27 trace the genealogy of the Cāhamānas from Gūvaka I to Vigraharāja II. The inscription then gives an account of 'a line of ascetics who were in charge of the temple of Harṣanātha,' relating that in the country of Ananta (*Ananta-gocara*) there lived Viśvarūpa, 'who was a teacher of the Lākula doctrine[2] expounding *pañcārtha*.' His disciple was the Brāhman Bhāvirakta, *alias* Allaṭa, of Rāṇapallikā.[3] Allaṭa, who was like Nandin, began the building[4] of the temple of Harṣanātha with the wealth received from pious people. The temple was completed in (V.) S. 1013 (*c*. 956 A.D.); but Allaṭa died in (V.) S. 1027 (A.D. 970) before he could accomplish all his designs. The works were completed by Allaṭa's disciple Bhāvadyota[5] at the request of his preceptor. The architect of the temple was Caṇḍaśiva, 'omniscient like Viśakarman in the art of building houses.' The record was composed by Dhīranāga, the pious son of the

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar has tried to show that the description fits in well with the ruined temple where the inscription was found: *IA*, 1913, pp. 57-58.

[2] '*Lākulāmnāya*, a term technical to the philosophy (*darśana*) of the *Lākulīśa-Pāśupata* sect: *ibid*, p. 59.

[3] Identified by Kielhorn with Ranoli, 7 miles east of Harasnath, and one mile west of Shishu: *EI*, Vol. II, p. 119.

[4] D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that he simply repaired the temple, which was built long ago by Gūvāka I; *IA*, 1913, p. 58.

[5] D. R. Bhandarkar points out that Allaṭa and Bhāvadyota are given the epithets *digamala-vasana* and *digambara* respectively. This may indicate that the sect, lika their deity Lakulīśa, who is represented as *Urdha-meḍhra*, was naked. *IA*, 1913, p. 39.

Karaṇika Thīruka. Then is given a list of endowments received by the temple up to (V.) S. 1030 (*c.* 973 A.D.) The *M*-Siṁharāja, after having bathed at Puṣkara-tīrtha[1] had given the villages Siṁhagoṣṭha[2] in the Tūnakūpaka[3]-*dvādaśaka* in the Paṭṭabaddhaka[4]-*Viṣaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Sarahkoṭṭa[5]-*Viṣaya*; his brother Vatsarāja, the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura-*Viṣaya*; king Vigraharāja, the villages of Chatradhārā and Śaṅkarāṇaka; Siṁharāja's other sons, Candrarāja and Govindarāja, two hamlets in the Paṭṭabaddhaka and Darbhakakṣa[6]-*Viṣayas*; Dandhuka, an official (*Duḥsādhya*) of Siṁharāja, the village Mayurapadra in the Khaṭṭakūpa[7]-*Viṣaya*; and a certain Jayanarāja, the village Kolikūpaka. Besides these fields had been given by various pious people at Madrāpurikā, Nimbadikā,[8] Marupallikā, Harṣa and.............. (Ka)lāvanapadra; and taxes on salt and horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by traders (?) at Śākambharī and horsedealers of Uttarāpatha.[9]

Mod. Puskar near Ajmer.

Modern Siṁhot, *ibid.*

Mod. Tunu in the Sikar principality, *IA*, 1913, p. 60.

Mod. Patoda in the Sikar principality, *ibid.*

Mod. Sargot in Marot. Jodhpur, *ibid.*

Mod. Dhakas in the Sikar principality, *ibid.*

7 Mod. Khatu in Sambhar Nizamat, Jaipur State, *ibid.*

8 Mod. Nimra, 4½ miles south of Harasnath, near a salt lake, *EI*, Vol. II, p. 119. D. R. Bhandarkar locates most of the villages mentioned in the Sikar chiefship of Jaipur State: see *IA*, 1913, p. 60.

9 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 116-30. Re-edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA* 1913, pp. 57-64. The record is sometimes called *Haras Inscription*, see *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 14, No. 82. The *Sakrai stone-inscription* is referred by some to the reign of Vigraharāja. It is engraved on a slab 'in the principal niche of the exterior of the shrine' of Śākambharī at Sakrai, some 20 miles distant from Raghunathgarh, Jaipur State, Rajputana. The record has not been properly read but it seems to refer itself to the reign of the *Cāhavāna* prince Vigraharāja. It records that Dayikā, wife of Vatsarāja (no doubt, the paternal uncle of Vigraharāja referred to in the Harṣa inscription) repaired the temple of Śaṅkarādevī. It is dated in *Saṁvatsara* 56 Māgha *Sudi* 5. The date is taken to be a case of omitted hundreds and equivalent to V. S. 1056. *ASI*, *WC*, 1909-10, p. 57; in *EI*, Vol XIX, *Appendix*, p. 17, No. 97 the inscription is referred 'apparently' to the time of king Vatsarāja, successor (?) of Vigraharāja.

This inscription gives the date (V.) S. 1030 (*c*. 973 A.D.) for Vigraharāja. The donatory position of the record also shows that he had two brothers Candrarāja and Govindarāja, and an uncle, named Vatsarāja, brother of Siṁharāja. It appears certain that sometime before this date the Cāhamānas had completely freed themselves from the control of the princes of '*Raghu-kula*' (Gurjara-Pratīhāras). The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* tells us that Vigraharāja extended his conquests as far south as the Narmadī and defeated the Gurjara king Mūlarāja, who fled to Kanthādurga.[1] He is also reported to have built a temple (*dhāma*) for the goddess Āśāpurī on the banks of the Revā at Bhṛgukaccha.[2] The statement of the conflict between Mūlarāja and the king of Śākambharī is remarkably borne out by Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* according to which the 'king of Sapādalakṣa,' who ruled from his capital at Śākambharī, invaded Gujarat, and the distressed Caulukya was forced to take shelter in the fort of Kanthā.[3] The identification of this invader with Vigraharāja is generally accepted. According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, the struggle ended with fatal results for Mūlarāja.[4] I have shown elsewhere [5] that, though it may well be doubted whether Nayacandra is correct in his statement that Mūlarāja was killed by Vigraharāja, there is sufficient reason to believe that he was really defeated by him.

Vigraharāja was succeeded by his younger brother Durlabharāja of whom nothing more was known than the name of his minister, Mādhava, which is supplied by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, until the discovery of the *Kinsariya stone-inscription* of Cacca threw some welcome light on his reign. This was found 'in a temple dedicated to the goddess Kevāy *mātā* and situated on the summit of a hill in the vicinity of a village named Kinsariyā,

1 Vs. 50-51.

2 V. 53.

3 *PC*, pp. 23 ff. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 937 ff.

4 *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 7. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 939.

5 *Ibid.*

4 miles north of Parbatsar, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur State. It is incised on a stone fixed in the wall of the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa.*' It contains 23 lines of somewhat damaged writing. The first verse has peeled off. In the next four verses it invokes Kātyāyaṇī, Kālī, and another deity (name lost). Verse 6 praises the Cāhamāna race. Then it gives the names of Vākpātirāja, Siṁharāja, and Durlabharāja. The latter, we are told, earned the epithet *Durlaṅghya-meru,* as none could transgress his orders. Verse 12 'represents him as having conquered the country called Āsośittana.' [1] Next is given the following genealogy of a line of feudatory princes who traced their descent to the sage Dadhīci and were hence known as Dadhīcika (also Dahiyaka).[2]

In this race:
Meghanāda
|=Māsaṭā
Vairisiṁha
|=Dundā
Cacca
|
Yaśaḥpuṣṭa — Uddharaṇa

Cacca built 'this' temple of Bhavānī, no doubt the temple where this inscription was found. The *praśasti* was composed by the *Gauḍa-Kāyastha* Mahādeva, son of Kalya, a poet. The date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1056 (*c.* 999) is given in line 22.[3]

Durlabharāja was succeeded by his son Govindarāja, whom the *Prabandha-kośa* credits with a victory over Sulṭān Maḥmūd.[4] If the latter is the prince of Ghazni of that name, we must suppose that the Cāhamāna king won some minor success when

[1] Perhaps 'Rāsośittana,' *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 56.

[2] The editor identifies them with the Dahiya Rajputs: See *ibid*, pp. 57 ff. According to *Muhaṇota Naiṇsī*, they originally migrated from Thalner, on the Godavari, near Nasik, into Marwar.

[3] Edited by Ramakarna, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 56-61.

[4] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 269, fn. 2. See also *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, No. XXXIV, Introduction, p. cxxxvi.

Maḥmūd was on his way to Somnath through Jaisalmer and Mallani. But I am disposed to doubt the reliability of this statement, as it is omitted in the much more reliable *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*.

Govindarāja was succeeded by his son Vākpatirāja who according to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* sent Aṁbāprasāda the lord (*pati*) of Āghāṭa, with his army to the abode of Yama and rent his mouth with a dagger (*churikā*).[1] Āghāṭa is modern Ahar, near Udaipur station, and was the ancient capital of the Guhilas. It is therefore certain that this Aṁbāprasāda is to be identified with Ambāprasād or Āmraprasād who is placed in the Guhila list of princes after Śaktikumāra (V.S. 1034 = A.D. 977).[2]

Vākpati II. was succeeded by his son Vīryārāma who is stated by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* to have been killed by the (Paramāra) Bhoja lord of Avanti (*c.* 1010-1055 A.D.).[3] He was succeeded by his younger brother Cāmuṇḍarāja, who built at Narapura[4] a temple of Viṣṇu.[5] The next king, according to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya,* was Vīryārāma's son Durlabharāja III, also called Vīrasiṁha, who is said to have been killed in battle by the *Mātaṅgas*. The commentator Jonarāja explains *Mātaṅga* by the word *Mleccha*.[6] If this interpretation is correct, he may have lost his life in a struggle against an unrecorded invasion of the Yamīnīs from the Lahore region. Durlabha is probably the same as Dūsala of the Bijolia rock inscription; but the latter's father's name is given in the inscription as Siṁhaṭa. Durlabha III was succeeded by his brother Vigraharāja III, who is probably identical with Vīsala of the Bijolia inscription

[1] V, Vs. 59-60.

[2] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 268 and fn. 3; also *HR*, I, pp. 438-39; *ibid*, II, p. 438. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

[3] V. 67.

[4] Narwar, 'situated' in Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer, *JRAS*, 1913, p. 272.

[5] V. 68.

[6] *Mātaṅga-saṁgare = Mleccha saṁgrāme*. The commentator also adds that it may mean *hasti-samare*, which seems to be more probable.

and Viśvala of the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*. According to the Bijolia inscription Vīsala's queen was named Rājadevī. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* states that Vigraharāja gave to Udayāditya of Mālava (*c*. 1059-87 A.D.) a horse named Sāraṅga, with which Udayāditya vanquished the Gurjara Karṇa[1] (*c*. 1064-94 A.D.). If this statement is based on fact, we must reject the statement of Nayacandra, that Karṇa was killed by Viśvala's predecessor Duśala.[2]

Vigraharāja was succeeded by his son Pṛthvīrāja I. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* states that this prince defeated and killed a body of 700 'Caulukyas' who had come to Puṣkara to rob the Brāhmans. He is also reported to have built an *anna-satra* on the road to Somanātha. The Bijolia inscription gives Rasalladevī as the name of his queen. Only one inscriptian has so far been noticed for the reign of Pṛthvīrāja I. This is his *Revasa stone-inscription* found in the temple of Jiṇ-mātā (*Jayantī-mātā*) situated about six miles to the south of Revasa. The latter place is nearly 16 miles NW of Khatu, in the Sambhar Nizamat in Shekhawati, Jaipur State. The goddess inside the temple is 'an eight-handed Mahiṣamardinī'; the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple is 'doubtless old,' and is stated to be not later than the 10th century A. D. The present inscription is incised on the lower part of a pillar of this *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*. It is dated in V.S. 1162 (*c*. 1105 A D.) in the reign of Pṛthvīdeva[3] and records the building of the temple by one Haṭhada, son of Mohila.[4]

Pṛthvīrāja I was succeeded by his son Ajayarāja[5] *alias* Salhaṇa. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, he defeated the

1 Vs. 76-78.

2 *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 59. Though the author does not actually state the dynasty to which Karṇa belonged, the inference is obvious that the Caulukya prince is meant. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 872, *fn*. 2, and 964.

3 'Pṛthvīdeva' is the same as 'Pṛthvīrāja.' Another variant of the name is 'Pṛthvībhaṭa,' which we find in the case of the second prince of that name. See *infra*.

4 Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1909-10, p. 52.

5 Also known as Ajayadeva.

Mātaṅgas (*mlecchas?*) and also Sulhaṇa the king of Mālava. The last statement is confirmed by the Bijolia inscription, which states that Ajayarāja captured in battle Sulhaṇa, the commander-in-chief of the army, tied him to the back of his camel, and brought him to Ajmer.[1] As there was no prince ruling in Mālava during this period who bore the name Sulhaṇa, he must be a general of one of the Paramāra kings, possibly Yaśovarman (*c.* 1134-42 A.D.) These were not the only victories of Ajayarāja. The Bijolia inscription states that he killed three kings, *viz.*, Cāciga, Sindhula, and Yaśorāja, while another stone inscription found in the *Adhai dinkā Jhonprā*, Ajmer,[2] says that he conquered the country up to Ujjain.[3] Besides these conquests, the most important achievement of his reign was the foundation of the city of Ajaya-meru, now known as Ajmer.[4] The author of the *Pṛthvī-rāja-vijaya* eloquently describes the many temples and palaces with which the king beautified this city. No inscription of Ajayarāja has yet been published, but certain silver and copper coins of a prince of the same name bearing the figure of a 'seated goddess on the obverse' which are frequently met with in Rajputana and Mathura, have been referred to him.[5] It is interesting in this connection to note that the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* actually states that he filled this world with his *rūpakas*, made of *Durvarṇa* (silver).[6] It also states that the king's wife (*priyā*) Somalekhā used to coin fresh (*nava*) *rūpakas* every day.[7] In corroboration of this last statement certain silver and copper coins bearing on the obverse[8] the legend *Śrī-Somaladevī* have

1 *JRAS*, 1913, p. 272, fn. 5.

2 Now in the Rajputana Museum.

3 *JRAS*, 1913, p. 272, fn. 5. Ajayarāja was also sometimes called Jayadeva (*JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, p. 41, V. 14) or Jayarāja (*PB*, V, V. 83).

4 *PB*, p. 164; *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 272-73; *IA*, 1897, pp. 162-64.

5 Ojha, *IA*, 1912, pp. 209-11.

6 V. 88. See *infra*, inscription No. 2 of Someśvara which refers to the *Drammas* of Ajayapāla

7 V, vs. 90.

8 Ojha calls this side of the coin 'reverse' but Mr. Allan, Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, told me that it is better to accept Cunningham's practice of calling that side of the coin 'obverse' which bears the royal legend.

been referred to this queen. The silver coins bear on the reverse[1] 'a degraded representation' of a king's head, while the copper coins bear the effigy of a horseman. As the Bijolia inscription actually gives Somalladevī as a variant of the name of Ajayapāla's queen, it seems probable that the coins in question belonged to her.

Ajayarāja was succeeded by his son Arṇorāja. Of his reign only two inscriptions have so far been noticed, *viz.*, his *Revasa* (Jaipur State, Rajputana) *stone-inscriptions*. These are incised on the lower part of a pillar of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the same temple which bears the inscription of his grand-father Pṛthvīrāja I.[2] They are dated in (V.)S. 1196 (*c.* 1139 A.D.) in the reign of Arṇṇarāja (Arṇorāja).[3] The *Dvyāśraya* of Hemacandra states that Āna of Sapādalakṣa bent his head before the Caulukya Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.).[4] Someśvara's *Kīrti-kaumudī* confirms this statement, and adds that, though Jayasiṁha defeated the Śākambharī prince, he gave his daughter as a bride to him.[5] The marriage was no doubt intended to end an era of hostility between the two neighbouring dynasties. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* mentions two queens of Arṇorāja, of whom one came from Gurjara, and the other named Sudhavā from the desert country named *Avīci.*[6] The commentator Jonarāja tells us that the Gurjara queen was named Kāñcanadevī and that she was given away by Jayasiṁha.[7] Hostilities with the Caulukyas seems to have broken out afresh with the accession of Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.) to the throne of Anhilvada. The Jain chronicles record many incidents in connection with this new war. I have, elsewhere,[8] discussed

1 Ojha calls this side 'obverse' but see above.

2 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1070.

3 Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1909-10, p. 52.

4 *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 268.

5 *JRAS*, 1913, p. 274.

6 *Avīcibhāgo marubhūmi-nāma*, *PB*, p. 197. According to Sarda it means Marwar, see *JRAS*, 1913 p. 274.

7 *PB*, p. 198.

8 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 986 ff.

in detail the facts mentioned by them. We shall here mention only two incidents. The first is Arṇorāja's invasion of Kumārapāla's territory, before the latter had consolidated his position on the throne, in support of the cause of Bāhaḍa, the adopted son of Jayasiṁha ; and the second is Arṇorāja's ill-treatment of his wife Devalladevī, who, we are told, was a sister of Kumārapāla. Both these incidents are given by different authorities as causes of war between Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla. Recently Rai Bahadur H. B. Sarda has offered the plausible conjecture that the Jain chroniclers mention only one war while the facts suggest two distinct struggles. He supposes that the first war ended with a marriage-alliance at the beginning of Kumārapāla's career. The *Dvyāśraya* mentions that Arṇorāja brought peace by giving his daughter Jalhaṇā to Kumārapāla. The next war may have been occasioned by the treatment of Devalladevī some time before V.S. 1207 (*c.* 1150 A.D.), the date of Kumārapāla's Chitorgadh stone-inscription.[1]

Besides these struggles, Arṇorāja is reported to have engaged in other conflicts. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*[2] states that he defeated the *Mātaṅgas* and once made a great massacre of the Turuṣkas. The latter, we are told, came across the desert (*Marusthalī*). By the time they reached the Cāhamāna dominions, they were so thirsty that according to Jonarāja they had to drink the blood of their horses by striking their shoulders with their weapons. Arṇorāja, it is said, made a great slaughter of them, and afterwards purified the place, by constructing a lake on the battle-field by diverting the waters of the river Candra,[3] which rises in *Puṣkarāraṇya*. It is evident from these statements that these

[1] *IA*, 1912, pp. 195-96.

[2] *Sarga* VI.

[3] Acc. to Sarda mod. Bandi river, which is in its lower course known as Luni, *JRAS*, 1913, p. 274, fn. 2. In the *IGI*, Vol. XXVI (Atlas), 1931, two rivers are shown with the name Bandi, one is a tributary of the Luni, the other of the river Banas. None of these rises from near Pushkar or flows by the *tīrtha*; the Luni, however takes its rise in the Sambhar lake and flows by Pushkar. Under the circumstances I prefer to identify *Candra* with the *Luni*.

Muslims must have raided the temples of the sacred Puṣkara-tīrtha. This appears to be another unrecorded instance of Muslim invasion of India. Possibly the Turuṣkas were troops of the Yamīnīs of Lahore.

It appears from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* that the reign of Arṇorāja had a violent ending. We read that queen Sudhavā had three sons, who differed from each other as the three *guṇas* (*sattva, rajas* and *tamas*). Of these Vigraharāja was like the *sattva-guṇa*, while the eldest son is reported to have 'rendered the same services to his father as Bhṛgu's son Paraśu Rāma had rendered to his mother.'[1] This certainly indicated that this eldest son murdered his father. But unfortunately neither the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* nor the Bijolia inscription mention his name. The *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, the *Prabandhakośa* and the *Surjan-carita* however give the name of the successor of Aṇāladeva[2] (Arṇorāja?), and the predecessor of Vīsaladeva (Vigraharāja IV) as Jugadeva. It is therefore likely that the eldest prince was named Jugadeva, and that he succeeded in occupying the throne for at least some time. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* however seems to indicate Vigraharāja IV, one of the sons of Sudhavā, as his father's immediate successor. It is not improbable that before Jugadeva had time to consolidate his position on the throne, he was ousted by his younger brother, Vigraharāja. The following records are known for the latter's reign.

(1) *Ajmer stone-inscription* (*i*).—Found in the mosque known as *Aḍhai dinkā Jhonprā*, on the lower slope of the Taragadh hill at Ajmer, Rajputana. It consists of 75 lines of writing. It contains a large portion of the 1st act, the beginning of the 2nd act, the end of the 3rd act and a large portion of the 4th act of *Lalita-Vigraharāja*, a drama (*nāṭaka*) composed by the *Mahākavi* Somadeva in honour of king Vigraharāja of Śākambharī. The preserved

[1] *PB*, VI, pp. 197 ff. *JRAS*, 1913, p. 274. [2] In the *Surjan-carita* Analadeva.

portion of the drama deals with the king's love for Desaladevī, the daughter of prince Vasantapāla,[1] who appears to have lived near or at the town of Indrapura (?). The end of the 3rd act contains a conversation between the king and Śaśiprabhā, a confidante of Desaladevī. Reference is then made to the king's impending 'march against the king of the Turuṣkas.' Two Turuṣka prisoners appear in the 4th act, and spies of the two hostile kings enter their enemies' camps to ascertain their strength and position. The Turuṣka spy announces that the Cāhamāna army 'consists of a thousand elephants, a hundred thousand horses, and a million men,' while the Cāhamāna spy states that 'the Hammīra's army consists of countless elephants, chariots, horses and men.' We are also told that the camp of the Hammīra, which was a *Yojana* distant from 'Vavveraa,'[2] the place where Vigraharāja was then encamped, was 'well guarded.' The Cāhamāna king consults Rāja Siṁhabala, his maternal uncle, and the *Mantri* Śrīdhara as to the course of conduct on the impending struggle. The preserved portion ends with the arrival of a *dūta* from the Hammīra. The record was written and engraved by the learned Bhāskara.[3]

(2) *Ajmer stone-inscription (ii)*.—Found as No. 1 above. It consists of 81 lines of writing, containing portions of the 2nd and 3rd acts and the concluding portions of the 5th act of the *Harakeli-nāṭaka*, a drama composed by the *M.-P.* Vigraharājadeva of Śākambharī. The drama in certain portions seems to have been imitated from the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi. It seems to be intended as a *praśasti* to the god Śiva and his consort Gaurī. In the end the god expresses great

1 Kielhorn suggests that he may be a Tomara chief, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 202, fn. 1.

2 Kielhorn was not sure about the Sanskrit equivalent of this Prakrit form. He however suggested that this may possibly be Vyāghreraka which is mod. Bāghera about 47 miles S. E. of Ajmer: *ibid*, fn. 3. To Barnett Vavveraa looks like Varvaraka (> Vavveraa).

3 Partially edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff. Edited by the same in *Göttinger Festschrift*, 1901, pp. 1-15.

pleasure with the composition of the drama, and tells the author that 'his fame as a poet is to last for ever.' The inscription was written by the same as No. 1. He is described here as the grandson of the learned Govinda, 'who was born in the family of Hūṇa princes and was, on account of his manifold excellences, a favourite of king Bhoja.' It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1210 (A.D. 1153).[1]

(3) *Lohari stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Bhūteśvara near the village of Lohari in the Jahazpur district of the Udaipur State. It records that during the reign of the illustrious Vīsaladeva, in V. (S.) 1211 (*c.* 1155 A.D.), the great Pāśupata priest Viśveśvaraprajña adorned the temple of Siddheśvara,[2] with a *maṇḍapa.*[3]

(4) *Delhi Siwalik Pillar-inscriptions.*—Incised on the pillar which is known as Fīrūz Shāh's Lāṭ or the Siwalik Pillar, which contains the inscriptions of Aśoka. It is reported that the original site of the pillar was near Khizrabad, immediately west of the Jumna, at the foot of Siwalik mountains, whence it was removed to Delhi by Fīrūz Shāh (A.D. 1351-88). There are three short inscriptions on the pillar The first consists of only 3 lines, giving the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1220 (A.D. 1164) in the reign of the Śākambharī king Vīsaladeva, the son of Ānnalladeva.[4] The second inscription, of four lines, contains a short *praśasti* of king Vigraha or Vigraharāja. The third inscription, in six lines, also contains a *praśasti* of the 'ornament of the Cāhamānas,' Vīsala also called Vigraharāja of Śākambharī, who is said to have conquered the whole region from the Vindhyas to the Himalayas and repeatedly exterminated the Mlecchas. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1220 (A.D. 1164), and was written at the king's command in the presence of the

[1] Partially edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff. Edited by the same in *Göttinger Festschrift*, 1901, pp. 16-30.

[2] Now known as Bhūteśvara.

[3] Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, p. 2.

[4] A variant of Arṇorāja, see *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 48, fn. 2. Kielhorn read the name as Āvelladeva.

astrologer Tilakarāja by the *Gauḍa Kāyastha* Śrīpati, when the *Rājaputra* Saliakṣaṇa was serving as the *Mahā-mantri*.[1]

These inscriptions range from V. S. 1210 to 1220 corresponding to *c.* 1153 to 1164 A.D. The last of them shows that by 1164 A.D. the Cāhamāna dominions had spread northwards to the foot-hills of the Himalayas, and perhaps may have included a substantial portion of the Punjab lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna. This extension of power in the Punjab must have brought Vigraharāja IV, into repeated conflict with the Yamīnīs of Ghaznī and Lahore. It is therefore natural that the inscriptions should refer to repeated victories over the *Turuṣkas* and *Mlecchas*. The success of his arms was no doubt largely due to the rapid decline of the Yamīnī power [2] during the administration of Khusrau Shāh Mu'izz ud-Daulaḥ (A.D. 1152-60) and Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (A.D. 1160-86). The Bijolia inscription of Someśvara refers to the conquest of Ḍhillikā and Āśikā by Vigraharāja,[3] while the Siwalik pillar inscription claims that the Cāhamāna prince made *Āryāvarta* 'once more the abode of the Āryas' by exterminating the Mlecchas. According to some inscriptions of the 14th century, the town of Delhi and the neighbouring region, then known as the 'land of Hariyānaka,' were conquered by the Cāhamānas from the Tomaras.[4] In the S. W. Vigraharāja's arms appear to have reached the valley of the river Sukri. The Bijolia inscription seems to state that he reduced Pallikā and Naddūla [5] and burnt the town of Jāvālipura, which is to be identified with modern Jalor in

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 215-19. First noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, 1788, Vol. I, pp. 379-82, and then in 1801, *ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 179-81. Lines 1-4 of the 3rd inscription are quoted in Sāraṅgadhara's *Paddhati*, Peterson's Ed., Nos. 1255 and 1256. See *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 216, fn. 5.

[2] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 111-115; *TA*, Trans., pp. 37-38. *TF* (Briggs' Trans.), Vol. I, pp. 155-59. *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 37 ff. and 688.

[3] V. 22; see *JRAS*, 1913, p. 276, fn. 1. *JASB*, 1886, Part I, pp. 31 and 42. *Āśikā* is sometimes spelt *Āsikā*, see *infra*, p. 1078.

[4] See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 93; *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 104-10; and *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 17-27. Also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Tomaras*.

[5] See *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 62, fn. 4.

Jodhpur State.[1] Whether his power really extended so far south as the Vindhyas is more than doubtful. For though the Paramāras during this period could offer no effective resistance to his arms, his reign synchronised with that of the powerful Caulukya monarch Kumārapāla (*c.* 1141-73 A.D.) for whom we have epigraphic records in Kirādu, Ratanpur and Bhatund in Marwar, Chitor in Mewar, and Udayapur in the Gwalior State. It rather seems that, seeing on his southern frontier such a formidable rival, he turned his whole attention to the northern region, where the fortunate decline of the Yamīnīs assured him of success. The capture of Delhi and the land between the Jumna and the Sutlej made his dynasty the guardian of the gates to the Ganges-Jumna Valley,[2] and, as subsequent history shows, the Cāhamānas had to bear the first shock of the revived Muslim power that was gradually issuing out from the hills of Ghūr.[3]

By his combination of military gifts with literary merit Vigraharāja seems to have revived the memory of such rulers as Muñja and Bhoja. But, unlike them, he seems to have escaped a tragic end. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* declares that with his death the name of 'the friend of the poets' disappeared.[4] He was succeeded by his son Apara-Gāṅgeya[5] and the latter by Pṛthvībhaṭa, the son of the eldest son of Sudhavā (*i.e.*, Jugadeva?). The following inscriptions are known for this prince's reign:

(1) *Hansi stone-inscription.*—Originally found on the wall of a building at Hansi, in the Hissar district of the Punjab. It contains 22 lines, opening with salutation to an unspecified goddess.

[1] V. 21. *JASB*, 1886, Part I, pp. 81 and 42.

[2] *JL*, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 8-9.

[3] The Shansabānīah dynasty of Ghūr is now regarded by some as of Iranian origin, see *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 38. Though this may possibly be so, there is little doubt that the most important officers and the bulk of the men who entered India with the Ghūrids were of Turkish origin.

[4] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 276.

[5] See *JRAS*, 1913, p. 276. Abu'l-Faẓl (*AAK*, Vol. II, p. 298) possibly gives a variant of this name as Amr Gangū. The *Prabandha-kośa* also gives the name as Amara-Gāṅgeya. *Reports on Sanskrit MSS. in S. India* by Hultzsch, No. III, 1905, p. 114.

Then follows a verse invoking Murāri. V. 2 refers to the Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīrāja and his maternal uncle, Kilhaṇa; V. 3 informs us that the latter belonged to the Gūhilaüta tribe. The verse following tells us that thinking of Hammīra who had become the cause of the anxiety of the world, the king put Kilhaṇa in charge of the fort of Āsikā.[1] The proper object of the inscription was probably to record that Kilhaṇa erected a *pratolī* (or gateway) and near it two *koṣṭhakas* or granaries. The flag on the *pratolī*, we are told, 'set Hammīra as it were at defiance.' The rest of the inscription is devoted to a *praśasti* of Kilhaṇa, comparing him to Hanumān and Pṛthvīrāja to Rāma. V. 11 'refers to his having burnt Paṁcapura[2] and captured but not killed its lord.' The record was composed by Lakṣmaṇa of the Doḍa[3] race, a servant of Kilhaṇa. The date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1224 (*c.* 1168 A.D.) comes at the end.[4]

(2) *Menal stone-inscription.*—Found at Menal in Udaipur State, Rajputana. 7 lines, opening with *Svasti*, followed by the date, (V.) *Saṁvat* 1225 (*c.* 1168 A.D.). It refers to some endowments made by *Mahārājñī* Suhavadevī, queen of Pṛthvīrāja II, to the god Suhaveśvara.[5]

(3) *Dhod stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Rūṭhi Rāṇī at Dhod, in the Jahazpur district of Mewar. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1225 (*c.* 1169 A.D.) and records that during the reign of *P.-Pb.* Pṛthiṁvideva (Pṛthvīdeva), the lord of Śākambharī, his feudatory *Adhirāja* Kumārapāla, son of *Ṭha(kkura)* Maṅgalarāja erected the temple of Nityapramoditadeva,[6] at Dhavagarttā.[7] Kumārapāla is said to be the chief of Uparamvāla Antarī.[8] The record mentions

[1] According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is doubtless Hansi. *IA*, 1912, p. 17.

[2] Identified with 'Pāchapattana' on the Sutlej, *ibid*, p. 18.

[3] One of the recognised 36 royal races of Rajasthan. Bhandarkar thinks that they are the Doḍs or the Doḍias, a clan of the Paramāras, *ibid*.

[4] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, pp. 17-19. First published in the *Asiatic Researches*, by Captain E. Fell, Vol. XV, pp. 443-46.

[5] Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, pp. 59-60, No. 2191.

[6] Now known as Ruthi Rāni's temple.

[7] Mod. Dhod.

[8] *Uparamāla Āntarī* ?

Rājñī Suhavadevī, apparently a queen of the Cāhamāna prince.[1]

(4) *Menalgarh pillar-inscription.*—Found on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace in Menalgarh in Mewar. It records the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) by Bhāva Brahma, while the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja was reigning in V.S. 1226 (A.D. 1170).[2]

These inscriptions range from 1224 to 1226 V.S., corresponding to *c.* 1167-1170 A.D. As the last recorded date of his predecessors is A. D. 1164 and the first of his successors A.D. 1170, Pṛthvībhaṭa's reign appears to have been short. It has been assumed that his succession to the throne was not peaceful. The Dhod stone-inscription mentioned above is reported to contain a statement that he won a victory over the king of Śākambharī by the strength of his arms.[3] This seems to indicate that Apara-Gāṅgeya, who according to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* died unmarried, was forcibly removed from his throne by him. The only important point in Pṛthvīrāja's reign is his conflict with the Muslims, which is revealed by the Hansi stone-inscription. If the identification of ' Paṁcapura ' with ' Pāchapattana ' on the Sutlej is accepted, he must have had some success in these conflicts against the Yamīnī prince Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (1160-86), who is described by Minhāj as ' of excessive mildness and beneficence......but addicted to pleasure.' [4]

Pṛthvīrāja was succeeded in 1170 A.D. by his uncle Someśvara, son of Kāñcanadevī, the daughter of the Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, the interval between his father's death and his own accession to the throne was spent by Someśvara in the court of the Caulukyas Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla. We are told that the former, hearing that Someśvara's son would be an incarnation of Rāma,

[1] *RMR*, 1923, p. 2.

[2] Noticed by Shyamal Das, *JASB*, 1886, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 15-16 and 46.

[3] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 276, fn. 2.

[4] *TN*, Vol. I, p. 114.

took away his grandson to his own capital.[1] After his death his successor Kumārapāla continued to favour the Cāhamāna prince, so much so that his name 'protector of Kumāra' became a significant one.[2] In the course of Kumārapāla's campaign against Konkan, Someśvara is said to have cut off the head of the prince of that country.[3] While living in the court of Kumārapāla he appears to have married the daughter of a Kalacuri prince of Tripurī.[4] According to Jonarāja, the commentor, the name of the princess was Karpūradevī.[5] By her he had two sons, Pṛthvīrāja and Harirāja. The former was born at the end of Vaiśākha, when Mars was in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Jupiter in Pisces, the Sun in Aries, the Moon in Taurus, and Mercury in Gemini.[6] Harirāja was born in Māgha, Śudī, 3. It is said that these sons were born when Vigraharāja IV was still on the throne. After the death of Pṛthvīrāja II the ministers brought him to the Sapādalakṣa country and placed him on the throne. It is therefore likely that on his accession he was already a man of mature years. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Bijolia*[7] *rock-inscription.*—Found in the village of Bijolia in Mewar about 100 miles from the capital (Udaipur). It appears to be a Jain record, and opens with salutations to Pārśvanātha and other Jain divinities. Vs. 10 to 26 are devoted to the Cāhamāna genealogy which is traced from

[1] *PB*, p. 198; *JRAS*, 1913, p. 274.   [2] *PB*, p. 235; *JRAS*, 1913, p. 275.

[3] But see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 991, where the credit is given to Āmbaḍa.

[4] Tripurī-puraṃ(da)ra. The tribal name is given as Kalicurya. The name of the father is Acalarāja, see *JRAS*, 1913, p. 277. I am unable to identify this prince of Tripurī. See *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Haihayas*, pp. 751 ff. I fear it was an exaggeration of the poet to represent him as a ruler of Tripurī. He may have been a petty chief in the Caulukya court who claimed Haihaya lineage and ralationship with the Tripurī branch.

[5] *PB*, *Fasc.* III, p. 237. Sarda wrongly gives the name as Kārpuradevī. The marriage and the correct name of the queen are also mentioned in *Hammīra-mahākāvya*; see Text, p. 16.

[6] The position of Venus, the ascending and descending nodes, are lost through damage to the MSS. *JRAS*, 1913, p. 275.

[7] Sarda calls it 'Bijolian,' Kielhorn spells 'Bijholi' and D. R. Bhandarkar 'Bijolia.'

Sāmanta to Someśvara. V. 27 seems to state that the last ruler had the *biruda Pratāpa-Laṅkeśvara*. V. 28 states that he gave the village of Rewna to the 'self-existent Pārśvanātha.' Vs. 29-30 apparently give the genealogy of the person who built a temple to house the deity. It is dated towards the end in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1226 (A D. 1170).[1]

(2) *Dhod stone-inscription* (*i*).—Engraved on a pillar in the Rūṭhī Rānī temple at Dhod in Jahazpur, Mewar. It records that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1228 (*c.* 1171 A.D.), during the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.* Someśvara, the *Karaṇika* Brāhman *Mahantama* Cāhaḍa, son of Vijai, sold his house to the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for 16 *drammas* (coins) of Ajayadeva.[2]

(3) *Dhod stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Found as No. 2 above. It records that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1229 (*c.* 1172 A.D.), when *Pb.-M.-P.* Someśvara, was ruling at Ajayameru-*durga* in the county of Sapādalakṣa, *Bhaṭṭāraka* Prabhāsarāśi built a monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of Kāpālika ascetics from foreign countries.[3]

(4) *Revasa stone-inscription*.—Incised on a pillar in the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Jiṇ-Mātā, about 16 miles N. W. of Khatu, in the Sambhar Nizamat of Shekhawati, Jaipur State. It records that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1230 (*c.* 1174 A.D.), in the reign of Someśvara, one Ālhṇa, son of Udaïrā, rebuilt the *maṇḍapa* of the temple.[4]

(5) *Anvaldā stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a *Satī*-pillar. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1234 (*c.* 1177 A.D.) and records that during the reign of *M.* Someśvara the memorial stone was erected in honour of Sindarā(ja), son of Ḍoḍa Rā(o) Siṁgharā(ja).[5]

These five inscriptions noticed above range from V.S. 1226 to 1234, corresponding roughly to *c.* 1169-1177 A.D. As we have an inscription of his successor, dated in V.S. 1233 (A.D.

[1] Badly edited by Kaviraj Shyamal Das in *JASB*, 1886, Vol. XL, Part I, pp. 14-15, 28-32 and 40-46. The record ought to be re-edited. For the date, see *IA*, 1891, p. 133, No. 114 and fn. 21.

[2] Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1910, p. 52.

[5] Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, p. 2.

1180), Someśvara's reign must have ended sometime before that date. Besides these inscriptions, coins of billion or copper of the 'Bull and horseman type' of Someśvara are known.[1] The obverse bears the figure of a horseman with the legend *Śrī-Someśvara-deva*, and the reverse the figure of a humped bull and the legend *Āśāvarī śrī Śāma* (*ntadeva*). It seems from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* that when Someśvara died his eldest son Pṛthvīrāja III was still a minor. 'So before leaving this world he had appointed the *Devī* or the queen (Karpūradevī) to protect his son in his childhood.'[2] The author of the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* gives eloquent description of the prosperity of the Cāhamāna kingdom during the Queen's regency. It appears that she was ably assisted in her administration by the minister Kādamba Vāsa.[3] On his reaching the age of discretion Pṛthvīrāja seems to have been assisted by another officer named Bhuvanaikamalla, who is reported to have come to the Cāhamāna court to find out how 'the son of his elder brother's daughter' was protecting this earth. While Kādamba Vāsa is compared with Hanumān, Bhuvanaikamalla is described as a veritable Garuḍa, who served Pṛthvīrāja and his brother Harirāja, the two incarnations of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. 'Just as Rāma, with the help of Garuḍa and Hunumān crossed the sea and did other things, so Pṛthvīrāja, with the help of Hanumān-like Kādamba Vāsa and Garuḍa-like Bhuvanaikamalla, did many things for the welfare of the people.'[4] The following records are so far known for the reign of this prince :

(1) *Lohari stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a *Satī*-pillar. It is dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1236 (*c.* 1180 A.D.), and records that during the reign of Pṛthvīrāja, the memorial was set up in honour of Jalasala, son of Vāgaḍī Salakhaṇa, by his mother Kālhī. It contains the names of 9 ladies who became *Satī* on this occasion.[5]

[1] *CCIM*, pp. 257 and 261.
[2] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 277.
[3] Or Kadamba Vāma. See *JRAS*, 1913, p. 277 and fn. 1.
[4] *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 278-79
[5] Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, pp. 2-3; see also *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62, No. 2285; *IA*, Vol. 1927, p. 49, fn. 15.

(2) *Madanpur stone-inscriptions.*—These are three in number, and were found in the large temple of Śiva at Madanpur, which is situated at the head of one of the principal passes leading from Saugor (C. P.) to Lalitpur, Jhansi and Gwalior. It is 24 miles to the S.E. of Dudahi, 35 miles to the S.S.E. of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north of Saugor. Inscription No. (*i*) records the name of Pṛthvīrāja of the Cāhumāna-vaṁśa, who came to the country of king Paramardi. No (*ii*) gives the genealogy of Pṛthvīrāja as grandson of Arṇorāja and son of Someśvara. We are then told, that in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1239 (*c.* 1182-83 A.D.) he conquered the country of Jejāka-bhukti. No. (*iii*) gives the names of Candraśekhara, Tryambaka and Tripurāntaka indicating that the temple where his inscription was placed was a Śaiva shrine.[1]

(3) *Udaipur stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a *Satī*-pillar; dated in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1244 (*c.* 1188 A.D.) in the reign of *M.* Pṛthvīrāja.[2]

(4) *Visalpur stone-inscription.*—It was found on a pillar in the temple of Gokarṇanātha at Visalpur near Rajmahal in the Jaipur State. The temple, as well as the town, is said to have been founded by Vīsaladeva (Vigraharāja IV). The record is dated in (V.) S. 1244 (*c.* 1187-88 A.D.), in the reign *Pb.-M.-P.* Pṛthvīrāja. The object is to register some donations to the temple of the god Gokarṇa at Vigrahapura,[3] in the *Sapādalakṣa* country.[4]

(5) *Bajta image-inscription.*—Found 'engraved on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeśa, kept in a niche in a temple of Mīāṁ Mātā near Bajta,' in the Estate of Savar, Rajputana. It records that the image was made by one Rājala, son of *Mahāṁ* Rāṁvata, an officer of Pithimadeva (=Pṛthvīdeva=Pṛthvīrāja) in (V.) *Saṁvat* 1245 (*c.* 1189 A.D.).[5]

1 *ASR*, Vol. XX, Plate XXXII, Nos. 9, 10 and 11; *ibid*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74, Nos. 9-11.

2 Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62, No. 2224. The stone is now in Victoria Museum, Udaipur (Mewar).

3 Same as mod. Visalpur or Bisalpur.

4 Noticed in *ASR*, Vol. VI, p. 156, Plate XXI. Also in *ASI*, *WC*, 1921, pp. 55-56.

5 *RMR*, 1911-12, p. 2.

These inscriptions range from V. S. 1236 to 1245 corresponding to *c.* 1179 to 1189 A. D. Besides these records, silver and billion coins of the usual 'Bull and horseman' type, which were first imitated by his father, have also been discovered for his reign.[1] I have elsewhere [2] discussed the stories of Pṛthvīrāja's hostility with the Candrātreya Madanavarman and the Gāhaḍavāla Jayaccandra. The story of the *Svayaṁvara* of the latter's daughter Samyogitā and her abduction by Pṛthvīrāja as told by the *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* of Cand Bardāi,[3] reads more like romance than history. The chronology of this Hindi Epic has been shown to be full of absurdities,[4] and undoubtedly in its present state it contains much unhistorical matter. Nevertheless there is good ground to believe that the facts narrated by him, though exaggerated, have an historical kernel. Thus the Madanpur inscriptions of Pṛthvīrāja really show that he was on hostile terms with the Candella monarch, and had invaded and plundered, if not annexed, a large portion of the Candella territory beyond the Betwa. Whether Pṛthvīrāja actually captured Mahoba and plundered Kalinjar, as Cand says, is more than can be admitted at present. But I have shown from the Candella records that there was friendship between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Candellas,[5] and the struggle which according to Cand was opened with the battle on the Pahuj may well have been a duel between these two allies on one hand and the Cāhamānas on the other. The *Vyāyoga Pārtha-parākrama* indirectly refers to hostilities between the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja and the Caulukya Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241

[1] *CCIM*, pp. 261-62.

[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. III, pp. 719 ff., chapter on the *Candrātreyas*; also *ibid*, Vol. I, p. 541.

[3] The Benares edition (1913) of this work, brought out by Mohanlal Vishanlal Pandia and Sham Sundar Dass, is useful but a more critical edition, with historical and geographical notes and an index, would be very valuable for the history of this period.

[4] See Kaviraj Syamal Das in *JASB*, 1887, Vol. LV, pp. 5-65; also Haldar in *JBRAS*, 1927, pp. 203-211.

[5] *Supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 541; *ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 711 and 720; also *TN*, Vol. I, p. 466, fn. 1.

A.D). We are told that the Ābu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, a feudatory of the lord of Anahillapāṭaka repulsed a nocturnal attack of the king of Jāṅgala.[1] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* mentions a victory of the Cāhamāna prince over one Nāgārjuna, who had besieged Guḍpur. Unfortunately neither the prince nor the locality mentioned can at present be identified. But it contains significant allusions to the rise of a 'beef-eating *mleccha* named Ghorī' in the North-West who had captured Garjani (Ghaznī).

The last of the Yamīnīs, Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (1160-86 A.D.) whose dominion had so long separated the leader of this new horde of invaders from the Cāhamānas, had been removed. The Ghurī and the Cāhamāna now stood face to face. The Muslim knew that the wealth of the rich cities and temples in the Jumna-Ganges valley and beyond could only be secured by the destruction of this Hindu power which held the key of the Delhi gate. The Cāhamāna knew, and expected no quarter. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* tells us that hearing of the activities of the 'Mleccha Ghorī,' he vowed to exterminate the Mlecchas. The Muslim chief, we are told, hearing of this vow, sent an ambassador to Ajmer. This man "had a wide forehead but no hair on his head. The colour of his beard, eyebrows and the eyelashes was of the grapes that came from Ghazni, and his speech was like that of the wild birds; it had no cerebrals. His complexion was like that of a leper, and he wore a long *coga*. Rājās took shelter in fortress in fear of him. When these fiends in the shape of men took possession of Nadūl (Nadol), the warriors of Pṛthvīrāja took up their bows and arrows and the emperor became angry and resolved to lay the Ghori's glory in the dust." But his *Pratīhāra* soon brought the welcome news that the king of Gujarat had utterly destroyed the 'Ghorī' forces.[2] This Muslim invasion is no doubt the same as that which was undertaken by Mui'zz ud-Dīn Ghūrī in A. H. 574 (A.D.

[1] *GOS*, No. IV, 1917, pp. ii and 3. For a traditional story of hostilities between the Cāhamāna and the Caulukya princes, see *Ras*, Vol. I, pp. 202 ff.

[2] *JRAS*, 1913, p. 279.

1178), and which was beaten back by the young Bhīma, the Caulukya king of Anhilvada.[1] It is clear from the account of the royal *praśastikāra* that the Cāhamāna offered no material assistance to his cousins at Naḍḍūla or to the Caulukya king Bhīma. It was very fortunate for the Hindu principalities that the Muslims were beaten back this time. But this policy of the Indian States which kept their efforts against their common foe isolated and prevented them from offering a concerted front, was soon to bear disastrous results. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, in 587 A. H. (1191 A.D.) Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī (Mui'zz ud-dīn) "caused the forces of Islām to be organised, and advanced against the fortress of Tabarhindah[2] and took that stronghold, and made it over to the charge of the Malik Ẓiyā-ud-dīn, the Ḳāẓī Muḥammad-i-' Abd-us-Sallām, Nisāwī, Tūlakī...... They selected 1,200 horses from the forces of Hindūstān and Ghaznīn, all men of Tūlak and the whole of them were ordered to join his khayl (band or division) and were located within that fortress under the stipulation, that they should hold it for a period of eight months, until the Sultan-i-Ghāzī should return again from Ghaznīn ; but the Rāe Kolah[3] Pithorā, however had arrived near

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 451-52; *TA*, Trans., p. 36; see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II pp. 1016 ff., chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

[2] See *TN*, Vol. I, p. 457, fn. 3. Some MSS. have Tabarhindh. But Raverty notes that the printed text has Sirhind. The *TA*, *Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā* and *Khulāṣat-ut Tawārikh* also have Sirhind. According to Thornton's Gazetteer of India, London, 1886, (p. 872), Sirhind is the name of the tract "consisting of the N. E. portion of the plain which intervenes between the Jumna and the Sutlej rivers. It includes the British Districts of Umballa, Ludhiana and Firozpur, together with the native States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha; in the historical sense it embraces the level plain between the Himalayas and the Desert of Bikaner, the Sutlej and the Jumna." Budā'unī has Tarhindāh, and says it was Jaipāl's capital. Firishta has Pathindah or Bhathindah. The *Lubb ut-Tawārikh-i-Hind* says 'Tabarhindah, now known by the name of Biṭhandah.' Considering all these facts, it seems probable that the fortress meant was really located at Bhatinda, in the Patiala State.

[3] On this see *TN*, Vol. I, p. 458, fn. 6. Raverty shows that *golak* (corrupted into *golah* or *kolah*) means an illegitimate offspring. According to the *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* Kolah was the son of Pithorā. Raverty holds that Minhāj has apparently confused the two names; and this seems more likely, because he has not said a single word about Pithora's son having been set up by the Musulmans at Ajmer. The *TA* (Trans., p. 38) has 'Pithora, the Rāi of Ajmer.'

at hand and the Sultān marched to Tarā'īn to meet him. The whole of the Rānās [1] of Hind were along with the Rāe Kolah. When the ranks were duly marshalled the Sulṭan seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Govind Rāe, Rāe[2] of Dihlī, was mounted, and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sulṭān-i-Ghāzī, who was the Ḥaidar of the time, and a second Rustam, charged and struck Govind Rāe on the mouth with his lance with such effect that two of that accursed one's teeth fell into his mouth. He launched a javelin at the Sultān of Islām and struck him in the upper part of the arm and inflicted a very severe wound. The Sulṭān turned his charger's head round and receded, and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islām so that it was irretrievably routed, and the Sultān was nearly falling from his horse. Seeing which a lion-hearted warrior, a Khalj stripling, recognised the Sulṭān and sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the battle. On the Musalmān forces not seeing the Sultān, lamentation broke from them, until they reached a place of safety where the defeated army was safe from pursuit by the infidels.'' [3]

The Muslim army thus returned to Ghaznī, seemingly without being seriously troubled by the pursuit of the victorious

[1] In some MSS. Rāes; others perhaps with more truth have 'a number of Rajput princes;' *TN*, Vol. I, p. 459, fn. 8.

[2] He apparently led the van of the Cāhamāna army. The *TA*. (Trans., p. 39) gives the name as 'Khandi Rai,' *TF* (Briggs, Trans., Vol. I, p. 172), gives 'Chawund Ray.' Cand calls him Rai Govind. See *TA*, Trans., p. 39, fn. 1; *TN*, Vol. I, p. 459, fn. 9.

[3] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 457-63. *TA*, Trans., pp. 38-39; *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 171-73. Briggs (Firishta) gives the place of battle as "Narain now called Tirowry on the bank of the Soorsutty, 14 miles from Thenesur, and 80 miles from Dehly." But Raverty (*TN*, Vol. I, p. 459, fn. 7) pointed out that Briggs had committed a mistake. The name on the lithographed edition of the text of Firishta, revised by Briggs himself, is clearly given as 'Tarā'in,' as in the *TN*. It is not unlikely that Briggs meant by his 'Tirowry,' the place mentioned by Mīrzā Mughal Beg on the royal road from Karnal to Thanesar as 'Aẓīmābād-i-Talāwaṛī.

Cāhamānas. This was a great blunder. Pṛthvīrāja soon after his victory invested the fort of Tabarhindah, and after a siege of 13 months compelled the Qāzī of Tūlak to capitulate and hand it over. After this success Pṛthvīrāja pitched his camp 'in the neighbourhood of Tarā'īn.' In the meantime Mu'izz ud-Dīn had completely reorganised his forces, and 'in the following year' (*i.e.*, A.H. 588 = A.D. 1192) appeared in the field of Tarā'īn with a cavalry force one hundred and twenty thousand strong, 'arrayed in defensive armour.' Minhāj tells us that the Sulṭān left 'the centre division of the army, the baggage, the standards and banners, his canopy of state and elephants,' several miles in the rear. He then advanced in a leisurely manner with the more mobile section of his troops. "The light-armed and unencumbered horsemen he had directed should be divided into four divisions, and had appointed them to act against the infidels on four sides; and the Sulṭān had commanded, saying: 'It is necessary that, on the right and left and front and rear, 10,000 mounted archers should keep the infidel host in play; and when their elephants, horsemen and foot advance to the attack, you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse's course in front of them.'[1] The Musalmān troops acted according to these instructions, and having exhausted and wearied the unbelievers, Almighty God gave the victory to Islām, and the infidel host was overthrown. Rāe Pithorā, who was riding an elephant, dismounted and got upon a horse and fled from the field until in the neighbourhood of (the) Sarsutī,[2] he was taken prisoner, and they

[1] The object was no doubt to harass the Indians and to induce them to break their order. Raverty quotes from another authority that the Sulṭān divided his army into 5 divisions, four of which with 10,000 light and horse-mounted archers were to attack the enemy from all sides, often pretending flight. This went on from 9 A.M. to the afternoon, when, finding the enemy tired and worn out, he charged them with the fifth division of 12,000 horse, the flower of his army, and carried everything before him. *TN*, Vol. I, p. 468, fn. 2. *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 176-77.

[2] Sarasvatī, probably the river of that name, see Thornton, *Gazetteer*, p. 820. It rises in the Sirmur State in Lat. 30° 23′, Long. 77° 19′, and flows through Ambala and Karnal. There was also a city of this name on its banks; see *TA*, Trans., p. 39, fn. 2.

despatched him to hell; and Govind Rāe of Dihlī was slain in the engagement. The Sultān recognised his head through those two teeth which had been broken. The seat of government, Ajmīr, with the whole of the (territory), such as Hānsī, Sursuti [1] and other tracts were subjugated. These events took place, and this victory was achieved, in the year 588 H.; and the Sulṭān placed Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ībak, in the fort of Kuhṛām, and returned home.'' [2]

Ḥasan Niẓāmī, almost a contemporary, adds some interesting details of this conflict. We are told that on reaching Lahore Mu'izz ud-Dīn sent an officer calling upon Pithora Rāe "to embrace the Musalmān faith and acknowledge his supremacy. The Chohan prince sent an indignant reply; and having received aid from most of the Rājās of Hind, with 300,000 horse......advanced to meet him......Pithora Rāe sent a message to the Sultān, saying 'It is advisable thou shouldst retire to thine own country, and we will not follow thee.' The Sulṭān in order to deceive him, and throw him off his guard, replied: "It is by command of my brother, my sovereign, that I come here and endure trouble and pain: give me sufficient time that I may despatch an intelligent person to my brother, to represent to him an account of thy power, and that I may obtain his permission to conclude a peace with thee under the terms that Tarhind (Tabarhindah), the Panjāb, and Multan shall be ours, and the rest of the country thine.' The leaders of the infidel forces, from this reply, accounted the army of Islam as of little consequence, and, without any care or concern, fell into the slumber of remissness. That same night the Sulṭān made his preparations for battle, and, after the dawn of the morning, when the Rājputs had left their

[1] 'Ibn-i-Baṭūṭah calls Sursutī a great city. In Akbar's time Sursutī was one of the Maḥalles of Sirkar Sanbhal.' *TN*, Vol. I, p. 468, fn. 3.

[2] TN, Vol. I, pp. 465-69; *TA*, Trans; p. 39; Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 173-78. Firishta gives the number of the Cāhamāna army as 300,000 horse and 3,000 elephants, and the number of princes assembled in the camp as 150.

camp for the purpose of obeying calls of nature, and for the purpose of performing ablutions, he entered the plain with his ranks marshalled. Although the unbelievers were amazed and confounded, still in the best manner they could, they stood to fight and sustained a complete overthrow."[1] As Ḥasan Niẓāmī was almost contemporary, and as the story is also repeated in Firishtā,[2] I am disposed to believe that there may be some truth in it. It is quite possible that Mu'izz ud-Dīn really attacked the Hindu camp during a truce which the Cāhamāna generals accepted as genuine.

This battle practically put an end to the sovereignty of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. After this battle Quṭb ud-Dīn appears to have captured Ajmer from 'Kola,' who according to Elliots' interpretation of *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir*[3] was the 'natural son' of the Rāī of Ajmīr. He appears to have been taken prisoner but 'managed to obtain his release or at least immunity from punishment.' But on account of his 'ancient hatred against the Musulmans' which was deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart, he 'appears to have been detected in some intrigue.' Orders were therefore issued for his death and 'the diamond-like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body.' "The son of Rāi Pithaura," continues Ḥasan Niẓāmī, "in whose qualities and habits the proof of courage and the indexes of wisdom were apparent, and who, both abroad and at home, exhibited familiarity with rectitude, and prognostications of goodness was appointed to the government of Ajmīr." Delhi and Meerut were captured soon after. Everything seemed to have been settled now so far as the Cāhamānas are concerned. But Niẓāmī tells us that Quṭb ud-Dīn soon received intelligence "from Rantanbor that Hirāj, the brother of the Rāi of Ajmīr, had gone into rebellion and had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Rantanbor and that the son

[1] Quoted from *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* by Raverty in *TN*, Vol. I, p. 466, fn. 1.
[2] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 175-76. [3] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 214-15.

of Pithaurā, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court, was in a state of extreme danger. On receiving this intelligence, "Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn........................departed for Rantanbor, passing over hill and desert like a wild ass or an antelope. When Hirāj heard of the arrival of the auspicious standards............he placed the hand of weakness in the skirts of flight, and for the fear of the blade of the scimitar fled like the wind with his resurrectionless army.........The son of Rāi Pithaurā was favoured with a robe of honour and other kindnesses; and in return for his friendship, he sent abundant treasure for the service of the state, together with three golden melons, which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds like the full moon."[1] "The Rāī who had fled from Delhi had raised an army of idolatrous, turbulent, and rebellious tribes, the vapour of pride and conquest having entered his thoughtless brain. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn pursued him and when the wretch was taken, his head was severed from his body and sent to Delhi, which had been his residence and capital."[2]

The statement of Ḥasan Niẓāmī shows that a son of Pṛthvīrāja had been installed to succeed his father as the feudatory of the Muslims. The yoke of bondage, it seems, did not fit in well with the pride and traditions of the Cāhamānas. The rebellions of 'Hirāj,' the brother of Pṛthvīrāja, and of 'the Rāī' from Delhi were the last attempts of the Cāhamānas of Sambhar to regain their independence. The Rāī who raised the standard of rebellion after escaping from Delhi was probably a scion of Govinda, presumably the feudatory of Pṛthvīrāja who was killed in the second battle of Tarā'īn. Unfortunately the Muslim chroniclers do not give us the names of either this prince of Delhi or of the son of Pṛthvīrāja who became a feudatory of the Muhammadans. There are also discrepancies about the correct name of the brother of Pṛthvīrāja who gave so much trouble

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 219-20. See *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 179 and 193-94.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 220. Firishta refers to 'Hemrāj's' brave general 'Chutr-Ray.' Was he a son of Govinda-Rāya?

to his nephew. Firishta gives the name of the prince as Hemrāj, and states that he 'expelled Gola, or natural son, of Pithow Raj, from Ajmer'?[1] He has apparently mixed together two distinct episodes. Ḥasan Niẓāmī refers to two separate expeditions by Quṭb ud-Dīn. One of these, as we have seen, was undertaken against 'Kola,' the other when Pṛthvīrāja's son was in great distress at Ranthambhor owing to the rebellion of 'Hirāj.' Elliot perceived that 'Hirāja' is not a common Indian name and suggested that it was probably an 'abbreviation of the Sanskrit *Dhirāj*, a potentate.'[2] The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra however seems to indicate that the name of this prince was really 'Harirāja.' That Someśvara had another son named Harirāja is proved by the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*. According to Nayacandra, Pṛthvīrāja was succeeded by Harirāja, who ruled for sometime before he was destroyed by Shihāb ud-dīn.[3] The *Tantoti image-inscription* discovered in the estate of the same name, in the district of Ajmer, dated in V.S. 1251 (*c.* 1194 A.D.), in the reign of Harirāja[4] shows the correctness of the tradition recorded by Nayacandra. It is engraved on the pedestal of an image, which is broken off, and contains four lines. It records that the village of Taṁtūṭhī (mod. Tantoti) was in the fief of Pratāpadevī, the queen of Harirāja. Nayacandra also seems to indicate that the name of Pṛthvīrāja's son who was ousted by Harirāja, was possibly Govindarāja.[5]

1 *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 179.

2 *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 219, fn. 1.

3 *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 61-72. Firishta (Briggs' Trans., Vol. I) also says that Hemrāj was killed in the second engagement.

4 Noticed by G. H. Ojha in *RMR*, 1911-12, pp. 2 and 5. It is now in the Rajputana Museum.

5 Sarda accepts Govindarāja as the name of Pṛthvīrāja's son, see *JRAS*, 1913, p. 268, fn. 16. In his *Hammīra-mahākāvya* Nayacandra seems to describe Govindarāja as the 'grandson (*pautra*) of Pṛthvīrāja,' who was banished from the kingdom by his father; Text, Ed. by N. J. Kirtane, Bombay, 1879, p. 28, IV, 24; *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 62. But I have a suspicion that he has committed a mistake. The verse of Nayacandra is as follows:

Tatrāsti Pṛthvīrājasya prāk pitṛto nirāsitaḥ
Pautro Govindarājākhyaḥ svasāmarthyātta-vaibhavaḥ.

(5) *Cāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura.*

According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra the Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhor) branch of the Cāhamānas was established by Govindarāja after the death of Harirāja. I have quoted from Ḥasan Niẓāmī to show that Hirāj (Harirāja), after throwing off the yoke of the Muslims, besieged his nephew in the fort of Ranthambhor. When Quṭb ud-Dīn recovered Ajmer after defeating Harirāja, Govindarāja apparently continued to rule in Ranthambhor as a feudatory of the Muslims. The *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, of course, does not hint at these differences between Harirāja and Govindarāja, though it makes some disparaging remarks about Harirāja's fondness for pleasure and dancing girls, which, it is alleged, made him an easy prey to 'Sahābadīna.' When attacked by the Muslim-prince he was so enfeebled that he could not resist him and committed *Sak* with his whole family. He left no son, and so his followers and retainers retired and assembled round Govindarāja at Ranthambhor.[1]

According to Nayacandra, Govinda was succeeded by his eldest son Bālhaṇa and the latter by his eldest son Prahlāda. The *Manglana stone-inscription* dated in (V.) S. 1272 (*c.* 1215 A.D.) seems to show that Vallaṇadeva (*i.e.*, Bālhaṇa) was still a feudatory of the *Hamīra* Samasadāṇa (Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish) of the city of Joginī. The marble stone bearing this inscription was found at Manglana, 19 miles W. of Maroth in Marwar. It records the construction of a step-well by Vallaṇa's feudatory, the Dadhīca *Mahārāja-putra Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Jayatrasiṁha.[2] Prahlāda's younger brother Vāgbhaṭa served him as his prime-minister. Prahlāda died in a lion-hunt, and was succeeded by his

This presupposes that Pṛthvīrāja's son exiled Govindarāja before the latter founded his principality in Ranthambhor. But Muslim accounts show that Pṛthvīrāja's son was already in that fort hard pressed by Harirāja. It is thus possible that *pa tro* is a mistake for *putro*. See also *JRAS*, 1913, p. 268, fn. 16; *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 47.

1 Text, III, 73-82; IV, 1-19. *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 61. I have already pointed out that Kirtane's summary mentions Govindarāja as the grandson of Pṛthvīrāja but probably he was the unnamed son of Pṛthvīrāja mentioned by the Muslims. See *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 89, fn. 1.

2 *IA*, 1912, pp. 85-88.

son Vīranārāyaṇa, who is reported by Nayacandra to have been decoyed to Yoginīpura (Delhi) and poisoned the Śaka (Muslim) prince Jallāladīna. I am unable to identify this Delhi Sulṭān. The only prince bearing that name in the 13th century is Fīrūz(A.D. 1290-96), the first of the Khalji kings of Delhi; but his date forbids identification with him. It seems extremely probable that by 'Jallāladīna' Nayacandra really meant Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), whose officers according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* took the impregnable fort in 623 A.H. (1226 A.D.).[1] Vāgbhaṭa, Vīranārāyaṇa's uncle, we are told, was absent from Ranthambhor at the time of his nephew's tragic death; he had been insulted by him, and consequently he had retired to Malwa in dudgeon. The Muslim king, according to Nayacandra, sent instructions to the prince of Malwa to kill Vāgbhaṭa, but the latter was too much for him. Having learned the evil intentions of the Malwa ruler, Vāgbhaṭa killed him, and with the assistance of the 'Kharpūrās' attacked and captured Ranthambhor, which was presumably in Muslim hands at the time. This must have happened during the weak rule of the successors of Iltutmish. According to Niẓām ud-Dīn the fort was recovered by the Hindus during the reign of Sulṭān Raziyya (1236-40 A. D.), shortly after the death of Iltutmish.[2] It is difficult to identify the Malwa prince slain by Vāgbhaṭa, for the history of that area during the last quarter of the 13th century is extremely obscure. I am also unable to suggest the region where these 'Kharpūrās' dwelt. The name bears resemblance to the name of the Kharparika tribe who are reported by Hariṣeṇa to have paid taxes and obeyed the commands of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.[3] Kirtane seems inclined to accept them as Khakars, a Mongol tribe who invaded India about this time. There is as yet no means to verify all the details of the above account of the successors of Pṛthvīrājā given by Nayacandra.[4] But that Vāgbhaṭa, a descendant of Pṛthvirāja actually ascended the throne

[1] *TN*, Vol. I, pp 610-11; *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol. I, p. 210; *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 515.
[2] *TA*, Trans., p. 76. *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol. I, p. 219. [3] *GI*, p. 8, line 22.
[4] See above Manglana inscription (1215 A.D.) of the time of Bālhaṇa.

of Ranthambhor is proved by the recently discovered Balvan stone-inscription of Hammīra, the last Cāhamāna of this line.[1] This Vāgbhaṭa has been identified with 'Bāhar-deo' (Bāhaḍa-deva) of Ranthambhor, who is described by Minhāj as 'the greatest of the Rāīs of Hindūstān.'[2] He was attacked in A.H. 646 (A.D. 1248) by Ulugh Khān,[3] who met with indifferent success, losing one of his nobles, Malik Bahā ud-Dīn Aibak in a battle under the fort of Ranthambhor.[4] The Khān's soldiers, we are told, "showed great courage and fought well; they sent many of the infidels to hell, and secured great spoil, after which they returned to the capital." This happened in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir ud-Dīn Maḥmūd (1246-66 A.D.). The attack seems to have been renewed in A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253), when Ulugh Khān led a Muslim force from Nagor in the direction of Ranthambhor and Chitor. Minhāj relates that "Bāhar Deo, Rāī of Ranthambhor, the greatest of the Rāīs, and the most noble and illustrious of all the princes of Hindūstān, assembled an army to inflict a blow on Ulugh Khān. But......although the Rāī's army was large and well appointed with arms and horses it was put to flight, and many of its valiant fighting men were sent to hell. The Musulmāns obtained great spoil and captured many horses and prisoners (*burda*). They then returned safe with their booty to Nāgor, which in consequence of Ulug Khān's presence, had become a place of great importance."[5] It is clear from these accounts that the Cāhamānas of Ranthambhor, being aided by the weak rule of the successors of Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), had again consolidated their position to such an extent that their chief was regarded as the most powerful of all the Hindu princes of Hindustan.

[1] *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 49, V. 6.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 367; *TA*, Trans., p. 87. *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 238. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 47. The *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 69 and 516, gives the name as 'Nahār Deo.'

[3] A title of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Balban, who acted as the Vizir of Nāṣir ud-Dīn, and, then succeeded him as Sulṭān of Delhi in A.D. 1266. See *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 235.

[4] *TN*, Vol. II, pp. 684-85.

[5] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 370-71.

According to Nayacandra, Vāgbhaṭa died after a reign of 12 years.[1] His successor was his son Jaitrasiṁha. According to the Balvan inscription of Hammīra, Jaitrasiṁha harassed a certain Jayasiṁha of Maṇḍapa and killed the Kūrma king (*Kūrma-kṣitīśa*) and a king of Karkarālagiri.[2] He is also said to have 'defeated hundreds of brave warriors of the king of Mālava at Jhampāithā-ghaṭṭa, and kept them as prisoners at Raṇastambhapura'[3] (Ranthambhor). I have suggested elsewhere that this Jayasiṁha of Maṇḍapa (Mandu) was possibly the Paramāra (?) Jayavarman II, for whom we have the dates ranging from *c.* 1256-60 A.D.[4] The Kurma king may have been a member of the Kacchapaghāta (or Kacchapāri) family, an off-shoot of the Gwalior branch, which was slowly carving out a principality round Amber in the Jaipur State.[5] According to Nayacandra, Jaitrasiṁha had three sons, *viz.*, Hammīra, Surat rāṇa, and Vīrama. Of these the eldest, Hammīra was born from his beautiful queen Hirādevī. In course of time 'finding that his sons were now able to relieve him from the burden of government, Jaitrasiṁha one day talked over the matter with Hammīra, and, after giving him excellent advice as to how he was to behave, he gave over the charge of state to him, and himself went to live in the forest. This happened in *Saṁvat* 1339 (A.D. 1283).'[6]

We have the following published records for Hammīra's reign :

(1) *Balvan stone-inscription.*—Found engraved on a stone slab built into a niche of the reservoir in front of the temple

[1] If we may believe the Muslim chroniclers, then Ranthambhor was captured by the Hindus, possibly under Vāgbhaṭa's leadership shortly after Iltutmish's death in 1236 A.D., during Raziyya's reign (1236-40 A.D.). Twelve years' reign from the last year of Raziyya would give Vāgbhaṭa a reign-period extending from 1240-52 A.D. But see *ante*. Bihar Deo was fighting with Ulugh Khān in 1253 A.D.

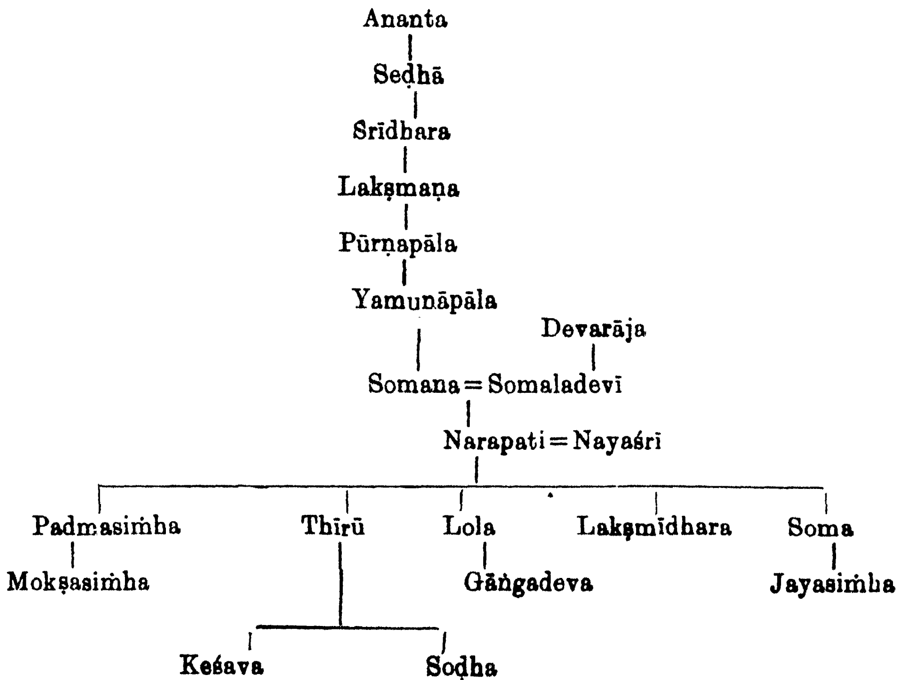
[2] *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 46 and 49-50, Vs. 7-8. [3] *Ibid*, V. 9.

[4] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, pp. 904 ff. ; also *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 47.

[5] It has been suggested that he may be a descendant of Pajjuna, who according to tradition was a vassal of Pṛthvīrāja III, see *EI*, Vol. XIV, p. 47. In this connection Dr. Barnett points out that Kūrmācala or the like is a regular term for Kumaon.

[6] *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 64. The text is *nava-vahni-vahni-bhū*. 1330 A.D. is apparently a printer's mistake.

of Kavālji (Kapālīśvara), in the Balvan estate of the Kotah principality of Rajputana. It contains 39 lines of writing which open with invocations to Gaṇeśa and Kapālīśvara (Śiva). Then follows a description of the surroundings of the temple, close to which, we are told, flow the rivers Cakraṭaṭinī,[1] Mandākinī[2] and Ketumukhā. Next follows the name of the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja (Vs. 4-5): In his family was Vāgbhaṭadeva (V. 6); after him (*tato*) Jaitrasiṁha (Vs. 7-8); then came Hammīra (Vs. 9-12). The next verses describe the family of the Kāṭāriyā *Kāyastha* Narapati, who had originally migrated from Mathurā and had served as the chief minister (*mantri-mukhya*) of both Jaitrasiṁha and Hammīra (V. 35). Their pedigree is as follows:—



Both Narapati and his wife Nayaśrī were eminent for their many acts of charity. The *praśasti* was composed by

[1] Modern Chākana which flows to the left of the Kāvalji's temple: *EI*, Vol. XIX pp. 46-47.

[2] Modern Madākana which flows behind the temple, *ibid.*

Vaijāditya, who was the *Paurāṇika* in the court of Hammīra (V. 39). Then come the date (V.) *Saṁvat* 1345 (*c.* 1289 A.D.), and lastly the name of the *Sūtradhāra* Gājuka, who had engraved the record.[1]

(2) *Gadha memorial-tablet.*—This was found at Gadha, in Sheopur District, Gwalior State. It belongs to the reign of *M.* Hammīra-deva.[2]

According to Nayacandra, Hammīra ascended the throne in V.S. 1339 (A.D. 1283), and was killed by 'Alā ud-Dīn (A.D. 1296-1316) in the 18th year of his reign (A.D. 1301). He is represented by the author as a great conqueror.[3] During the course of his warlike expeditions he is said to have defeated Arjuna of Sarasapūra, the prince of Gaḍhamaṇḍala[4] and Bhoja of Dhārā, 'the friend of poets.' After defeating Bhoja he is said to have reached Ujjain, where his army bathed in the Kṣiprā (Siprā ?), and he offered his devotions at the shrine of Mahākāla. From Ujjain Hammīra marched to Citrakoṭa (Chitor) and after ravaging Medapāta (Mewar) went to the Arbudādri (Mt. Abu). Here he worshipped at the temple of Ṛṣabhadeva, and having bathed in the Mandākinī paid his devotions to Acaleśvara. The king of Abu, though a brave warrior, had to submit to Hammīra. Leaving Abu, he arrived at Vardhanapura (Wadhwan), which he plundered. Then he proceeded by way of Ajayameru (Ajmer) to Puṣkara, where he worshipped the Ādivarāha. From Puṣkara he repaired to

1 First noticed in *RMR*, 1921, pp. 2-4. Now edited by R. R. Halder in *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 45-52.

2 Noticed in *ASI*, 1916-17, Part I, p. 20.

3 Sārṅgadhara in his *Paddhati* refers to the Cāhuvāṇa king Hammīra of Śākambharī-deśa as follows:— *Purā Śākambharī-deśe Śrīmān-Hammīra bhūpati*
Cāhuvāṇānvaye jātaḥ khyātaḥ sauryaḥ ivarjjuna;

Sārṅgadhara-paddhati, Ed. by Peter Peterson, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXVII, p. 1, *Sloka* 2. I am indebted for this reference to Prof. G. Majumdar of the Presidency College, Calcutta. The anthology was composed in 1363 A.D. Sārṅgadhara's grandfather Rāghavadeva was a courtier of Hammīra. Sārṅgadhara is credited with the composition of a *Kāvya* named *Hammīra-rāso* ; but no copy of this work has yet been discovered.

4 Must be the Gond ruler of that place, see *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 516; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 785.

Śākambharī, and after plundering some other places on the route reached his capital, where the great officers of the State, headed by Dharmasiṁha, received him.[1] After finishing this triumphal march of conquest and after consultation with his spiritual guide Viśvarūpa as to the efficacy of the *Koṭi-yajña*, he performed that sacrifice and sumptuously feasted the Brāhmaṇs and gave them liberal *dakṣiṇās*. In the meantime Allāvadīna ('Alā ud-Dīn), who had ascended the throne of Delhi, finding that Hammīra had ceased to pay the tribute which Jaitrasiṁha used to pay, instructed his brother Ullukhāna (Ulugh Khān) to invade the Cāhamāna territory. Nayacandra then describes in great detail the various conflicts between the armies of 'Alāud-Dīn and the Cāhamānas. In one of the early conflicts, after gaining some minor advantages, Bhīmasiṁha, one of Hammīra's two generals, was defeated and killed by Ulugh. The other general, Dharmasiṁha, whom the king accused of deserting Bhīma, was disgraced, blinded, and castrated. He was then superseded by Bhoja, a natural brother of the king. This was the beginning of dissensions and treachery in the Cāhamāna court. When Dharmasiṁha, through the assistance of the courtezan Rādhādevī, succeeded in recovering his position, Bhoja was disgraced, and in disgust joined the Muslim side. Treachery combined with the repeated attacks of 'Alā ud-Dīn at last brought about the downfall of Hammīra. He was killed, after a desperate resistance, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, in the 18th year of his reign.[2]

Nayacandra's story of Hammīra's victories is unsupported by reliable evidence, with the possible exception of one incident, his victory over Arjuna of Sarasapura. In his Balvan inscription mentioned above, Hammīra is credited with a victory over one Arjuna, 'thereby depriving Mālava of the fame and glory which it then enjoyed.'[3] Probably the Arjuna of the

1 *IX*, 15 ff.
2 *IA*, Vol. VIII, 64 ff.
3 *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 45 ff. For details see *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 65 ff.

Hammīra-mahākāvya is identical with the Arjuna of the inscription. I have already tentatively accepted him as a Paramāra ruler, and probably the predecessor of Bhoja II of Dhārā.[1] But it is not impossible that both of them were contemporaries ruling over different portions of the disintegrated Paramāra dominions.

But though there is hardly any evidence for the alleged victories of Hammīra, Nayacandra's account of the conflicts between Hammīra and 'Alā ud-Dīn and the tragic end of the Cāhamāna after a stubborn resistance, is, substantially attested by Muslim evidence. A contemporary Amīr Khusrau in his *Ta'rīkh-i 'Alāī* describes in some detail the siege of Ranthambhor. The 'Saturnian Hindus,' says the writer, 'bravely resisted all the attempts of the Muslims to capture the fort,' till "no provisions remained in the fort, and famine prevailed to such an extent that a grain of rice was purchased for two grains of gold." Seeing no hope of success, "one night the Rai lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair. On the fortunate date of the 3rd of Zī-lka'da A. H. 700 (July, 1301 A.D.), this strong fort was taken by the slaughter of the stinking Rāī. Jhāīn was also captured, 'an iron fort, an ancient abode of idolatry, and a new city of the people of the faith arose.' The temple of Bāhir Deo, and the temples of other gods, were all rased to the ground."[2] The account of the desperate resistance of Hammīra is also found in Baranī's *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz* Shāhī.[3] Baranī relates that the attack on

[1] *Supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, pp. 906-07 and 928.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 74-76.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 146 ff. and 171 ff. Both Baranī and Niẓām ud-Dīn (*TA*, Trans., p. 163) use the word *nabsah* to express the relationship between 'Hamīr Deo' and 'Rāī Pithaura of Delhi.' It is usually translated as 'grandson.' Elliot (Vol. III, p. 171, fn. 2) pointed out that it is probably loosely used to mean a 'descendant.' See also *TA*, Trans., p. 163, fn. 2.

Ranthambhor began as early as the reign of Jalāl ud-Dīn Fīrūz (1290-96 A.D.). The Sulṭān in A. H. 689 (A. D. 1290) led an army to Ranthambhor. The Rāī of the place with his Rāwats and followers, together with their wives and children, all took refuge in the fort of Rantambhor. The Sulṭān wished to invest and take the fort. He ordered *manjaniks* to be erected, funnels to be sunk and redoubts to be constructed, and the siege to be pressed...... But after reconnoitring the fort, he found that it could not be taken without sacrificing the lives of many Musalmans............. So he raised the siege and next day departed for Delhi." 'Alā ud-Dīn (1296-1316 A. D.) soon after his accession renewed the efforts of his uncle to take the fort. The immediate cause of his attack was the asylum which Hamīr Deo, its chief, gave to a body of 'new Musalmāns' who had rebelled against the Sulṭān after the conquest of Gujarat in 1297 A. D. During the first attempt in 1300 A.D., when Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān were besieging the fort, the latter was fatally wounded by a stone shot from a *maghribi* in it, and died two or three days after. It was only after repeated attempts that "the Sulṭān succeeded in reducing Rantambhor........... with much bloodshed and difficulty. He slew Hamīr Deo, the Rai, and all the new Musalmans, who had fled from the rebellion in Gujarat, and had taken refuge with him. The fort and all its territories and appurtenances were placed under the charge of Ulugh Khān, and the Sulṭān returned to Delhi." [1] This account is fully corroborated by Firishta,[2] who adds the information that after the death of Nuṣrat Khān, Hamīr Deo[3] "marched out from the fort, and gave battle, having collected within a short time 200,000 men.

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 178-79. For a Rajput tradition that Hammīra had a son, who fled to Mewar after the capture of Ranthambhor by 'Ala ud-Dīn, see *Mahārāṇā-yaśa-prakāśa*, pp. 14-15; also *IHQ*, 1931, p. 291 and fn. 2 on the same page.

[2] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 301-02 and 337 ff.; see also *TA*, Trans., pp. 169 ff.

[3] Briggs spells the name as 'Humbur Dew.'

With this force he compelled Aluf Khan to fall back to Jhayin,[1] with great loss."

Before concluding the account of the Cāhamānas of this branch, I would briefly refer to the prince called by Minhāj, 'Chāhar-i-Ajār'[2] who ruled contemporaneously with Nāṣir ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Sulṭān of Delhi (A. D. 1246-66). Minhāj describes him as 'the greatest of all the Rāes' in the tract of country known as, 'Gwāliyūr, Chandīrī, Nurwur and Mālwah.' He had 'about 500 horsemen well trained to arms, and 200,000 footmen.' The Hindu prince, we are told, was defeated, 'and the fortress which had been constructed by him, among defiles and passes was taken and plundered.' This happened in A. H. 649 (A. D. 1251). Firishta names the newly built fort 'Nurwar.'[3] This prince has been identified by Cunningham[4] with Cāhaḍa Deva of Narwar, for whom as well as for his son Asaladeva, we have inscriptions in the fort of Narwar. The coins of Cāhaḍadeva, discovered by Cunningham, range from V. S. 1294 (?) to 1311 (*c.* 1237-54 A. D.). The coins of his son Asaladeva range from V. S. 1311 to 1336 (*c.* 1254-79 A. D.). The Kuharas *Satī* pillar-inscription of his time is dated in V. S. 1327 (A. D. 1270). The names of two successors of Asaladeva, his son Gopāla and his grandson Gaṇapati, are known from the Narwar inscription of the last prince, dated in V. S. 1355 (A. D. 1298). Cunningham guessed that Gaṇapati's principality must have been annexed to the Muslim empire during the vigorous reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn (*c.* A. D. 1296-1316). The family name of Cāhaḍa and his descendants was unknown to Cunningham. It seems now to be revealed by the fortunate discovery of the fragmentary *Rataul grant* of *Mahākumāra* Cāhaḍadeva,[5] found by

1 Jhāīn (Ujjain).
2 *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 690-91; also fn. 1 on p. 690.
3 *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 239. Briggs spells the king's name as 'Jahir Dew.'
4 *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 314-16; *CMI*, 92-93.
5 Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 221-24.

diggers at the village of Rataul, Tahsil Baghpat, District Meerut. The preserved portion of the genealogy mentions the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja and Pṛthvīrāja. The last verse preserved begins with '*Pṛthvīrājasya.*' As the name of *Mahākumāra Cāhaḍadeva* is engraved on the top of the plate, he was apparently the donor of the grant, and may possibly have been a descendant of Pṛthvīrāja III. In the annals of Tod, one Cāhaḍadeva is given as the brother of Pṛthvīrāja.[1] At present it would perhaps be idle to try to guess the exact relationship, but it seems possible that the Cāhaḍadeva of the grant and that of the coins and inscriptions of Narwar are identical, and were probably connected by blood with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. Sahni has pointed out the resemblance of the coins of Cāhaḍadeva and the Cāhamānas.[2] I am unable to say what connection, if any, Cāhaḍadeva had with the Ranthambhor line.

(6) *Cāhamānas of Naddūla*[3]

The existence of this branch, which is generally known as the *Naḍōliā*, and its connection with the Śākambharī family was first established by Kielhorn,[4] on epigraphic foundations by the publication of a number of valuable inscriptions. Since then Bhandarkar has made additions to our stock of knowledge by his supplement to the work of the German scholar.[5] The epigraphic records of this branch trace its genealogy to one Lakṣmaṇa, who is said to have established himself at Naddūla. The Nadol grant of *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla (V. S. 1218)

[1] *IA*, Vol. VII, p. 59.

[2] *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 224.

[3] The name is spelt in different ways: Naḍḍula, Naḍḍūla, Naḍvala-pura, Naḍūla-pura and Naḍūla. Kielhorn regards Naḍula (*Kīrti-Kaumudī*, II, 69; *EI*, Vol. I, p. 26, V. 14) as a mistake. See Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 63, fn. 4. It is identified with mod. Nadol in the Jodhpur State of Rajputana.

[4] *The Cāhamānas of Naddula*, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 62-83; 158-59.

[5] *The Cāhamānas of Marwar*, by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 26-78.

informs us that Lakṣmaṇa was the son of the Cāhamāna king Vākpatirāja of Śākambharī.[1] As Kīrtipāla is 11th in lineal descent from Vākpatirāja, the latter is undoubtedly identical with the first prince of that name in the Śākambharī branch, who ruled about the middle of the 10th century A. D. The connection of Lakṣmaṇa with this branch is also established by the fact that he is called *Śākambharīndra* in the Sundha hill inscription of Cāciga (V. S. 1319).[2] The epithet may mean prince of Śākambharī, as Kielhorn supposed; but it may contain a veiled hint that he was also a claimant for the ancestral throne when his brother Siṁharāja succeeded their father. This may be one of the reasons which led him to migrate from his ancestral home in search of a new dominion. No inscriptions of Lakṣmaṇa have yet been published. But Tod refers to two of his records dated in V. S. 1024 (*c.* 967 A. D.) and 1039 (*c.* 982 A. D.). An inscription on the *Sūraj-pol* at Nadol, which is reported to have been erected by him, contains his name, showing the authenticity of the tradition that he really established himself in that town. The fort of Nadol, which bears his name, and which is also said to have been constructed by him, also connects him with Naddūla.

Lakṣmaṇa was succeeded by Sobhita[3] who is stated in the Sundha hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of *Himādri-bhava* (*i.e.*, Mount Abu.)[4] This probably indicates that he won victories over one of the predecessors of the Paramāra Purṇapāla (*c.* 1042-45 A.D.) The next prince was Sobhita's son Balirāja, who claims to have defeated an army of Muñjarāja,[5] no doubt the Mālava Paramāra of that name (*c.* 974-95 A.D.). This conflict, as I have already pointed out, must have

1 *EI*, IX, pp. 66 ff.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 70 ff.

3 Also known as Sohita, Sōhiya and Sōbhita ; see *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 64, 67, 68n, 71 and 80.

4 *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 75, V. 7 ; see fn 6 on p. 71 for *Himādri-bhava-nātha*.

5 *Ibid*, p. 75, V. 8.

taken place when Muñja invaded this area, attacked Medapāṭa and destroyed Āghāṭa.[1] Balirāja was succeeded by his cousin Mahendra,[2] the son of his paternal uncle Vigrahapāla. This Mahendra has rightly been identified with the prince of that name who is reported to have been protected by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi [3] (*c.* 997 A.D.) when the former was harassed by the (Caulukya) Durlabharāja (*c.* 1110-22 A.D.). According to the *Dvyāśraya* of Hemaçandra, Durlabha and his brother Nāgarāja married two daughters of the Naddūla prince Mahendra.[4] This matrimonial alliance was probably intended to put an end to the growing hostility between the two powers, caused no doubt by the expansion of Caulukya power in Marwar. Mahendra was followed by his son Aśvapāla. The Śiva temple of Āsaleśvara or Āsapāleśvara was probably either founded by him or named after him by one of his successors.[5] The next ruler was his son Ahila, who according to the Sundha hill inscription defeated an army of the Gurjara king Bhīma[6] (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.). This shows that the conflict between the two powers was again renewed. Ahila was succeeded by his paternal uncle Aṇahilla, a son of Mahendra. The hostilities with the Caulukyas apparently continued during his reign. The Sundha hill-inscription[7] credits him with having defeated a king named Bhīma, no doubt the Caulukya Bhīma I. In addition to this, he is also reported to have taken Śākambharī, killed Sāḍha, a general (*Daṇḍādhīśa*) of the Mālava king Bhoja (*c.* 1110-55 A.D.) and the Turuṣka.[8] The simultaneous struggle with these three powerful neighbours,

[1] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 865, chapter on the *Paramāras* ; also *EI*, Vol. X, p. 20, V. 10.

[2] Also called Mahīndu, see *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 75, V. 9.

[3] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 561. *EI*, Vol. X, p. 20, V. 11; also *ibid*, p. 18.

[4] The bride of Durlabharāja was named Durlabhadevī. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 112 113; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 945; and fn. 5 on the same page.

[5] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 40, line 30 ; also *ibid*, p. 68.

[6] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 75, V. 13. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 952.

[7] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 75, V. 14.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 45, V. 17.

their cousins at Sambhar, the Caulukyas of Anhilvada, and the Paramāras of Malwa, must have been a terrible strain on the Cāhamānas of Nadol; and it was not long before they succumbed to one of them. The claim of victory over the Turuṣka, must refer to some minor success which Aṇahilla possibly achieved when, in 1024 A.D., Maḥmūd of Ghazni was advancing towards Patan on his way to Somnath through the Luni and the Sukri valley. The temple of Śiva Aṇahileśvara was probably built and named after himself by Aṇahilla.

Aṇahilla was succeeded by his son Bālaprasāda. The Sundha hill inscription states that he forced king Bhīma to release from prison a prince named Kṛṣṇadeva.[1] Kielhorn has suggested that this Kṛṣna is to be identified with the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇarāja II, the successor of Purṇapāla, for whom we have inscriptions dated from 1060-67 A.D.[2] This incident may indicate that the Paramāras of Abu and the Cāhamānas of Naddula were trying to act in concert so as to check the progress of Caulukya imperialism. Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother Jindurāja.[3] Only one record, dated in (V.)S. 1132 (*c.* 1075 A.D.), and discovered in the Kāmeśvara Mahādeva temple at Āuwā in the Sojat district of Jodhpur State, has so far been referred to his reign.[4] The name of the prince in this *Auwa temple inscription* is unfortunately written as Khindrapāla, which in the opinion of some scholars is a mistake for Jindrapāla a variant of the name of Jindurāja. According to the Sundha hill-inscription he 'fought victoriously at Sandera,' which place is identified with modern Sanderaö in the Jodhpur State, S. W. of Nadol.[5] The name of the defeated prince is however unknown; and in view of the hostile relations of this branch with practically all their powerful neighbours, it is uselss to make

[1] *Ibid*, p. 76, V. 18.

[2] See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 912-13, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

[3] Also known as Jesaladeva, Jiṁda, Jendrarāja and Jindrapāla.

[4] Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 68-89 and fn. 9, p. 68. If the identification is accepted then this must be the earliest inscription of the Naddūla Cāhamānas.

[5] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 76, V. 20.

any guess. The temple of (Śiva) Jendrarājeśvara was apparently founded by Jindurāja.[1] His successor was Pṛthvīpāla, who is reported to have defeated an army of the Gurjara king Karṇa [2] no doubt the Caulukya prince of that name who ruled in Anhilvada (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D). Pṛthvīpāla was succeeded by his brother Jojalla[3] who appears to have continued the successful war against the Caulukyas. The Sundha hill-inscription tells us that he occupied by force Aṇahillapura, the capital of the Caulukya Karṇa to which I have referred elsewhere.[4]

The two following inscriptions are known for his reign :

(1) *Sadadi stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgeśvara at Sadadi, in Desuri district, Godwar division, Jodhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing, and refers to the management of the festivals of the gods Lakṣmaṇasvāmin[5] and others. It is dated in (V.)S. 1147 (*c.* 1091 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārāja* Jojaladeva and records a king's order, that when a festival (*yātrā*) of any particular god commences, the ladies (*pramadākula*) attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *Śūlapālas*.[6]

(2) *Nadol stone-inscription.*—Incised on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol, in the Desuri district, Godwar division, Jodhpur State. Contents almost identical with No. 1; same date. The title of the king is here given as *Mahārājādhirāja.* It contains 13 lines of writing.[7]

[1] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 40, lines 26-27.

[2] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 76, V. 22. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 964-65.

[3] Also known as Yojaka or Jojaladeva.

[4] See *ibid*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 965.

[5] Probably named after Lakṣmaṇa, the founder of the Nadol branch.

[6] First noticed by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 158; then edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 26 ff. The editor suggests that the temple where this inscription was originally attached, was in Nadol.

[7] Noticed and edited as No. 1 above.

Jojalla was succeeded by his brother Āśārāja, also called Āsarāja, Aśvaraja (II) or Āśvaka. Of his reign we have the three following inscriptions :—

(1) *Sevadi stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised on the lintel of the doorway of a subsidiary shrine in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sevadi, a village about 5 miles to the S.E. of Bali, the principal town of the district of the same name in Godwar, Jodhpur State. It contains only 3 lines, and is dated in (V.)S. 1167 (*c.* 1110 A.D.), when Aśvarāja was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and Kaṭukarāja, the *Yuvarāja*. It records a grant of barley equal to one *hāraka* [1] from every one of the wells (*arhaṭa*) belonging to the villages of Padrāḍā, Medraṁcā, Chechaḍīyā [2] and Maddaḍī for the daily worship of Dharmanāthadeva in the temple of Samvīpāṭī [3] by the *Mahā-Sāhaṇiya* [4] Uppalārka.[5]

(2) *Sevadi stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Incised on the lintel of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Māhavīra at Sevadi. It contains 8 lines of writing, opening with the invocation of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha. It then traces the genealogy of Kaṭukarāja from the Cāhamāna Aṇahila through Jinda and Aśvarāja, his son and grandson, and records that Kaṭukarāja made an annual grant of 8 *drammas* on the *Śivarātri* day in (V.)S. 1172 (*c.* 1115 A.D.), to the Jain Thallaka, belonging to the Shanderaka[6]-*gaccha*, for the worship of Śāntinātha in the *Khaṭṭaka* (niche) of *Balādhipa* Yaśodeva, the grandfather of the donee. Śāntinātha was apparently

[1] According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is connected with the Marathi word *hārā*, a large basket often used in measuring corn.

[2] Mod. Chechli, about 4 miles to the north of Sevadi.

[3] Mod. Sevadi. The donee was probably established in the temple where the inscription is incised.

[4] According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is connected with the *deśi* word *Sāhaṇi*, meaning master of stables.

[5] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 28-30.

[6] Mod. Sanderav, 10 miles N. W. of Bali.

established in the temple of Vīranātha (Mahāvīra), which, we are told, was situated in the *bhukti* [1] of Kaṭukarāja.[2]

(3) *Bali stone-inscription.*—Engraved on the lintels of the pillars of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of the Bōlā, *alias Bahuguṇa-mātā*. It contains 6 lines. It is dated in the victorious reign of *M.* Jayasiṁhadeva in (V.)S. 1200 (*c.* 1143 A.D.) and refers to *Mahārāja* Āśvaka as 'subsisting on his lotus-feet.' [3] On this date the village of Vālahī,[4] was being enjoyed as *grāsa* by the *Rājñī* Tihuṇaka. The grant of 4 *drammas* by one Bopaṇavastabhana in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahu-ghṛṇa and some other endowments which are not quite clear, are recorded.[5]

These three inscriptions give us dates from 1167 to 1200 V.S., corresponding to *c.* 1110 to 1143 A.D., for Āśarāja. The third inscription shows that he was a feudatory of Jayasiṁha, no doubt the Caulukya Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of Aṇahilapāṭaka (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.). All his three inscriptions, it will be observed, were found around Bali. When Bhandarkar wrote his paper on this branch he accepted Āśārāja as the successor of Jojalla at Naddula. Since then the publication of the *Sevadi grant of Ratnapāla* has shown that Naddūla was in possession of this prince in V. S. 1176 (*c.* 1119 A. D.). This inscription was also found at Sevadi, in the Bali district of Godwar. It contains 60 lines, incised on 3 plates. It opens with an obeisance to the god Brahman. Then follows the following genealogy of the donor :—

From a person who issued from the eye of Indra, the lord of the east, the *Cāhamāna-vaṁśa* :

[1] This shows that Kaṭukarāja was still a *Yuvarāja*. The temple of Vīranātha is apparently the temple of Mahāvīra where the inscription was found.

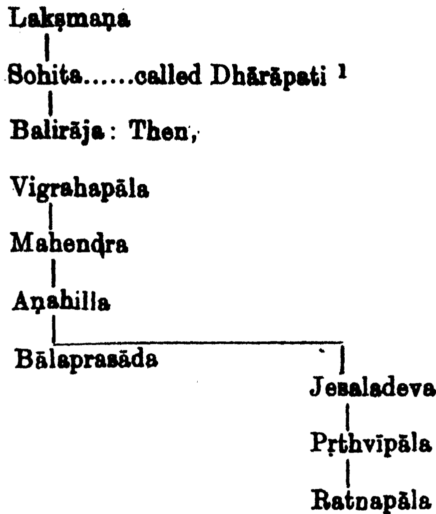
[2] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, XI, pp. 30-32.

[3] Mod. Bali, in Godwar.

[4] Mod. Girās, signifying the landed possession of a ruling tribe.

[5] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 32-33.

In this family :



We are then told that when *Mahārājādhirāja* Ratnapāla was reigning at Nadūla, he renewed from his camp at Nahurāgrāma[2] when (V.)S. 1176 (*c.* 1119 A.D.) had elapsed, the grant of the Brāhmaṇa village of Guṁdakurcā[3] in Sapta-śata-*Viṣaya* to the Brāhmans resident in that village. The grant was originally made by *Mahārāja* Jendrarāja.[4]

It is thus clear that Ratnapāla had either ousted his uncle Āśārāja from Nadol sometime between *c.* 1110 and 1119 A. D., or that he had succeeded his uncle Jojalladeva sometime after *c.* 1090 A. D. In the former case, which appears more likely, we have an adequate motive for his subordination to Jayasiṁha. Apparently from his base round Bali he was trying to recover his throne with the assistance of the Caulukyas. The following inscriptions of his son the *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāyapāla,

[1] May mean that in a conflict with the Paramāras, he temporarily occupied Dhārā in Mālava. His son and successor Balirāja actually claims victory over Muñja, see *ante*, pp. 1105-06.

[2] Mod. Bamaṇān-ro Nōrō, in Jalor district, 11 *Kos* west of Gundoch.

[3] Mod. Gundoch.

[4] Same as Jesaladeva of the genealogical table, see *ante*, p. 1107, fn. 3. The inscription was edited by Ramkarna in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 304-13.

bearing dates from 1189 to 1202 V.S. (*c.* 1132-1145 A.D.), which were discovered not far from Nadol, seems to indicate that this prince held it during those years.

(1) *Nadlai stone-inscription* (*i*).—Found engraved on the lintel of two pillars in the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of a Jain temple of Ādinātha at Nadlai, 8 miles to the N. W. of Desuri in Godwar. It contains 6 lines. It is dated in (V.)S. 1189 (*c.* 1132 A.D.), and records a grant made by Rudrapāla and Amṛtapāla, sons of the *M.*-Rāyapāla, in conjunction with their mother the *Rājñī* Mānaladevī. The gift consisted of 2 *palikās* of oil from out of the share due to the royal family from each oil-mill (*ghāṇaka*). The donee were the (Jain) ascetics in and outside of Naḍūlaḍāgikā.[1]

(2) *Nadlai stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Neminātha at Nadlai. It contains 26 lines. After obeisance to Neminātha, it gives the date, (V.) S. 1195 (*c.* 1138 A.D.), and refers itself to the reign of *M.*-Rāyapāla over Naḍūlaḍāgika (Nadlai), and then records the gift of one-twentieth part of the income (*ābhāvya*) derived from the loads leaving or entering Naḍūlaḍāgikā by the Guhila *Ṭhakura* Rājadeva for the worship of Neminātha. Then comes the sign manual of the donor, *Rāu* (*ta*) *Rājadeva.*[2]

(3) *Nadol stone-inscription* (*i*).—39 lines, engraved on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol, about 10 miles N. W. of Desuri, in Godwar. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1198 (*c.* 1141 A.D.), in the victorious reign of *M.*-Rāyapāla, and then refers to 16 Brāhman representatives, 2 from each of the 8 wards of the town of Dhālopa,[3] with Devāica as intermediary (*madhyaka*), who solemnly promised to find out by means of *Caukaḍikā* (pañcāyat system) whatever should be lost

[1] Mod Nadlai. The record is edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 34-36.

[2] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 37-41.

[3] Mod. village of the same name, 4 miles S. W. of Nadol.

or snatched away from the *Bhāṭa*, *Bhaṭṭaputra*, *Dauvārika*, *Kārpaṭika*, *Vanijjāraka* and others on their way. If the goods were lost in any particular ward, the representatives of that ward were to find out the lost property. *Mahārāja* Rāyapāla supplied the money and arms necessary for carrrying on the investigations.[1]

(4) *Nadlai stone-inscription (iii)*.—Engraved in the temple of Ādinātha at Nadlai. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 (A.D. 1143) in the reign of *M*.-Rāyapāla when the *Rāuta* Rājadeva was the *Ṭhakura* of Nadūlaḍāgikā. It records some benefactions to the temple of Mahāvīra.[2]

(5) *Nadol stone-inscription (ii)*.—8 lines; found at Nadol. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 (1144 A.D.) in the reign of *M.-P.* Rāyapāla.[3]

(6) *Nadol stone-inscription (iii)*.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 in the reign of Rāyapāla and records that Bhanana, a Karṇāṭa *Rāṇaka* freed the dancing girls (*pramadākula*) of all the gods of Usapapattana from *daśa-bandha*, which was possibly a kind of tax equal to one-tenth of their income.[4]

(7) *Nadlai stone-inscription (iv)*.—5 lines engraved on a lintel in the temple of Ādinātha. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1200 (*c.* 1143 A.D.), in the reign of *M*.-Rāyapāla, and records that *Rāuta* Rājadeva made a grant of one *viṁśopaka*[5] from the *pāilās*[6] accruing to him and 2 *palikas* from the *palas* of oil due to him from every *ghāṇaka*.[7]

(8) *Nadlai stone-inscription (v)*.—5 lines, on the same lintel as No. 4. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1202 (*c.*

1 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 37-41. Noticed by Kielhorn in *ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 159.

Transcribed by P. C. Nahar in *Jaina Inscriptions*, Part I, pp. 213-14.

Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 159.

Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in *ASI*, *WC*, 1908-09, p. 45.

Probably a kind of coin.

A kind of weight 4 *pāilā* = 1 *pāyalī*; 5 *pāyalī* = 1 *māṇā*; 4 *māṇā* = 1 *sēi*; 2 *sēi* = 1 *mar*.

Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 41-42.

1145 A. D.) in the reign of *M*. Rāyapāla, and when the *Rāuta* Rājadeva was the *Ṭhakkura* of Naḍula-ḍāgikā.[1]

These eight inscriptions, as we have said, show that during the period *c.* 1132-45 A. D. Rāyapāla held Nadol and the neighbouring districts. The relationship of Rāyapāla with Ratnapāla (*c.* 1119 A. D.) is indicated by a Mandor stone-inscription[2] which gives the following genealogy of one Sahajapāla :



The identification of this Rāyapāla with the Rāyapāla of Nadol shows that he was probably the immediate successor of his father Ratnapāla. The efforts of Aśvarāja (*c.* 1110-43 A.D.) to recover Nadol therefore appear to have been futile. But the *Sevadi stone-inscription* of his son Kaṭudeva[3] dated in (Siṁha) *Saṁvat* 31 (*c.* 1143 A.D.) shows that the latter succeeded in capturing the ancestral seat, at least for some time between *c.* 1141 and 1143 A.D. This inscription was found incised on a piece of stone surmounted by the figure of a cow and her calf at Sevadi, near a house in front of the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra. It contains 11 lines. The record is mutilated, but gives the date (Siṁha) *Saṁvat* 31, when *M*. Kaṭudeva was reigning at Naḍūla and while Ṣamīpāṭī was being enjoyed by (his son) the *Yuvarāja* Jayatasīha.[4] The use of the Siṁha era seems to indicate that Kaṭudeva was, like his father, under the influence of the Caulukyas. But the fact that he omits the name of his sovereign lord Jayasiṁha (*c.* 1094-1144 A.D.) may indicate a tendency to

1 Edited by same, *ibid*, pp. 42-43.
2 Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 69, fn. 1; also *ibid*, p. 307.
3 Same as Kaṭukarāja of the records of Āsārāja ; see *ante*, p. 1109.
4 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid*, pp. 33-34.

assert his independence. If this was so, it met with immediate punishment; during the period V. S. 1203 to 1218 (*c.* 1146-61) not a single inscription of the Cāhamānas has been discovered in Godwar, and instead of them we find the records of one Vāijalladeva[1] (V.S. 1210-1216), the *Daṇḍanāyaka* of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (1144-73 A.D.) ruling at Nadūla (Nadol).[2] It has been suggested that the Cāhamānas were supplanted for their partiality towards the Śākambharī prince Arṇorāja (*c.* 1139 A.D.), with whom Kumārapāla was on hostile terms.[3] In any case, the inscriptions of the Caulukya sovereign[4] and those of his officer clearly testify that the power of the Nadol Cāhamānas was for some time in abeyance, if not suppressed. But by the year A.D. 1161 they again appear in possession of their ancestral capital. The course of events seems to be indicated by the following inscriptions of Ālhaṇadeva, also known as Ālaṇadeva, and Āhlādana, the son of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Āśārāja (1110-43 A.D.):

(1) *Kiradu stone-inscription.*—Found in a Śaiva temple in the ruins of Kiradu near Hathma, about 16 miles N.N.W. of Barmer, the principal town of the Mallani district, Jodhpur State. It contains 21 lines, opening with the date (V.) S. 1209 (*c.* 1152 A.D.), when *M.-P.-Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda-prauḍha-pratāpa* Kumarapāla (Kumārapāla) was reigning and Mahādeva was carrying on the business of the seal. We are then told that (*Mahā*) *rājā* Ālaṇadeva, who had obtained Kirātakūpa,[5] Lātarhada[6] and

[1] Also named Vaijā and Vayajaladeva. He was also a Cāhamāna but his relationship with the Nādol branch is unknown, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 981, 1000 and 1003.

[2] See *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70, fn. 4.

[3] Prof. Bhandarkar suggests that Rāyapāla may have been supplanted for this reason by Kumārapāla, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

[4] Note his inscriptions at Kiradu, Pali, Ratanpur and Bhatund (1209-11 V. S.); see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 978ff.

[5] Modern Kiradu.

[6] Modern Raddhada, which was the original name of the district round Nagor-Gundha in Mallani, Marwar.

Sivā through the favour of his sovereign (*prabhu*), on the above date, which was a Sivarātri day, issued injunctions to the *mahājanas*, *tāmbulikas*, and other subjects forbidding the slaughther of living beings on the 8th, 11th, and 14th days of both fortnights of every month in the three towns mentioned above, on pain of capital punishment. This edict, which is called *Amāri-rūḍhi* (edict of non-slaughter), then specified a scale of punishment for Brāhmans, priests, ministers and others. It was issued by the king with the approval of *Mahārājaputras* Kelhaṇa and Gajasiṁha.[1]

(2) *Nadol grant* (*i*).—Found at Nadol. It contains 38 lines, opening with *Om namaḥ Sarvajñāya* and a verse addressed to Mahāvīra. It then records the genealogy of the Cāhamānas of Naddūla from Lakṣmaṇa to Ālhaṇadeva, omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla. In the formal part it registers that *Mahārāja* Ālhaṇadeva of Naddūla in (V.) *Saṁ*. 1218 (*c*. 1161 A.D.), after worshipping the sun and Īśāna and making gifts to Brāhmans and *gurus*, granted to the (Jain) temple of Mahāvīra in the Saṇḍeraka-gaccha at the holy place (*Mahāsthāna*) of Naddūla a monthly sum of 5 *drammas* to be paid from the custom-house (*Śulka-maṇḍapikā*) in the Naddūla-*talapada*. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Mahāmātya* Lakṣmīdhara of the Prāgvāta race. It was composed and written by Srīdhara, and ends with the sign-manual.[2]

(3) *Nadol grant* (*ii*).—Found at Nadol ; 34 lines, incised on two plates, opening with *Svasti* and invocations, to Brahman, Srīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Saṅkara, 'who always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinas.' It then traces the genealogy of the Naddūla Cāhamānas from Vākpatirāja of Śākambharī to *Rājakula* Ālhaṇadeva (omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla) and his three sons *Kumāra* Kelhaṇadeva, Gajasiṁha and Kīrtipāla

[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 43-46.

[2] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 63-66. It was first obtained and noticed by Tod, who presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society; then noticed by Dhruva in *JBRAS*, Vol. XIX, pp. 26-34. Re-edited by Ramkarṇa, *IA*, Vol. XL, pp. 146 ff.

by his *Rāṣṭrauḍa* queen Analladevī. We are then told that Ālhaṇa and Kelhaṇa were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla 12 villages, appertaining to Naddūlāi (mod. Nadlai in Godwar). In (V.) S. 1218 (A.D. 1160), after bathing at Naddūla and worshipping the Sun and Maheśvara, Kīrtipāla granted a yearly sum of two *drammas* from each of his 12 villages to the Jina Mahāvīra at Naddūlāi.[1]

(4) *Jhamvaria stone-inscription.*—Found inscribed on a pillar of the inner shrine of an old Vaiṣṇava temple lying outside the village of Jhamvara, about 12 miles to the west of Jodhpur. Contains 15 lines of corrupt Sanskrit, opening with date (V.) S. 1219 (*c.* 1162 A.D.). It mentions the *Mahārāja-putra* Gajasiṁha in connection with the city of Māṇḍavyapura (mod. Mandor). It records that his general the *Sauluṁkī* Jasadhavala, son of Dāmodara, granted to the god Vāsudeva one *dramma* from the income of his generalship of Jhamara (mod. Jhamvara). In its concluding portion, the epigraph records the grant of one *kalaśa* of oil from the oil-mills for lighting a light in the temple by the same donor. The grant (together with another record of the time of Kelhaṇa) were made in the presence of 4 representatives of the 4 *padāras* of Māṇḍavyapura.[2]

Of these four inscriptions the first shows Ālhaṇa as a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla. In the Sundha-hill inscription he is stated to have aided the Gurjara king in putting down disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāṣṭra (*Girau Saurāṣṭre*).[3] It was probably for this faithful service to his sovereign that he got a small principality in the region now known as Mallani. His second inscription shows that by the year 1161 A. D. he had so much pleased Kumārapāla as to be restored to his ancestral principality of Nadol. Though his grant does not mention

1 Edited by Kielhorn *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 66-70.

2 Edited by Tessitori, *JASB*, 1916, pp. 101-02.

3 *EI*, IX, pp. 72 and 77, Vs. 32-33; also Nadol grant of Kīrtipāla, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 67 and 69, V. 5. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 992.

Kumārapāla's name, we must assume that Ālhaṇa still continued to be subservient to him. His humble title of *Mahārāja* is inconsistent with sovereign authority. This recovery of Nadol must have occurred sometime between V. S. 1216, the last date of Vaijalladeva in Godwar, and V. S. 1218, the date of Ālhaṇa's Nadol grant.

Ālhaṇa was succeeded by Kelhaṇa, his son by his queen Annalladevī,[1] a Raṣṭrauḍa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) princess probably of the Hathundi branch in Godwar. The following inscriptions are known for Kelhaṇa's reign :

(1) *Bamnera grant (i)*.—A single plate, reported to have been found at Bamnera in the Jodhpur State, about 7 miles from Erinpura railway station, while the foundations of a building were being dug. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1220 (*c.* 1163 A. D.), in the reign of Kelhaṇa, son of *M.*-Ālhaṇa-deva. It registers a grant of land by Ajayasiṁha, son of *Mahārājaputra* Kumārasīha, to a Brāhman named Nārāyaṇa at a place called Koreṭaka,[2] the *Dūtaka* being Cāmuṇḍarāja. It ends with the sign-manual of *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla.[3]

(2) *Sanderav stone-inscription (i)*.—4 lines, engraved on a lintel in the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sanderāv, about 10 miles north-west of Bali, in Jodhpur State. It is dated in V. S. 1221 (*c.* 1164 A.D.), in the reign of Kelhaṇa-deva, and records that Annalladevī, the queen-mother (*Matṛ-rajñī*), granted one plough (*hāela*) of land[4] to the *Tīrthaṅkara* Mahāvīra, *Mūla-nāyak* of the Ṣaṁderaka-gaccha.[5]

(3) *Bamnera grant (ii)*.—Found as No. (*i*) above ; 13 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. It is dated in V. S. 1223 (*c.* 1166 A. D.) in the reign of *M.*-Kelhaṇadeva, the ruler of Naḍūla-*Maṇḍala*, and registers the grant of a well situated

[1] The same as Ānaladevī.
[2] Mod. Korta, a village, some distance to the north of Bamnera.
[3] Edited by M. B. Garde, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 207-08.
[4] As much as could be ploughed in a single day by one plough.
[5] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 46-47.

in the property of *Rājaputra* Ajayarāja in Koraṁtaka[1] to the donee Nārāyaṇa. The sign-manual is that of *M.*-Kelhaṇadeva.[2]

(4) *Bamnera grant* (*iii*).—Found as No. (*i*) above. It refers itself to the reign to *M.*-Kelhaṇadeva, and registers the grant of a well (*ḍhiko*) to the Brāhman Nārāyaṇa at Koreṇṭakasthāna by Ajayasīha, son of *Rāja* Kuṁvarasīha, on the holy occasion of the *Deva-utthāpanī-ekādaśī*. It is undated.[3]

(5) *Nadol stone-inscription.*—9 lines, engraved on the Suraj-pol in the centre of the village of Nadol. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1223 (*c.* 1167 A. D.) in the reign of (the Cāhamāna) Kelhaṇa reigning at Naḍūla. The last 5 lines of the record is rather illegible but it contains the date (V.) S. 1039 for Lākhaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa), founder of the Naddūla branch of the Cāhamānas.[4]

(6) *Jhamvara stone-inscription.*—10 lines, engraved on a pillar of the inner shrine of an old Vaiṣṇava temple, outside the village of Jhaṁvara, 12 miles to the west of Jodhpur. It is written in corrupt Sanskrit and opens with the date (V.) S. 1227 (*c.* 1171 A.D.) in the reign of *M.-P.*-Kelhaṇadeva at Nāḍūla, the chief town in the Sapta-śata-bhūmi. Next it mentions the rule of *Mahārājaputra* Cāmuṇḍarāja over Māṇḍavyapura. Lastly it registers the grant of one *dramma* made by the Rāṣṭauḍa Nāṁnaḍa from the amount of some cess at Jhāṁara (mod. Jhaṁvara), one the four *pādras* in the *bhūmi* of Māṇḍavyapura.[5]

(7) *Nadlai stone-inscription.*—Found near the temple of Mahādeva, about a mile south-west of Nadlai. It contains

[1] Mod. Korta, north of Bamnera.

[2] Edited by Garde, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 208-10. Kielhorn probably notices this grant in *ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 61, fn. 1, from a rubbing.

[3] Edited by Garde, *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 210-11.

[4] Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1908-09, p. 45.

[5] Edited by Tessitori, *JASB*, 1916, Vol. XII (N. S.), pp. 103-04. *Saptaśata-bhūmi* of this record is the same as *Saptaśata-viṣaya* of the Sevadi grant of Ratnapāla, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1111. According to the editor " the expression designated the whole of the territory then held by the Cāhamānas; " but I would like to qualify this by ' territory then held by the Naddūla branch only.'

3 lines, which open with the date (V.) S. 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.), during the reign of Kuṁvarapāla (Kumārapāla), while Kelhaṇa was ruling at Nāḍūlya, and the Rāṇā Lakhmaṇa at Varipadyaka, and Anasīha was the Ṭhākura of Sonāṇā. It records that the *maṇḍapa, akṣasāma* and *damā* of the temple of Bhivaḍeśvara were constructed by Pāhiṇi, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Mahaḍūa, at a cost of 330 *drammas*.[1]

(8) *Lalrai stone-inscription* (*i*)—Found amongst the ruins of the Jain temple at Lalrai, 5 miles south-east of Bali. It contains 18 lines of damaged and fragmentary writing. It is dated in (V.) S. 1233 (*c.* 1176 A.D.), when Kelhaṇadeva was ruling at Naḍūla, and states that the *Rājaputras* Lakkaṇapāla and Abhayapāla, the owners (*bhoktṛ*) of Sināṇava and sons of Kīrtipāla, made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahibala-devī, in the presence of the village *pañcakula*, for celebrating the festival of the god *Śāntinātha*. The grant consisted of barley weighing one *hāraka* as used in (the country of Gurjaratrā, from the well (*araghaṭa*) of the village Bhādiyāuva.[2]

(9) *Lalrai stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Found as No. 8 above; contains 13 lines. It is dated in (V.) S. 1233, and speaks of the *Rājaputras* Lākhaṇapāla and Abhayapāla as the *bhoktṛs* of Saṁnānaka. It then records that the cultivators Bhīvaḍa, Āsadhara and others granted for their spiritual merit four *Sēis* of barley from (the field called) Khāḍisīra to the *Tīrthaṅkara* Śāntinātha in connection with the festivals of the Gujars.[3]

(10) *Sanderav stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Found as No. 2 above; incised on a pillar in the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple. It is dated in (V.) S. 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.), in the reign of *M.*-Kelhaṇadeva of Naḍūla, and records the gift of a column and a house to the *Tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha, worshipped at Ṣaṁḍe-raka (Sanderav), in the *Bhukti* of the queen Jālhaṇa by Rālha

[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 47-48.

[2] Mod. Badva, 5 miles south-west of Lalrai. The record is edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 49-50.

[3] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 50-51.

and Pālhā. Those residing in the house must pay 4 *drāṃlas* to the God.[1]

(11) *Paladi stone-inscription.*—Found at Paladi in the Sirohi State. It is dated in the reign of Kelhaṇa in V. S. 1249 (*c.* 1192 A. D.).[2]

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1220 to 1249 V. S., corresponding to *c.* 1163-1192 A.D. Inscription No. 7 shows that Kelhaṇa was in *c.* 1171 A. D. still a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (1144-73 A. D.). During his rule, as in the reign of his father, his brother Kīrtipāla apparently shared in the administration of the kingdom. This is evident from the Nadol grant of Kīrtipāla dated in V. S. 1218 (*c.* 1160 A. D.) and the Bamnera grant (*i*) of Kelhaṇa dated in V. S. 1220 (*c.* 1163 A. D.). The second inscription ends with the sign-manual of Kīrtipāla. The Sundha hill-inscription states that Kelhaṇa defeated the 'Southern king Bhilima,' who has rightly been identified with the Devagiri Yādava Bhillama (*c.* 1187-91 A. D.), whose Gadag inscription is dated in A. D. 1191.[3] The dates on the records of Kelhaṇa show that he was also a contemporary of Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī (1173-1206 A.D.). He may therefore possibly have come into conflict with Mu'izz ud-Dīn in A. H. 574 (A. D. 1178), when the latter advanced from Multan through Rajputana on his way to Gujarat.[4] Niẓām ud-Dīn relates that Mu'izz ud-Dīn marched through the desert before he was met and defeated by the Caulukya Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241 A. D.).[5] The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* actually states that before the Muslim invader was defeated by the Gujarat king, he took possession of Nadūla, and that all the princes on his route of advance took shelter in forts.[6]

[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 51-52.

[2] Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 73.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77, V. 34; *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 519.

[4] *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 451-52. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 1017.

[5] *TA*, Trans., p. 36.

[6] *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 278-79; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, p. 1086.

Kelhaṇa's conflict with the Muslims is further attested by the Sundha hill-inscription which states that the Cāhamāna prince, "after destroying the Turuṣkas, erected a golden *toraṇa*, like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someśa.[1] Apparently then Kelhaṇa may have won some success against the hosts of Mu'izz ud-Dīn when the latter was disastrously defeated by the Caulukya Bhīma II and retreated to his capital amidst considerable difficulties. We may assume that Kelhaṇa recovered his capital after the departure of the Turuṣkas. But it seems that he was not allowed to end his days in peace. Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak, the general of Mu'izz ud-Dīn after his capture of Ajmer in *c*. 1194 A.D. from the Cāhamāna Harirāja, came into hostile conflict with the Caulukya Bhīma II. In the first battle, which took place in A.H. 591 (A.D. 1195), Quṭb ud-Dīn was severely defeated and driven back into the fort of Ajmer. After receiving reinforcements he again advanced towards the Gujarat frontier from Ajmer in A.H. 593 (A.D. 1197). Ḥasan Niẓāmī relates that when "he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandūl, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musalmāns and had collected under their leaders Rāī Karan and Dārābaras in great numbers at the foot of the Mount Abu and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter."[2] Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested the identification of these two generals of Bhīma II with the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa (*c*. 1164-1219 A.D.) and the Naddūla Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa.[3] Whether we accept the identification of "Rāī Karan" with Kelhaṇa or not, it is certain that after the victory of Quṭb ud-Dīn the position of the Cāhamānas became increasingly difficult, and before long they were compelled to abandon Nadol and seek a new base for their struggle with the Muslims. For all practical purposes I am

[1] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77, V. 34.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. II, 226 ff.; See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 1019.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 78.

disposed to regard Kelhaṇa as the last prince of this line who ruled from Nadol. Bhandarkar has however pointed out an inscription [1] of his son Jayatasīha (Jayantasiṁha) dated in V. S. 1251 (c. 1194 A.D.), which is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgeśvara at Sādadī in the Desūrī district of Jodhpur, and which according to him 'originally belonged to some temple at Nādōl.' In this inscription the prince is given the epithet *Mahārājādhirāja*. Another inscription discovered in Bhinmal gives to the *Mahārājaputra* Jayatasīha the date V. S. 1239 (c. 1182 A.D.).[2] If we are to accept Bhandarkar's conclusion that Jayatasīha succeeded his father at Nādol sometime before 1194 A.D., we must give up his suggestion that "Rāī Karan" is the same as "Kelhaṇa," for the former was one of the leaders of the Caulukya forces in 1197 A.D., and is reported by Ḥasan Niẓamī to have escaped from the battle-field after the defeat of his army. The subsequent history of the descendants of Kelhaṇa and Jayantasiṁha is not clear. In V. S. 1283 (c. 1226 A.D.) we find the region now known as the Bali district in Godwar under the Cāhama (Cāhamāna) Dhāndhaladeva, son of Vīsadhavala who was a feudatory of the (Caulukya) Bhyivadeva (Bhīma II).[3] It is at present uncertain whether these two rulers had any connection with Kelhaṇa and Jayantasiṁha.

(7) *Cāhamānas of Jāvālipura.*

The Cāhamānas of this branch, who are generally known as the *Sonigarās*,[4] trace their descent to Kīrtipāla, also known as Kītū. He was a brother of Kelhaṇa, and, as I have noticed, already enjoyed some control in the administration of his father and brother. His Nadol grant, dated in

1 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 73 and fn. 2 on the same page.

2 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 474, No. 4.

3 *ASI*, WC, 1908, p. 49; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 1011.

4 Sometimes spelt Sōngirā or Sonagarā. The name is said to be derived from Songar (Suvarṇagiri), the name of the hill fort of Jalor; *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 79.

V. S. 1218 (A.D. 1160), which was issued during his father's reign, shows that he at that date held 12 villages, appertaining to Naddūlāi (mod. Nadlai in Godwar). The Sundha hill-inscription tells us that 'he defeated a Kirātakūṭa chief named Āsala and at Kāsahrada routed an army of the Turuṣka.'[1] Kirātakūṭa has been identified with modern Kiradu, a small village about 16 miles N.N.W. of Barmer in the Mallani district of Jodhpur State. In V. S. 1235 (c. 1178 A.D.) Kiradu region was under the rule of Madanabrahmadeva, a feudatory of the Caulukya Bhīma II.[2] It is uncertain whether this Āsala was related to Madanabrahma. The other place, Kāsahrada, where Kīrtipāla is said to have defeated 'an army of the Turuṣka,' has been identified by Bhandarkar with Kayadram, or Kasadram, a village in the Sirohi State, at the foot of Mt. Abu.[3] The same scholar has also suggested that this conflict with the Turuṣkas was the engagement which Quṭb ud-Dīn fought with the Caulukya armies in A.D. 1197. It is however not unlikely that Kīrtipāla's success was achieved in the earlier expeditions which was undertaken by Mu'izz ud-Dīn in A.D. 1178 when the Muslims were defeated. The Sundha hill-inscription, after referring to his victory over the Turuṣkas, makes the significant statement that 'as ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla' Kīrtipāla took up his residence at Jāvālipura.[4] This shows that Kīrtipāla, who appears to have died sometime before 1182 A. D., and was therefore a contemporary of his brothers Kelhaṇa[5] (c. 1163 to 92 A. D.), removed his seat of residence to Jalor during the latter's life-time. If so, then his claim to have taken up his residence at Jalor as 'ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla' may indicate that he

1 *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 72 and 77, V. 36.
2 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 72; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 1006.
3 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 72; see also Vol. IX, p. 73.
4 *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77, V. 36. Jāvālipura (sometimes spelt Jābālipura) is mod Jalor.
5 The Sundha hill-inscription omits Jayantasiṁha; *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

was a claimant for the throne of Nādōl. According to Muhanota Naiṇsī he took Jalor from the Paramāras.[1] An unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription seems to indicate that Kīrtipāla temporarily ousted the Medapāṭa Guhila Sāmantasiṁha sometime between *c.* 1171 and 1179 A.D., but was himself driven out of Mewar by Sāmantasiṁha's brother Kumāra with the assistance of the king of Gujarat.[2] It is possible that these incidents took place after his capture of Jalor.

Kīrtipāla was succeeded by his son Samarasiṁha. He had two other sons, *viz.*, Lākhaṇapāla and Abhayapāla and a daughter named Rudaladevī who built a temple of Śiva at Jalor. The two following inscriptions of the reign of Samarasiṁha are so far known :

(1) *Jalor stone-inscription (i).*—7 lines, incised on two lintels of an old mosque, now used as the *topkhānā*, and opens with an invocation to Nābheya (Ṛṣabhanātha). It is dated in (V.) S. 1239 (*c.* 1182 A. D.), in the reign of *Mahārāja* Samarasiṁhadeva, son of *Mahārāja* Kīrtipāla and grandson of *Mahārāja* Ālhaṇa. It records that a *maṇḍapa* was constructed by the Seṭh Yaśovīra of the Śrīmāla family who was joined in this work by his brother and all the members of the *Goṣṭhī*.[3]

(2) *Jalor stone-inscription (ii).*—Incised on a lintel in the second storey of the same mosque as above. It contains the statement that the Kuvara (Kumāra)-*vihāra* was rebuilt by the *Bhāṇḍārī* Yaśovīra in accordance with the orders of the Cāhamāna *Mahārāja* Samarasiṁha in (V.) S. 1242 (*c.* 1185 A.D.).[4]

[1] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 74.

[2] See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*. The identification of Kitu of this inscription with the founder of the Jalor branch of the Cāhamānas was first made by Ojha, *HR*, II, pp. 451 ff.

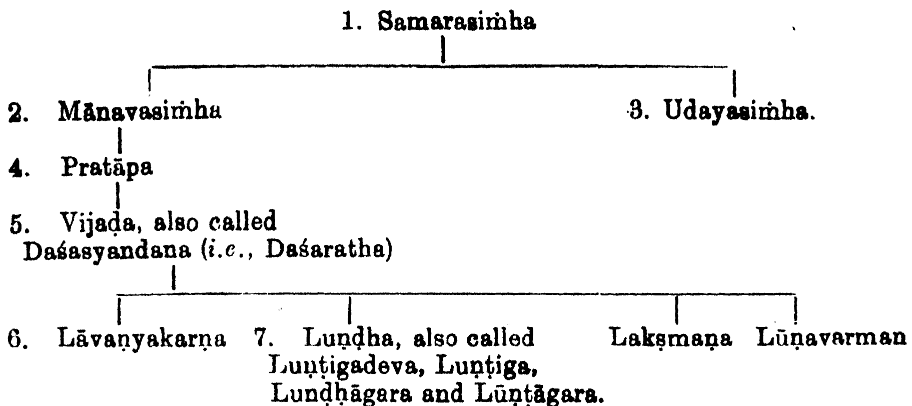
[3] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 52-54.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 55.

These inscriptions give the dates *c.* 1182 and 1185 A.D. for Samarasiṁha, and show, as I have already noticed, that his father Kīrtipāla must have established himself in Jalor sometime before 1182 A.D. and must have died sometime before that date. According to the Sundha hill-inscription, Samarasiṁha built extensive ramparts on the Kanakācala or 'golden hill,' [1] and founded the town of Samarapura. The latter place has not yet been identified; but Ojha's suggestion that *Kanakācala* is the name of the fort of Jalor [2] is generally accepted. This conclusion is supported by the phrase *Śrī-Jābāli-purīya-kāñcana-giri-gaḍhasyopari* which occurs in Samarasiṁha's second inscription.[3] Kielhorn identified this Samarasiṁha with *the Cahu(māna)-rāṇa(ka)* Samarasīha, whose daughter Līlādevī was married to the Caulukya Bhīma II.[4]

According to the Sundha hill-inscription Samarasiṁha was succeeded by his son Udayasiṁha. But an Abu inscription speaks of Mānavasiṁha, son of Samarasiṁha, as the eldest brother of Udayasiṁha.[5] Possibly this brother preceded Udayasiṁha as ruler of Jalor. The *Devḍā* (Deora) branch of the Cāhamānas trace their descent to Mānavasiṁha, who is also known as Mahanasiṁha.[6] From his grandson Vijaḍa-Daśasyandana, known in the bardic chronicles as Vijaḍa and Devarāja, the name of this section of the Cāhamānas is said to be derived.[7] The *Abu inscription* noticed above is built into the wall outside the porch of the Acaleśvara temple on Mt. Abu. It contains 32 lines, and gives the following genealogy of Mānavasiṁha's descendants:—[8]

1 *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 73.
2 Locally known as Sonalgarh or 'golden fort.'
3 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 55, line 1; *ibid*, p. 74.
4 *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 194 ff.; *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 73.
5 *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 80, fn. 6.
6 *EI*, Vol. XI, table facing p. 78.
7 *Ibid*, fn.
8 I omit the names of the predecessors of Samarasiṁha given in the inscription.



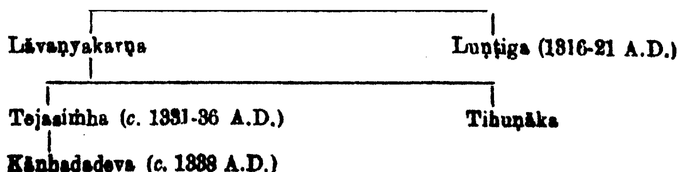
It is dated in V. S. 1377 (*c.* 1321 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Lūṇṭāgara, who resided at (Vū ?)huṇḍha, belonging to Candrāvatī ;[1] and it definitely states that Luṇṭiga 'conquered and ruled all countries particularly Candrāvatī and the divine territory of Arbuda' I have already pointed out elsewhere[2] that it was about this period that Luṇṭiga and his kinsmen supplanted the Paramāras of Candrāvatī. The *Devḍā* Cāhamānas are up to the present day the rulers of Abu (Sirohi State).

The *Devḍā* branch was probably founded by Vijaḍa-Devarāja some time after the succession of Udayasiṁha about 1262 V. S. (*c.* 1205 A. D.). The history of the *Sonigarā* branch continued uninterrupted through Udayasiṁha and his descendants. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Udayasiṁha :

(1) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (*i*).—14 lines, incised on the upper face of the lower square section of a pillar (of the temple

[1] Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, IX, pp. 79 ff.

[2] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 919. Kielhorn (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 82) pointed out from epigraphic evidence the following successor of Luṇṭiga in Abu :—



of Jagsvāmi) at Bhinmal. It opens with *Oṁ namaḥ Sūryāya.* Then comes the date, (V.) S. 1262 (*c.* 1205 A. D.), in Śrīmālā, in the reign of *M.*-Udayasiṁha, during the term of office of the *Pañc* committee consisting of Aśvapasī and others. It records the grant of 40 *drammas* by Vīlhāka, the *Veṭaka* in the treasury of the god Jayasvāmi.[1]

(2) *Bhinmal stone-inscription (ii).*—8 lines, incised on a pillar on the west face of the third right-hand pillar in Bārāji's rest-house at Bhinmal. It is dated in (V.) S. 1274 (*c.* 1218 A. D.), in the reign of the same as in No. 1, during the term of office of the *pañc* consisting of *Sa°* Depāla and others. The inscription is damaged, but records a grant for the offering of a *naivedya* to the god Jagasvāmi.[2]

(3) *Bhinmal stone-inscription (iii).*—15 lines, damaged, on the south face of the fifth right pillar on the right hand of Barāji's rest-house. It is dated in (V.) S. 1305 (*c.* 1249 A. D.), in the reign of the same as in No. 1 during the term of office of the *pañc* consisting of *Maha°* Gajasīha. It records the grant of 50 *drammas* to the treasury of the god Jagavsāmi.[3]

(4) *Bhinmal stone-inscription (iv).*—25 lines, in the walled enclosure of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva, about 3 miles from the town of Bhinmal, in the Jaswantpura district of Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) S. 1306 (*c.* 1249 A. D.) in the reign of the same as in No. (1) during the term of office of the *Mahanta* Gajasiṁha and others. It registers two gifts of 55 *drammas* to the god Jagatsvāmi.[4]

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1262 to 1306 V. S., corresponding to *c.* 1206-1249 A. D. Udayasiṁha apparently was the most successful ruler of this branch. The Sundha hill-inscription[5] tells us that he ruled over Naddūla,[6]

1 Edited in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-75, No. VII.
2 Edited *ibid*, pp. 475-76, No. VIII.
3 Edited *ibid*, pp. 476-77, No. IX.
4 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 55-57.
5 *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 78 and 79, V. 48.
6 Mod. Nadol. This place as well as others mentioned on the next page are in Marwar.

Jāvālipura,[1] Māṇḍavyapura,[2] Vāgbhaṭameru,[3] Sūrācaṇḍa,[4] Rāṭahrada, Kheḍa,[5] Rāmasainy,[6] Śrīmāla,[7] Ratnapura,[8] Satyapura[9] and other places. This list of places indicates that his territories extended from Sanchor and Jalor in the south to Mandor in the north, including Nadol, the old seat of his ancestors. The Sundha hill-inscription further informs us that he curbed the pride of the Turuṣka, was not conquered by the Gurjara kings and put an end to the Sindhurāja.[10] D. R. Bhandarkar rightly conjectured that he is identical with the Marwari Udayasiṁha who is mentioned in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* as assisting the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavala (*c.* 1219-44 A.D.) against a Muslim invader.[11] Sindhurāja has also been identified by the same scholar with the Lāṭa Cāhamāna Sindhurāja, whose son Saṁgrāmarāja is represented in the same drama as in league with the Yādava Siṁhana (*c.* 1210-47 A.D.) and the Paramāra Devapāla (*c.* 1218-36 A.D.) against Vīradhavala.[12] The conflict of Udayasiṁha, who extended his territories as far north as Mandor, with the Turuṣkas was inevitable. I have already suggested that the invasion of the *Mīlacchīkāra* in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* was probably the military campaign of the Delhi Sulṭān Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), which he undertook in A. H. 624 (*c.* 1226 A. D.)[13] and in which he

1 Mod. Jalor.
2 Mod. Mandor, north of the Jodhpur town.
3 Mod. Barmer in Mallani.
4 Mod. Suracand.
5 Mod. Kher, between Tilwara and Balotra.
6 Mod. Ramsen.
7 Mod. Bhinmal.
8 Mod. Ratanpura.
9 Mod. Sanchor.
10 *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 78, V. 46.
11 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 76; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1021.
12 *Ibid*; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 1031. The word Sindhu-rāja may also mean king of Sindhu which country was not very far from the boundary of Udayasiṁha's kingdom.
13 *TN*, Vol. I, p. 611; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1021, fn. 7.

captured 'Mandawar (Mandor) within the limits of the Siwālikh (territory).' But Udayasiṁha appears to have also come into conflict with the Delhi Sulṭān earlier than that date. Ḥasan Niẓāmī relates that sometime between 1211 and 1216 A.D. "they represented to his Majesty (Shams ud-Dīn) that the inhabitants of the fort of Jālewar (Jalor) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, 'and once or twice mention of evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne.' Shams ud-Dīn accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by 'a number of the pillars of the states such as Rukn ud-Dīn Hamza, 'Izz ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Nasīr ud- īn Mardān Shāh, Nasīr ud-Dīn 'Alī and Badr ud-Dīn Saukartigīn,' valiant men and skilful archers, took the way to Jālewar... By reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design. 'Udī Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewar, an extremely strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror.' When the place was invested by Shams ud-Dīn, Udī Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his foot were demolished. He came 'with his head and his feet naked and placed his forehead on the earth' and was received with favour. The Sultān granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rāī presented respectfully an hundred of camels and twenty horses in the name of tribute and after the custom of service. The Sulṭān then returned to Delhi."[1]

But the struggle still went on, and about 1226 A.D. Iltutmish undertook another campaign, in which he is reported to have captured Mandor, which according to the Sundha hill-inscription

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 238; see also *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 207.

was one of Udayasiṁha's possessions. According to the Sundha inscription, Udayasiṁha was 'a scholar, conversant with the great works of Bharata[1] and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jāvālipura. His queen was Prahlādanadevī who bore him two sons Cācigadeva and Cāmuṇḍarāja.[2] A Bhinmal inscription shows that Udayasiṁha had another son named Vāhaḍasiṁha,[3] while the Jain writers indicate that he had also a daughter who was married to Vīrama, the eldest son of the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavala.[4] A MS. of Rāmacandra's *Nirbhayabhīma-vyāyoga* is dated in (V.) S. 1306, in the victorious reign of *Mahārājakula* Udayasiṁhadeva.[5] At the end of his work entitled *Vivekavilāsa*, Jinadatta tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of Dhanapāla of the Vāyaḍa family, who was looked upon as son by Devapāla, the treasury minister of Udayasiṁha of the Cāhavāna dynasty and the lord of Jāvālipura.[6]

According to the Sundha inscription Udayasiṁha was succeeded by Cācigadeva, also known as Cāca. This record describes Cāciga as "destroying the roaring Gūrjara lord Vīrama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking Pātuka, depriving of his colour Saṅga and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara."[7] Kielhorn has suggested the identification of the 'Gūrjara lord Vīrama' with the elder son of the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavala, who according to the Jain writers Rājaśekhara and Harṣa Gaṇi was prevented from succeeding his father Vīradhavala by the intrigues of the minister Vastupāla.[8] As these writers assert that he was

[1] *Viz.*, Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*.
[2] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 78.
[3] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 481 ff.
[4] *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 190.
[5] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 76; Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p. 156.
[6] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 76; Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84*, p. 156.
[7] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 78, V. 50.
[8] *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 73; see also *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 190 and *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 1032-33.

poisoned at his father-in-law Udayasiṁha's court at Jāvālipura, and as Vīradhavala died when Udayasiṁha was still reigning, it has been suggested that Cāciga, may have brought about his death during his father's reign.[1] The other princes cannot be satisfactorily identified.[2]

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Cāciga :

(1) *Sundhā hill stone-inscription.*—Found on the Sundha hill,[3] about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura, in the district of the same name in Jodhpur State. It contains 50 lines of writing. The record opens with two verses invoking the moon on the forehead of Śambhu (Śiva) and Pārvatī, and then traces the genealogy of the family from 'the hero Cāhamāna, a source of great joy to the Ṛṣi Vatsa' to Cāciga. It is a *praśasti* of Cāciga composed by the Jain Sūri Jayamaṅgala, and is dated in (V.) S. 1319 (A. D. 1262). Cāciga is stated to have remitted certain taxes at Śrīmāla, granted funds at Rāmasainya for the worship of the god Vigrahāditya, and visited the Sugandhādri, where he established a *maṇḍapa* at the temple of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā, known by the name of Aghaṭeśvarī.[4]

(2) *Kareda stone-inscription.*—Found at Kareda in Mewar : It is dated (V.) S. 1326 (*c.* 1269 A.D.) in the reign of Cācigadeva.[5]

(3) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (*i*).—Incised 'on the south face of the lower square section of the western side of the north pair of dome pillars (of Jagasvāmin's temple) at Bhinmal.' It contains 24 lines, and is dated in (V.) S. 1330 (*c.* 1274 A. D.). It records some donations to the god Jayasvāmi by one

[1] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 76.
[2] For suggestions, see *ibid.*
[3] In the inscription it is called *Sugandhādri.*
[4] Ed. by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 70-79.
[5] Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 76-77.

Subhaṭa for the spiritual benefit of *Rājādhirāja* Udayasiṁha and himself.[1]

(4) *Bhinmal stone-inscription (ii)*.—25 lines, incised in a fallen pillar on the bank of Jaikop lake at Bhinmal, and is dated in V. S. 1333 (*c*. 1277 A.D.) at the holy Śrīmāla, in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Ca(?)cigadeva, during the term of office of the *Pañc* consisting of *Maha*. Gajasīha and others. It registers some grants by the Naigama *Kāyastha* Subhaṭa for worship and services to the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra.[2]

(5) *Bhinmal stone-inscription (iii)*.—13 lines, incised on the north face of the lower square section of the eastern of the north pair of dome pillars (of the temple of Jagasvāmi) at Bhinmal. It is dated in (V.) S. 1334 (*c*. 1278 A.D.), in the reign of the same as in (4), and records donations to the treasury of the god Jagasvāmi by one *Maha*. Dedaka.[3]

These five inscriptions give us dates from V. S. 1319 (A. D. 1262) to 1334 (*c*. 1278 A. D.) for the reign of Cāciga. From an inscription originally found at Burtra (Budhatra), but now deposited at the Ajmer Museum it appears that Cācigadeva, or Cāca, as he is called, had a queen named Lakṣmīdevī from whom he had a daughter called Rūpādevī.[4] There is some doubt as to his successor. We have inscriptions dated in the years 1339 to 1355 V. S. (*c*. 1282-1298 A. D.) for a prince named Sāmantasiṁha which were discovered at Bhinmal, Sanchor, Jolor and the neighbouring regions.[5] But unfortunately none of these mention the name of his father. Rajput

[1] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 478-80. The record is damaged, and though it evidently belongs to the reign of Cāciga, does not mention his name. Another Bhinmal inscription (*iv*) of Cāciga, dated in V. S. 1328, is noticed in *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 77.

[2] *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 480-81, No. XII.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 481-83, No. XIII.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 312-14. *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 77. She was married to the Guhila (?) Tejasiṁha (*c*. 1260-67 A. D.). See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

[5] See *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 483-84, No. XIV; pp. 484-86, No. XV; pp. 486-88, No. XVI; *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 57-59; pp. 59-60; pp. 60-62; p. 60, fn. 10.

bardic traditions however unanimously speak of Sāmantasiṁha as the son of Udayasiṁha.[1] As the dates and provenance of his records also show that he must have succeeded Udayasiṁha in the region over which the latter ruled, he may be accepted as his son. Rūpādevī[2] of the Burtra inscription (V. S. 1340=A. D. 1284) was therefore a sister of Sāmantasiṁha. A Jalor inscription of Sāmantasiṁha, dated in V. S. 1353 (*c.* 1296 A. D.) gives the name of Kānhaḍadeva "as subsisting on the lotus feet" of the Çāhamāna prince 'and bearing the burden of administration.'[3] This probably indicates that Kānhaḍa was a son of Sāmantasiṁha who was acting as the *Yuvarāja* at the time of the inscription. This conclusion is supported by the bardic chronicles of Rajputana.[4] This Kānhaḍadeva is certainly to be identified with "Kaner Deo," the Raja of Jalor who was a feudatory of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (A. D. 1296-1316).[5]

(8) *Cāhamānas of Satyapura.*

The existence of this branch, the *Sāncōrās*, was known from the *Khyāta* of Muhaṇota Naiṇsī,[6] who traced their descent from 'Rāva Lāhaṇa' through Vijaisī, the son of Ālhaṇa. This last prince must be identified with the Ālhaṇa of the Nadol branch (*c.* 1152-1160). According to *Naiṇsī* it was Vijaisī who first conquered Sanchor; and he gives the following list of Vijaisī's successors:—

[1] *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 77.

[2] She married Tejasiṁha, possibly the Guhila prince of Āghāṭa of that name and had by him a son named Kṣetrasiṁha; *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 312 ff.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 60 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 77, *TF*; Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 370 ff. According to this authority Naber Deo (Kaner Deol) was killed and his fort was taken sometime before 709 A. D. (A. D. 1309). See also *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 111. For the successors of Kānhaḍadeva, compiled mainly from Muhaṇota Naiṇsī, see D. R. Bhandarkar in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 77 ff. Two inscriptions one of Vanavīra (V. S. 1394) and one of his son Raṇavīra (V. S. 1448) are known, see *ibid*, pp. 62-64.

[6] *Muhaṇota Naiṇsī kī Khyāta (Prathama bhāga)*, Hindi Trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dugaḍa, pp. 171 ff.; also *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 79.

Vijaisī (Vijayasiṁha)
|
Padama-sī (Padmasiṁha)
|
Sobhrama
|
Sālo
|
Vīkāma-sī
|
Pātō

This Pātō has been identified with the Cāhamāna Pratāpasiṁha whose stone pillar-inscription dated in (V.) S. 1444 (c. 1387 A. D.) was found at Sanchor.[1] This inscription gives the following genealogy of Pratāpasiṁha, whom it represents as reigning at Satyapura (mod. Sanchor) :

In the family of the Cāhamāna king Lakṣmaṇasiṁha of Naḍūla.
⋮
Sobhita
|
Sālha...liberated the people of Śrīmala from the Turuṣkas.
|
Vikramasiṁha
|
Saṁgrāmasiṁha — Bhīma.
|
Pratāpasiṁha

Vīrasiha of Karpūradhārā.
|
King Mākaḍa
|
Vairiśalya
|
Subhaṭa (Suhaḍaśalya)
|
Kāmalladevī = Pratāpasiṁha

It will be seen on comparing this list with that supplied by Naiṇsī that the two generally agree ; the only differences are that the latter omits Saṁgrāmasiṁha, the father of Pratāpasiṁha (Pato). Combining the two documents we may conclude that like Kīrtipāla, another son of Ālhaṇa, who conquered Jāvālipura (Jalor) and founded the *Sonigarā* branch, Vijayasiṁha conquered Satyapura (Sanchor) and became the founder of the *Sāncorā* branch of the Cāhamānas. The Sundha inscription shows that during the reign of the Sonigarā

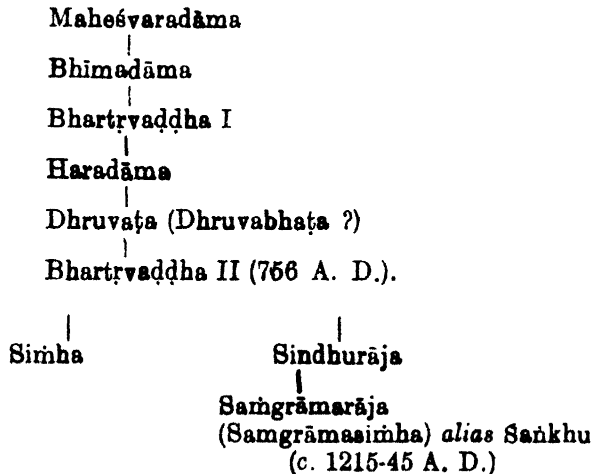
[1] Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 64-67.

Udayasiṁha (*c.* 1206-49 A. D.) Satyapura was within his dominions. A stone inscription of Sāmantasiṁha, Udayasiṁha's grandson, dated in V. S. 1345 (*c.* 1288 A. D.), has also been found in Sanchor. We may therefore conclude that during this period (*c.* 1206-88 A. D.) the *Sāncorās* were feudatories of the *Sonigarā* branch.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES [1]

(Dates approximate.)

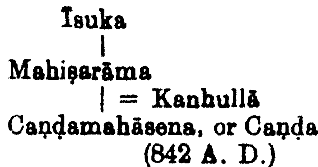
(1) *Cāhamānas of Lāṭa.*



Maheśvaradāma
|
Bhīmadāma
|
Bhartṛvaḍḍha I
|
Haradāma
|
Dhruvaṭa (Dhruvabhaṭa ?)
|
Bhartṛvaḍḍha II (756 A. D.).

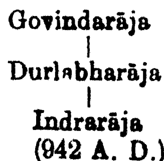
Siṁha | Sindhurāja
|
Saṁgrāmarāja
(Saṁgrāmasiṁha) *alias* Saṅkhu
(c. 1215-45 A. D.)

(2) *Cāhamānas of Dhavalapura.*



Īsuka
|
Mahiṣarāma
| = Kanhullā
Caṇḍamahāsena, or Caṇḍa
(842 A. D.)

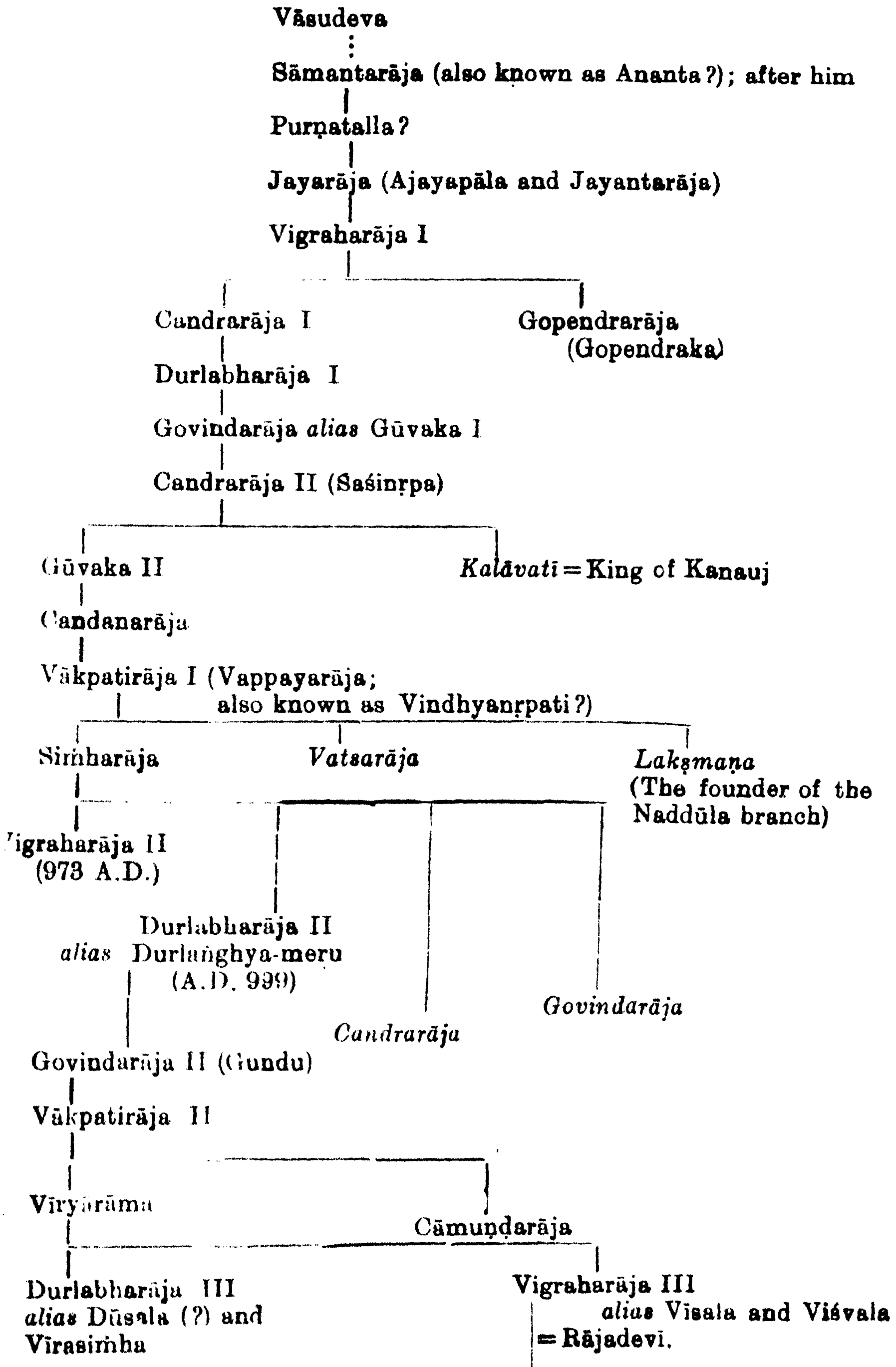
(3) *Cāhamānas of Partabgarh.*



Govindarāja
|
Durlabharāja
|
Indrarāja
(942 A. D.)

[1] Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign. Uncertatin relationship is ordinarily indicated by vertical dots.

(4) *Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.*



Pṛthvīrāja I (1105 A.D.)
Rāsalladevī =
Ajayarāja *alias* Salhaṇa (Jayadeva, Jayarāja)
Arṇorāja (1139 A.D.)
Sudhavā = | = Kāñcanadevī

Jugadeva ?
Pṛthvībhaṭa (Pṛthvīrāja II) (1167-69 A.D.) = Suhavadevī

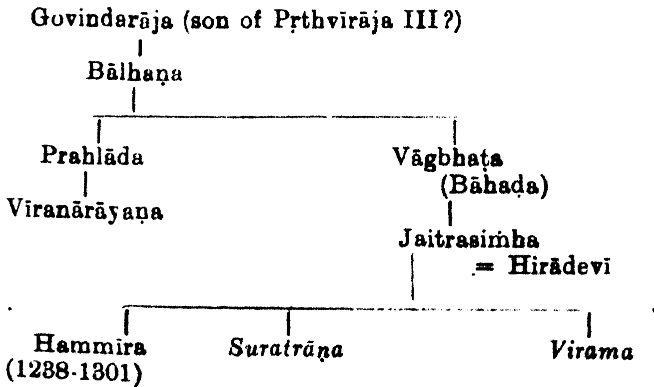
Vigraharāja IV *alias* Vīsala (1153-64 A.D.)
Apara-Gāṅgeya, or Amara-Ga°

Someśvara (1170-77 A. D). = Karpūradevī

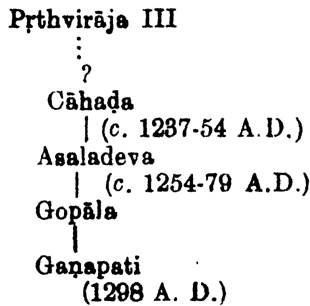
Pṛthvīrāja III (1179-92 A.D.)
?
Govindarāja (Founder of the Raṇastambhapura branch)

Harirāja = Pratāpadevī (1194 A.D.)

(5) *Cāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura.*



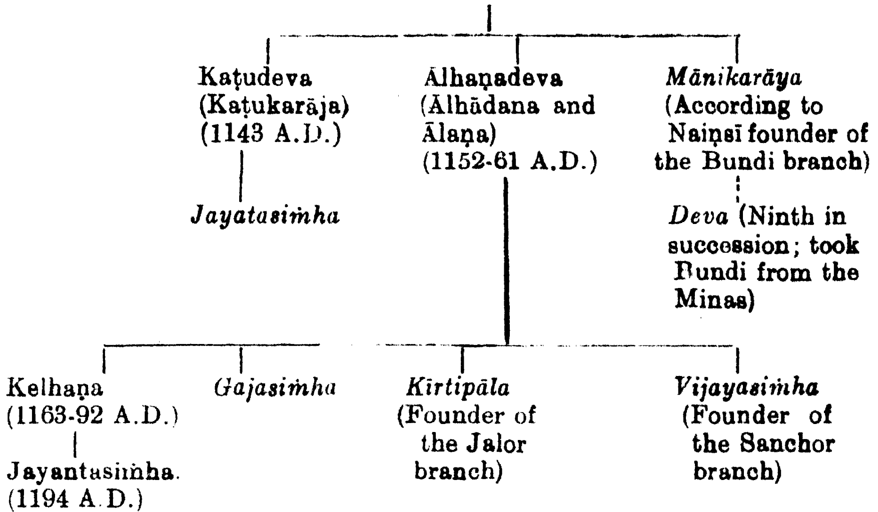
(6) *Cāhamānas of Narwar (?).*



(6) *Cāhamānas of Naddūla.*

Lakṣmaṇa (son of Vākpatirāja I of the Sākambharī line)

- Sobhita (Sobhita, Sohiya, and Sohita)
  - Balirāja
- *Vigrahapāla*
  - Mahendra (Mahindu)
    - Aśvapāla *alias* Āsala
      - Ahila
    - Aṇahilla
      - Bālaprasāda
      - Jindurāja (Jendrarāja, Jesaladeva, Jiṁda, or Jendrapāla) (1075 A.D.)
        - **Pṛthvīpāla**
          - **Ratnapala** (1119 A.D.)
            - **Rāyapāla** (1132-45 A.D.) = **Mānaladevī**
              - *Rudrapāla*
              - *Amṛtapāla*
            - = **Padmalladevī**
              - *Sahajapāla* (Ruler of Mandor ?)
        - Jojalla (Yojaka or Jojaladeva) (1090 A. D.)
        - Āśārāja *alias* Aśvarāja and Aśvaka (1110-43)

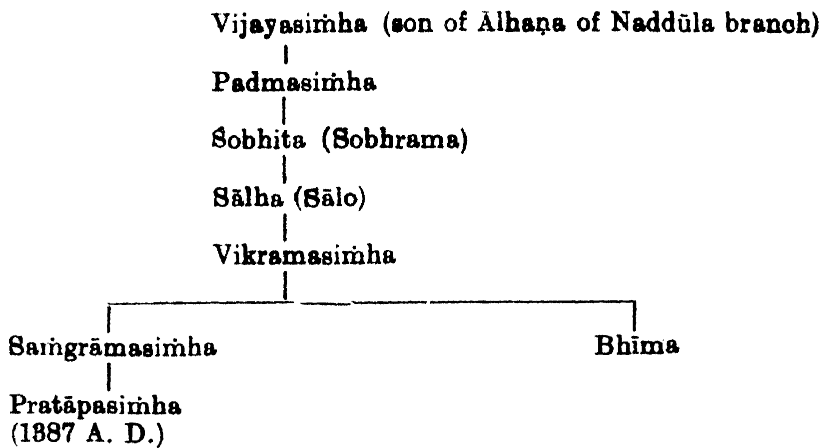


(7) *Cāhamānas of Jāvālipura.*

Kīrtipāla (son of Ālhaṇa of the Naddūla branch) (Kītu)

- Samarasiṁha (1182-85 A.D.)
  - Mānavasiṁha *alias* Mahanasiṁha
    - *Pratāpa*
      - *Vijaḍa-Daśasyandana alias* Devarāja (Founder of the Devda branch, now ruling in Sirohi)
  - Udayasiṁha (1206-49 A.D.)
    - Cāciga (Cāca) (1262-38 A.D.)
      - Sāmantasiṁha (1282-98 A.D.)
        - Kānhaḍadeva
      - *Rūpādevī* = Tejasiṁha (Guhila)
    - *Cāmuṇḍarāja*
    - *Vāhaḍasiṁha.*
  - Līlādevī = Bhīma II (Caulukya)
- *Rudaladevī*
- *Lakhaṇapāla*
- *Abhayapāla*

(8) *Cāhamānas of Satyapura.*



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28. *Surjan-carita* of Candraśekhara (Unpublished Govt. MS., No. 1135, preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

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CHAPTER XVII

The Tomaras (Tuars) of Delhi

The Tomaras [1] are recognised as one of the 36 celebrated Rajput tribes. According to the bardic tradition, 'Anangpal Tuar' founded Delhi in V.S. 792 (A.D. 736)[2] and established the Tomara dynasty, which came to an end when the 20th prince, another Anaṅgapāla, abdicated in favour of his grandchild the Cauhān Pṛthvīrāja (*c.* 1182-92 A.D.).[3] It is difficult to estimate the element of truth in this tradition. But the statement that Delhi passed under Cāhamāna control in the reign of Pṛthvīrāja is certainly wrong. The Delhi Siwalik pillar-inscriptions of Vīsaladeva-Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī show that Delhi was already under the rule of the Cāhamānas in 1164 A.D.[4] It is however likely that the Tomaras were in control of the region round Delhi before Vīsaladeva conquered it in the middle of the 12th century. A Delhi Museum inscription dated in 1328 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq [5] (1325-51 A.D.), tells us :

"There is a country called Hariyāna, [6] a very heaven on earth : there lies the city called Ḍhillikā [7] built by the Tomaras. Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Cāhamāna kings intent on protecting their subjects established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

Also known as *Tuar* and *Tonwar*; see *AR*, Vol. I, p. 104.

CMI, p. 81 ; Tod gives the date as S. 848 (A.D. 792). See *AR*, Vol. I, p. 104. According to Ibn Baṭūṭa 'Delhi is the old city built by idolators' : *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 589.

AR, Vol. I, pp. 88, 104ff.

IA, Vol. XIX, p. 218. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, p. 1076.

Edited by Eggeling, *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

Identified by Kielhorn with mod. Hariyana in the Hissar district of the Punjab.

Mod. Delhi. Ḍhillī-pura "was renowned under the name of Yoginīpura," see *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 106 and 109 ; also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1094. But see *EI*, XXI, 281.

Thereupon the *mleccha* Sahāvadīna,[1] having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force."

The Palam Baoli[2] inscription dated in V.S. 1337 (*c.* 1280) in the reign of Balban (1266-87 A.D.) also says:

"The land of Hariyānaka was first enjoyed by the Tomaras and then by the Cauhāṇas. It is now ruled by the Śaka kings.

First came Sāhavadīna, then came Khuduvadīna,[3] then Asamasadīna,[4] then Pheruja-sāhi,[5] became king."[6]

On the basis of these inscriptions we may perhaps conclude that the Cāhamāna Vīsaladeva conquered Delhi from the Tomaras sometime before 1164 A.D. and that it was the Tomaras who really founded Delhi. The capture of Delhi by Vīsaladeva in the middle of the 12th century was probably the culmination of a series of struggles between the Tomaras and Cāhamānas. This is revealed by the Harṣa stone-inscription of Vigraharāja, dated in V.S. 1030 (A.D. 973).[7] We are told that his great-grandfather Candana (*c.* 900 A.D.) secured the fortune of victory by slaying on the battlefield the proud Tomara lord (*Tomareśa*), king (*bhūpa*) *Rudrena.*[8] The struggle between Tomara and Cāhamāna did not apparently cease with the death of Rudrena. For we are told further on in the same inscription that Siṁharāja (*c.* 950 A.D.) Vigraharāja's father, defeated another Tomara leader (*Tomara-nāyaka*).[9]

1 Shihāb ud-Dīn Ghūrī (died March 15, 1206 A.D.).

2 From the village of 'Boher' in the Rohtak district, Punjab. Hence sometimes called *Boher Palam Baoli inscription.*

3 Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak (1206-1210 A.D.)

4 Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.).

5 Rukn ud-Dīn Fīrūz (1236 A.D.).

6 Edited by R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 104-10; see also *EI*, Vol V, Appendix, p. 34, No. 238.

7 *EI*, Vol. II, pp 116ff. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, pp. 1164-66.

8 *Rudrapāla?* See *EI*, Vol. V, p. 7, No. 44.

9 See *EI*, Vol. II, p. 121, fn. 34, and p. 127, V. 19. It must be clearly understood that my assumption of the connection of these Tomaras with Delhi is mere guess. There is no definite proof.

An earlier inscription which seems to show the settlement of Tomaras in the Karnal district of the Punjab is the undated Pehowa[1] *praśasti* of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla (*c.* 893-907 A.D.).[2] Verses 6-19 of this record gives the following account of a local Tomara family who were apparently feudatories or officials of the Pratīhāra emperors. The pedigree of the family is given as follows :—

In the exalted Tomara-vaṁśa.

Rājā Jāula (Vs. 6-8)
:
Vajraṭa = Maṅgaladevī (Vs. 9-10).
|
Nāyikā = Jajjuka = Candrā
(Vs. 11-13)

Pūrṇarāja (Vs. 15-16) | Devarāja (Vs. 17-19) | Gogga (V. 14)...*bhūnātha.*

As Jāula is called a *rājā* and is said to have 'obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of a king,' it is possible that he was either a petty feudatory chief or a high official, in the employment of some powerful king. The identity of this sovereign is very doubtful, as we do not know how many generations intervened between him and the next mentioned prince, Vajraṭa. But from the statement that his race continued to be the 'home of joyful prospering intimates of princes' we may perhaps conclude that the successors of Jāula continued to prosper. Vajraṭa, we are told, 'gained a lofty exaltation through the most pure business transactions.' It seems likely from the subsequent description of the record that Jajjuka with his three sons entered the military service of their sovereign. We are next told that Jajjuka's three sons founded at Pṛthūdaka,

1 Ancient Pṛthūdaka, in Kurukṣetra. It is situated in Lat. 29° 59′N and Long. 76° 35′E, in Kaithal *tahsil*, Karnal district, 16 miles west of Thaneswar; *IGI*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

2 *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 242 ff.

on the bank of the Sarasvatī, a triple temple of Viṣṇu, in the reign of Mahendrapāla.

This inscription seems to show that these Tomaras were settled in the Karnal area and were in the employ of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla. But, as Kielhorn noticed[1] long ago, it is impossible to be positive, "for Pṛthūdaka was a place of so great sanctity, that even pious men from distant countries may have built temples there ; and if strangers did so, their inscriptions as a matter of course would mention the ruling king of the country." It is again impossible to venture any definite opinion about the relationship of these Tomaras with the Tomaras of Delhi who were defeated by the Cāhamānas. But in view of epigraphic fact and bardic tradition, which connect the Tomaras with Delhi, we may perhaps be allowed to guess that members of Jāula's family were residents of the area formerly known as the Delhi Division of the Punjab.

From the above discussion we may conclude that the Tomaras were settled in the district round Delhi from at least the 9th century A.D. During the reign of Bhoja (*c*. 836-82 A.D.) and Mahendrapāla (*c*. 893-907 A.D.) they came into the orbit of the mighty Pratīhāra empire.[2] But soon after, about the beginning of the 10th century, as the Pratīhāra power began to decline, a section of the tribe probably founded an independent principality round Delhi.[3] With the rise of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī they soon came into conflict with them. The struggle practically ended with the capture of Delhi by Vīsaladeva some time before 1164 A.D.

If these conclusions are correct, it seems likely that before the middle of the 12th century the Tomaras had to dispute with

[1] *EI*, Vol. I, p. 244.

[2] The Delhi fragmentary stone-inscription of Bhoja was found incised on a small piece of stone built into the 9th step inside the *Pāndavān-kā kilā* : *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924, p. 3. In the opinion of some scholars this shows that the Tomoras ruled in Delhi after the Pratīhāras. I agree with them if they mean by 'rule,' rule as sovereigns.

[3] According to an authority cited by Raverty in A. D. 993-4. But other dates are also recorded : see *OH*, 1923, p. 196, fn. 1.

the Muslim invaders the passage of the 'Delhi gate.' The king of Delhi who tried to prevent Maḥmūd of Ghazni's sack of Thanesar in A.D. 1014,[1] was very possibly a Tomara. Another occasion when the Tomaras appear to have come into conflict with the Yamīnīs was when Majdūd, the brother of Maudūd (1040-49 A.D.), captured Thanesar and was waiting about 1041-42 A.D. at Hansi for an opportunity to attack Delhi.[2]

Before we conclude this meagre account of the Tomaras of Delhi we must take note of the following 5 kings whose names with approximate dates have been placed by Cunningham under the caption 'Tomaras of Delhi and Kanauj :'

1. Sallakṣanapāla-deva (*c.* 978-1003 A.D.).
2. Ajayapāla-deva (*c.* 1003-19 A.D.).
3. Kumārapāla-deva (*c.* 1019-49 A.D.).
4. Anaṅgapāla-deva (*c.* 1049-79 A.D.).
5. Mahīpāla-deva (*c.* 1103-1128 A.D.).

Their names were all taken from legends of coins which are of the usual 'Bull and horseman' or the 'Seated goddess' type.[3] I do not know the reason that led him to identify them with the Tomaras. His attempt to prove that the 'Bauūra' king of Kanauj mentioned by the Arab chroniclers were 'Tovara or Tomara' princes is hardly convincing.[4] I have shewn elsewhere[5] that 'Bauūra' probably was a corrupt form of the word 'Pratīhāra,' members of which dynasty ruled in Kanauj at the time of the visit of the Arab writers mentioned above.[6] In support of the identification of one of these princes, named Anaṅgapāla, some feeble evidence seems to be contained in the bardic

1 *TF*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 62ff.; see also *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 18. If there is any foundation in Firishta's statement that the prince of Delhi helped Ānandapāla against Maḥmūd in 1008 A.D. (*DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 91-92) that prince must also be assumed to be a Tomara : *TF*, *ibid*, p. 46.

2 *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 32.

3 For these coins see *CMI*, p. 85; *CCIM*, pp. 256, 259-60.

4 *CMI*, p. 80.

5 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Dynastic History of Sind*, pp. 4, fn. 3, 15, etc.

6 Mas'ūdī (943 A.D.); *Elliot*, Vol. I, pp. 22-23. Read with this the statement of Sulaimān (*c.* 916 A.D.) about the king of Jurz, *ibid*, pp. 4-5.

tradition about the three Tomara princes of that name [1] and the statement of Amīr Khusrau [2] that he "heard a story that in Delhi about five or six hundred years ago, there was a great *Rāī* called Anangpāl." [3] Cunningham identified this Anangpāl of Amīr Khusrau with the traditional founder of Delhi, and the Anaṅgapāla of the coins with the second prince of that name in the bardic lists of the Rajputs.[4]

[1] *CMI*, p. 84.

[2] Died 1325 A.D.

[3] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 565; Cunningham (*CMI*, p. 81) finds a verification of the date of Anaṅgapāla I given by the bards and Khusrau in the inscription on the Iron Pillar of Delhi: (*G ?*) *Sam 418* (*A.D. 736*) *Raja Tunwar Ādi Anang*. But neither Kielhorn nor Bhandarkar refer to this inscription in their list of Northern inscriptions, *EI*, Vols. V, VIII and XX.

[4] For the Tomaras at Gopācala (Gwalior) see the stone-inscription of Mitrasena dated in V.S. 1688, *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 693-701; the Narwar pillar inscription, *ibid*, Vol. XXXI, p. 404, plate IV; *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 381ff.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

Anaṅgapāla *c.* 740 A.D. (?)
⋮
Rudrena (Rudrapāla ?)
c. 900 A.D.

Line of Jāula.

Jāula
⋮
Vajraṭa = Maṅgala-devī.
|
Nāyikā = Jajjuka = Candrikā.

Sons of Jajjuka and Nāyikā: Pūrṇarāja, Devarāja

Son of Jajjuka and Candrikā: Gogga (*c.* 890-910 A.D).

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3. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, by V. Smith.

4. *Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham, Vol. II.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GUHILA-PUTRAS (GUHILOTS) OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA AND KATHIAWAR.

The rise and early history of the Guhila-putras,[1] are shrouded in mystery, and still remains a subject of great controversy. According to the bardic tradition, the Guhila-putras belong to the Solar line,[2] and are direct descendants of Rāma[3] through Sumitra, Kanakasena and Śilāditya (the last of the Valabhī princes of Gujarat). The story runs that after the fall of Valabhī in 524 A.D., Puṣpavatī, the daughter of the Paramāra prince of Candrāvatī and queen of Śilāditya, who had escaped the tragic fate of her husband, was delivered of a son in a cave (*guhā*). The child grew up in charge of Kamalāvatī, the married daughter of a Brāhman of Birnagar. When the child grew up, he came to be known as Guhila (cave-born), and was elected king by the Bhils of Idar.[4] The Bhils however in time

[1] Sometimes *Gobhila-putra* (*EI*, Vol. II, pp. 10 ff.); *Guhila-putra* (*JASB*, Vol. LV, Part 1, pp. 18 and 48); *Guhalaūtra* (*ASI*, *WC*, 1911-12, p. 53); *Guhila-uta* (*IA*, 1912, pp. 17 ff.); *Guhila-vaṁśa* (*IA*, Vol. XXII, pp. 80 ff.; *ibid*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.); *Guhila-gotra* (*JBRAS*, Vol. XXII, pp. 166 ff.); *Guhil-āṅgaja-vaṁśa* (*WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.); *Guhil-ānvaya* (*EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 29 ff.); *Guhilākhyānvaya* (*BI*, pp. 158 ff.); *Guhilya-vaṁśa* (*BI*, pp. 74 ff.). The form *Guhiloi* or *Gehlot* is a further corruption from *Guhila-uta*.

[2] *Sūryavaṁśī* (Children of the sun). *Sūrya-vaṁśiya-M.-Śrī-Śilāditya-vaṁśe-Śrī-Guhadatta-raula......*(*BI*, p. 141, lines 27-29). But the Guhilots also sometimes claimed to belong to the family of the Moon (*Mṛgāṅka-vaṁśa*). See *ibid*, lines 33-36. *Mṛgāṅka-vaṁśodyota kāraka-pratāpa-mārttaṇḍāvatā.ᴊ Rāṇā-śrī-Kumbhakarṇa*. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. H. C Raychaudhury.

[3] *Raghuvaṁśī*, derived from a predecessor of Rāma. Note also that Abu'l Faẓl (*AAK*, Vol. II, p. 268) says that the Rāṇās of Mewar consider themselves as descendants of the Sassanian Naushirvān (*c*. 531-79 A.D.), king of Persia, also *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. See also *BG* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 102) which considers a marriage connection with the Valabhīs and the fugitive daughter of the last Sassanian (A.D. 651) as 'not impossible.'

[4] No doubt the State of that name in the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency, east of Vadnagar.

grew tired of foreign rule, and rising in rebellion killed the 8th prince of his line, Nāgāditya. His son Bappa was at that time an infant, only three years of age. The descendants of Kamalāvatī, who had become the hereditary priests of Guhila's successors, again came to the rescue of the family. Under their protection Bappa was removed to the hilly region known as Nagindra[1] (mod. Nagda, near Udaipur). While tending cows in this retreat he found favour with a sage named Hārita, a devotee of the god Ekaliṅga (Śiva). Hārita accepted the boy as his disciple and through his favour Bappa obtained invulnerability and other supernatural gifts. When Hārita went to heaven, Bappa entered the service of his uncle, the Mori (Maurya)[2] prince of Chitor. After successfully repulsing a 'barbarian' expedition from 'Gajni,' he dethroned the Mori king and seized the crown. Thus was laid the foundation of the Guhila dynasty in Mewar.[3]

Scholars are unanimous that there are some elements of truth in this tradition. For instance, it is accepted that the ancestors of the Guhila-putras originally migrated from Gujarat. The close association of the early founders with the Brāhmans is also taken to be true. But while one school is still trying to prove the descent of the family from the kings of Valabhī,[4] others[5] have pointed out literary and epigraphic evidence to show their origin from the Brāhmans of Ānandapura[6] in Gujarat. The difficulty of connecting the origin of the Guhila-putras with the death of Śilāditya VII of Valabhī is obvious. For the latest known date for the latter is A.D. 766,[7] and we have an inscription dated in A.D. 646 for Śīla,[8] the fifth prince

1 Also known as Nāgadraha or Nāgahrada.

2 The Morya or Maurya sub-clan of the Paramāras still exists. *Census Report, Rajputana*, 1911, I, 25 ; *AR*, Vol. I, p. 265, fn 3. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 6.

3 *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 247 ff.

4 *JASB*, 1912, pp. 63-99 ; *IA*, 1927, pp. 169-74.

5 *JASB*, 1909, pp. 167-87 ; *IA*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 189-91.

6 Mod. Vadnagar, in Baroda State.

7 *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 93.

8 *JASB*, 1909, p. 181.

of the Guhila-putra family. Assigning a period of twenty years for each reign, we must place Guhadatta or Guhila, the first prince, to about the middle of the 6th century A.D., clearly two centuries before his supposed father. The attempt to connect the reigning family of Mewar with Śīlāditya VII and the fall of Valabhī must therefore be given up. In the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated in V. S. 1034 (c. 977 A.D.), his ancestor Guhadatta is described as a *Mahīdeva* and *Vipra-kula-nandana*, who had emigrated from Ānandapura.[1] It will be observed that this Ānandapura, which is the modern Vadnagar in Baroda State, is quite close to Idar, which according to bardic tradition was the original seat of power of Guhila. The Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya (about the 10th century) describes his ancestor Bhartṛpaṭṭa as being, like Rāma (Paraśu-Rāma), endowed with both priestly and martial qualities (*brahma kṣatrānvita*).[2] In the Mt. Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha dated in V. S. 1342, Bappa or Bappaka, the founder of the Guhila-vaṁśa, is said to have 'obtained regal splendour (*kṣātram mahaḥ*) in the guise of an anklet after he had bestowed on the sage priestly splendour (*brāhmanya*) under the guise of his devotion.' In the *Rasika-priyā*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* by Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, Bappa is referred to as *dvija-pungava* and as belonging to the Vaijavāpa *gotra*.[3] A verse cited by the Brāhmans of Mewar, in giving the description of the Rāṇās' family, says that the '*gotra* is Vaijavāpa, the *pravaras* are three and the Veda is Yajus.'[4] The *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba*[5] gives Vajavāpi as the name of a *pravara*, and Ātreya, Gāviṣṭhira and Paurvātitha as names of three *gotrarṣis*. Hence it may be concluded with reasonable certainty that the ancestors of the 'Guhila-putras' of Mewar were originally Brāhmans of Ānandapura in Gujarat. Very possibly, like the founders of the Kadambas in the South and the Senas in the North-East, the

[1] *IA*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186 ff.
[2] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10 ff.
[3] *JASB*, 1909, p. 173.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Mysore Govt. Oriental Series, p. 82.

ancestor of the Guhila-putras may have changed his priestly occupation for that of arms, and in due course laid the foundations of a State, which is still ruled by his descendants in Mewar.[1] The statement in the bardic annals that Bappa founded his dynasty by supplanting the Moris (Mauryas) of Chitor seem to be based on fact. The Dabok inscription[2] of Dhanika, one of the ancestors of the Guhila Bālāditya, of the (Gupta) year 407 (*c.* 725 A.D.), is dated in the victorious reign of *Pb.M.-P.*-Dhavalappa-deva, who has been with some probability identified with the Maurya prince Dhavala referred to in the Kanaswa (Kotah State, Rajputana) inscription dated (V.)S. 795 (*c.* 738 A.D.).[3] The Nausari grant of the Cālukya prince Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya informs us that sometime before 739 A.D. an army of Arabs (*Tājikas*) advanced as far south as Navasārikā in Gujarat after destroying on its way Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara princes. Possibly the bardic tradition about the barbarian invasion from "Gajni" is only a later distortion of this Arab expedition from Sind, which took place sometime before the end of the fourth decade of the 8th century A.D. Bappa, who may have distinguished himself by his bravery in this crisis of the fortunes of his Maurya masters, may have later appropriated the royal power.

This brings us to the discussion of Bappa's date and his position in the genealogy of the Guhila-putras. In the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra (V. S. 1034), the earliest epigraphic record which supplies a regular genealogy of the family, the name of Bappa does not occur at all. It traces the family's pedigree

[1] I reserve for Vol. III a fuller discussion on the 'origin of the Rajputs.'

[2] Referred to as 'Dhōḍ (Udaipur State, Rajputana), now Victoria Hall, Udaipur Inscription' in *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 187, No. 1371, through it is stated in *ASI WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, that the record was 'originally found at Dabok.' The epigraph is so named probably because Dhanika held Dhavagarta (mod. Dhod).

[3] *ASI*, WC, 1906, p 61; *EI*, Vol. XII, pp 11-12. Ojha does not accept this identification and proposes to read the date of the Dabok inscription as 207, which he refers to the Harṣa era, see *HR*, I, p. 421, fn. 1. *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 56 ff.

from Guhadatta. This does not however prove the non-existence of Bappa. For it is recognised that Bappa is not really a proper name. Tod held that "it signified merely 'a child,'"[1] while Crooke is of opinion that 'it is the old Prākṛt form of *bāp* (father)'[2] D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested that it is the same as 'Bāpā' or 'Bāvā,' a respectful term for ascetics.[3] This designation attached itself to the real founder of the Guhila-putras because he was a disciple of the Śaiva ascetic Hāritarāśi and the 'Diwan' of the god Ekaliṅga. Crooke's view however seems to be supported by the fact that in Pallava history, the earliest known ruler is designated by the title Bappa-deva in the Hirahadgalli grants of his son Śivaskandavarman.[4] Whatever may be the value of these various suggestions, we accept the view that Bappa was only a *biruda* and not the prince's real name. Who was then this ruler and what was his position in the family's pedigree? Certain inscriptions of the 14th century and later place Bappa or Bappaka just before Guhila.[5] This must however be wrong for a stone inscription of Naravāhana, dated in V.S. 1028 and found on the wall of the 'Nātha's mandir' near Ekaliṅgajī's temple, near Udaipur[6] describes Bappaka the ruler of Nāgahrada[7] as the 'moon amongst the princes of the Guhila family' (*Guhila-gōtra-narendra-candra*). It is therefore impossible that Bappa was a predecessor of Guhila.

[1] *AR*, Vol. I, p. 261, fn. 1.

[2] *Ibid*; see also *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.; *BG*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 84; *HR*, I, p. 405.

[3] *JASB*, 1909, 189 ff. The suggestion was originally made by Bhagvanlal Indraji in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 84.

[4] *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 2-10.

[5] Chirwa stone-inscription of Samarasiṁha, V.S. 1330 (*WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.); Chitor stone-inscription of the Guhila-vaṁśa, V.S. 1331 (*IA*, Vol. XXII, pp. 80 ff.); Abu stone-inscription of Samarasiṁha, V.S. 1342 (*IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.); Ranpur (near Sadadi) Jain temple-inscription of Kumbha, V.S. 1496 (*BI*, pp. 113 ff.).

[6] *BI*, pp. 69-71; *JBRAS*, 1905-08, Vol. XXII, pp. 166-67.

[7] Also called Nāgadraha, see *RMR*, 1925, p 2; *WZKM*, pp. 142 ff., Called 'Nagindra' (Nagendra) in *AR*, Vol. I, p. 260. It is modern Nagda, 14 miles north of Udaipur, at the foot of a hill on which stands the temple of Ekaliṅgajī. *JBRAS*, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.

The Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated in V.S. 1517 (A.D. 1460), mentions Bappa as the fifth prince between Nāga and Aparājita.[1] As this place is given to Śīla by the Atpura and all other records, including the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1496), the conclusion seems to be forced upon us that this *praśastikāra* of Kumbha's reign really believed that Bappa was a *biruda* of Śīla. Tod accepted the identity of these two princes, though on somewhat different grounds.[2] But there are certain difficulties in accepting this identification. An Udaipur inscription gives the date V.S. 718 (661 A.D.) for Aparājita, the son of Śīla.[3] But the *Ekalingajī-māhātmya*, composed during the reign of Kumbha (Vs. 19-20), gives V.S. 810 (*c.* 753 A.D.) as Bappa's date. In another work bearing the same name which was composed during the reign of Kumbha's son Rāyamalla, the same year is given as the date of Bappa's abdication in favour of his son. As in the first work the verse begins with *Yad uktam purātanaiḥ kavibhiḥ*. D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the date was copied from some older record, and as such deserving of some credence. "As the date for Aparājita is V.S. 718 and for Allaṭa V.S. 1010 we have 292 years for 12 generations ; it gives 24⅓ years for each generation. The difference between Allaṭa's 718 and Bappa's 810 is 92 years; if we assign 24⅓ years for each generation we find that Bappa is placed in the 4th generation from Aparājita." In the Atpur list this is Khommāṇa I.[4] Bhandarkar therefore thought that Bappa must be identical with this Khommāṇa.[5] Recently however G. H. Ojha has arrived at the conclusion that Bappa was the *biruda* of Khommāṇa I's father Kālabhoja.[6] He

[1] Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2214. *HR*, I, 398.

[2] *AR*, Vol. I, p. 270. He proposed the date of accession of Śīla-Bappa, and hence of the foundation of the Guhilot dynasty in Mewar, as V.S. 784 (A.D. 728), see *ibid* pp. 268-69.

[3] *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

[4] This name is sometimes spelt as '*Khammāṇa*' and '*Khuṁmāṇa*.' But the form *Khommāṇa* which occurs as early as *c.* 942 A.D. seems to be the oldest.

[5] *JASB*, 1909, pp. 189-90.

[6] *HR*, I, p. 400.

rightly rejected the view of Kavirāja Śyāmal Das,[1] who proposed to identify Aparājita's son Mahendra with Bappa. For, as the Kavirāja accepted V.S. 810 as the year of Bappa's abdication, a period of nearly one hundred years must accordingly be assigned to two consecutive reigns, which is unusual and cannot be accepted without the support of stronger evidence. Ojha points out that in the *Rāja-praśasti-mahākāvya* as well as the *Khyāta* of Naiṇsī, 'Khummāṇa' is given as the name of the son of 'Bāppā.' As in the Atpur inscription Kālabhoja is given as the name of Khommāṇa's father, Ojha is certain that Bappa must be the *biruda* of Kālabhoja.[2] It is unwise to be dogmatic in regard to either of these two views.[3] But it seems to me that Bappa should be referred to the period between 739 A.D., the approximate date of the destruction of the Maurya principality by the Arabs, and 753 A.D., the traditional date for Bappa's abdication. Now we have the date 661 A.D. for Aparājita.[4] The period between this date and 753 A.D. is 92 years which can be covered by 3 or 4 generations. But as Mewar tradition is unanimous that Bappa had a very long reign[5] we can accept that it was probably covered by three generations. This would tend to support the identification of Bappa with Kālabhoja.

On this view, the first seven Guhila-putras, from Guhadatta (Guhila) to Mahendra II (*c.* 550-720 A.D.), either were subordinate princes of the Mauryas, or otherwise held a very unimportant position. It may be that, as tradition says,

1 *Vīravinoda*, Vol. I, p. 250.

2 *HR*, I, p. 409.

3 More recently the identification of Bappa with Khummāṇa has been urged by Prof. S. Dutt. For his arguments see *IHQ*, 1928, pp. 796-97. He points out that the Guhilots of Mewar in the inscriptions of the 15th century and later are described as belonging to *Bappa-vaṁśa* while in earlier inscriptions they are referred to as *Khummāṇa-vaṁśiya*. That Khummāṇa loomed large in Guhilot tradition is also proved by the fact that of the first 20 Guhilots as many as 3 bore that name and 'the most ancient poetic chonicle of Mewar' probably 'written in the 9th century......and......recast during the reign of Pratāpasiṁha' (1572-98 A.D.) is designated *Khumāna-Rāso*.

4 *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

5 *AR*, Vol. I, p. 267.

the first eight of them held a principality somewhere in the upper Sabarmati valley, portions of which are now included in the State of Idar and S. W. Mewar. The principality appears to have been founded by the Brāhman Guhadatta (Guhila), who migrated from Ānandapura. Inasmuch as in ancient days there was no bar to intermarriage between the Brāhmans and the Kṣatriyas, Guhadatta may possibly have claimed some relationship with the Valabhīs of Gujarat. As I have already remarked, instances are not wanting in India where Brāhmans have founded dynasties. When the 7th prince Mahendra, who is wrongly mentioned as the 8th and named Nāgāditya in tradition, was killed by a rising of the Bhils or non-Aryan inhabitants of the State, his son Kālabhoja escaped and subsequently became the chief disciple of Hāritarāśi, the powerful Śaiva priest of the shrine of Ekaliṅga at Nāgahrada.[2] After Hāritarāśi's death he succeeded his spiritual guide as the head of the Śaiva temple. When the Arabs invaded the Maurya kingdom sometime before 739 A. D., they seem to have threatened the shrine of Ekaliṅga at Nāgahrada, following their usual practice. Like the monks of mediaeval Europe Kālabhoja-Bappa could probably wield a sword with as much dexterity as a sacrificial ladle. The destruction of the Maurya State gave him the opportunity to found a dynasty of his own.

Besides this line of Guhilas, there appears to have been at least one other branch of the family in that region, further to the north-east, which was distinct from the dynasty of Bappa. The founder of this line was Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Guhila lineage, who is reported to have been endowed like (Paraśu-) Rāma with priestly and martial qualities. As Dhanika, the fifth prince of his line, appears to have left an inscription dated in Gupta-*Saṁvat* 407 (A.D. 725),[3] we can approximately place the date of Bhartṛpaṭṭa to *c.* 625 A.D. He therefore seems to have

[1] *AB*, Vol. I, p. 259. [2] *IA*, Vol. XXII, p. 80ff.

[3] *ASI*, WC, 1906, p. 61; *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 11-13,

branched off earlier than Kālabhoja from the common stock in the upper Sabarmati valley. There appear to have been other branches besides these two. Some of them were connected with the Medapāṭa family. The relationship of others is obscure. For convenience we collect the account of the various Guhila families under the following heads :[1] (1) *Guhila-putras of Medapāṭa*, (2) *Guhila-putras of Chatsu and Dabok*, (3) *Guhila-putras of Saurāṣṭra*, (4) *Guhila-putras of Āsikā*, (5) *Guhila-putras of Naḍūlaḍāgikā*, (6) *Guhila-putras of Sesoda*, (7) *Guhila-putras of Dungarpur* (*Vāgaḍa*).

Before giving an account of all these various branches I would add, by way of introduction, that none of them appear to have held any considerable power till nearly the second half of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century A.D. We have seen that according to traditional and epigraphic evidence they were feudatories of the Mauryas in the 8th century A.D. In the 9th they must have gradually come into the orbit of the mighty Pratīhāra empire, which extended from Kāthiawar to Northern Bengal. The annals of the bards are silent on this point ; but the Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya refers to the inevitable fact. One of his ancestors Harṣarāja, we are told, conquered princes in the north and presented horses to Bhoja,[2] who, as we shall see, must be identified with the first Pratīhāra prince of that name (*c.* 836-82 A.D.). Again, the Partabgarh inscription of the Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla II, shows that in V.S. 999 (*c.* 942 A.D.) the Medapāṭa Guhila Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, son of Khommāṇa III, still acknowledged the sovereignty of the Kanauj emperor.[3] There is no doubt therefore that from about the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century the Guhilas occupied the position of feudatories of the powerful

1 For the names of the traditional list of the 24 *Śākhās* of the Guhilots see *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 99-101; *Census Report, Rajputana*, 1911, I, 256. See also the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V. S. 1342) which refers to the numerous branches and the sub-branches of the *Guhila-vaṁśa*, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

2 *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10 ff., V. 19.

3 *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff., Part III.

Pratīhāra empire. From the middle of the 10th to the end of the 12th century most of the region occupied by the Guhilas either directly came into the possession of the three powerful kingdoms, the Caulukyas of Anhilvada, the Paramāras of Mālava and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, which sprang up on the ruins of the Kanauj empire, or became the bone of contention between them. Some of the branches, as those of Āsikā[1] and Saurāṣṭra[2] definitely figure as vassal chiefs of Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas respectively. The early attempts of the Medapāṭa branch to secure a sovereign position were speedily frustrated by the growing strength of these three powers. One of the Medapāṭa chiefs, Ambāprasāda, who probably ruled in the first quarter of the 11th century, lost his life in the hands of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II,[3] while the Chirwa inscription of the Guhila Samarasiṁha (V. S. 1330) shows that the Mālava Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) was in possession of the fort of Chitor itself.[4] The Atru (1127-28 A.D) and the Talwara inscriptions of the Caulukya Jayasiṁha and the Chitorgadh inscriptions (c. 1150 A.D.) of his successor indicate that the triangular area between Kotah, Mewar and Banswara was included within the Caulukya dominions during the first half of the 12th century.[5] It seems very likely that after the second half of the 12th century, when the power of the Caulukyas and the Paramāras had declined, the Guhilas of Medapāṭa found opportunities to establish themselves as sovereigns. But by this time the Turks were in possession of Delhi and Ajmer, and the temples and cities of Mewar were not seldom visited by their plundering bands. Aided by their hills, the Guhilas kept up a desperate resistance against Delhi. Their efforts were not always successful. Often

1 Hansi inscription of Pṛthvīrāja II (A.D. 1167); *IA*, 1912, pp. 17-19; see *DHNI*, Vol. II, *supra*, pp. 1078-79, and *infra*, pp. 1201-02.

2 Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla (A.D. 1145); *BI*, pp 158-60. See also *DHNI* Vol. II, *supra*, p. 977, and *infra*, pp. 1199-1200.

3 See *DHNI*, Vol. II, *ante*, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, p. 1068. 4 *Ibid*, pp. 870-71.

5 *Ibid*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*; pp. 965, 967 and 978-79.

when the throne of Delhi was occupied by an able military leader, as in the reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.), their fortunes sank very low. But they recovered their strength during the weak reigns which often followed. The halo of romance and dignity with which tradition has invested the history of the Guhila-putras is due to this struggle often against enormous odds to save Hindu independence from being completely submerged in Northern India by the Turkish and Timurid [1] floods. Their history before the 13th century lacks the dramatic element and seems to contain nothing which could fire the imagination of poets and bards. The bulk of the bardic annals about the Guhila-putras therefore grew up very late, certainly not before the 14th century. This explains their frequent divergence from fact when they deal with the early history of their heroes' family.

(1) *Guhila-putras of Medapāṭa.*

As I have previously suggested, the first seven princes of the Guhila-putra family who preceded Kālabhoja-Bappa, probably the real founder of the Medapāṭa line, lived and died rather ingloriously, ruling over a small principality somewhere in the upper Sabarmati valley, which is now occupied by the south-western portion of Mewar and Idar. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra supplies the following names of the predecessors of Kālabhoja :—

Guhadatta : In his family
:
Bhoja
Mahendra I
Nāga
Śila
Aparājita
Mahendra II

[1] The *Timurids* are also Turkish and not Mughul in origin ; but it has become customary to separate them from the earlier Turkī sovereigns.

No epigraphic records have yet been discovered of the first four members of the family. Certain small silver coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Guhila* or *Guhila-Śrī*, 'in an ancient western form of the Sanscrit character,' which were dug up at Agra,[1] have been referred by some scholars to the reign of the first prince.[2] But, as we shall see later, it is more than likely that they were issued by a prince of the same name who belonged to the Chatsu branch. There is at present no sufficient reason to suspect that the dominions of Guhadatta really extended from the upper valley of the Sabarmati to the neighbourhood of Agra.[3] His principality appears to have included only portions of the present State of Idar and S. W. Mewar. As we have an inscription for Śīla dated in V. S. 703 (*c.* 646 A.D.),[4] we may safely place him about the middle of the sixth century A.D. He may have been at first a feudatory of the Valabhīs of Gujarat. The only thing known about the next four princes is the tradition recorded in the *Khyātas* that Nāgahrada or Nagadraha (mod. Nagda) was founded by Nāga,[5] the fourth prince. But Ojha has rightly pointed out that this admittedly ancient place may have been named after the Nāgas, who it is well known ruled in Rajputana and Mathura in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.[6] The *Khyātas* also give the name of Bhoja as Bhojāditya (or Bhogāditya), and that of Nāga as Nāgaditya[7] while the Abu

1 The number of coins is given by Carlleyle as 'upwards of two thousand.' *ASR*, Vol. IV, p. 95. Another coin found in Narwar, bearing the legend *Śrī-Guhilapati* (*JASB*, 1895, p. 122), is also referred by some scholars to a prince of the Guhila family, see *HR*, I, p. 400, fn. 1.

2 Carlleyle in *ASI*, Vol. IV, p. 95 ; Ojha in *HR*, I, p. 400; *ibid*, p. 401.

3 As Ojha has done. He is of opinion that after the fall of the Hūṇa Mihirakula, nearly the whole of Rajputana and the neighbouring countries came under the possession of Guhadatta. The doubtful evidence of the Agra and Narwar coins and of the Chatsu inscription does not, in my opinion, support such a sweeping conclusion. See *ibid*.

4 Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1908-09, p. 48. See also *Nāgarī-pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. I, pp. 311-24; *HR*, II, p. 402, and *JASB*, Vol. 1909, p. 181.

5 *HR*, II, p. 402.

6 Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India*, 1932, p. 328.

7 *HR*, II, p. 402.

inscription of Samarasiṁha (V. S. 1342) mentions Bhoja as a devotee of Viṣṇu. For the reign of the fifth prince Śīla, also called Śīlāditya, we have the *Samoli stone-inscription* dated in V. S. 703 (*c.* 646 A.D.). This was found in the village of Samoli in the Bhumat district of Mewar (not far from Vasantagaḍh, in the Sirohi State).[1] It records the construction and dedication of a temple by one Jeka, a *mahājana* from Vaṭangara.[2] Ojha states that he has seen a copper coin of this prince. On one side of this coin, according to him, appears the name of Śīla; the writing on the other side is illegible.[3] Śīla was succeeded by Aparājita, for whose reign we have the *Nagda stone-inscription* dated in V. S. 718 (*c.* 661 A.D.). The stone bearing the inscription is reported to have been found near the temple of Kuṇḍeśvara at Nagda, near Udaipur. It contains 12 lines of writing. The first two verses invoke Viṣṇu under the names Hari and Śauri. We are next told that *Rājā* Aparājita of the *Guhilānvaya* chose for his leader (of troops) the *Mahārāja* Varāhasiṁha, the son of Śiva (siṁha ?). The inscription records that Yaśomatī, the wife of Varāhasiṁha, built a temple of (Viṣṇu) the enemy of Kaiṭabha. The *praśasti* was composed by Dāmodara, and incised by Yaśobhaṭa. The prose part states that on the above date, the temple of Vāsudeva was inaugurated. The inscription ends with *Namaḥ Puruṣottamāya*.[4]

The above inscription unfortunately records no incident of political interest, besides the date, for the reign of Aparājita. The reign of the next prince, Mahendra II, is also a blank, having left no epigraphic or numismatic records. But if there is any historical basis in the Rajput tradition recorded by Tod, he

1 See above, chapter on the *Paramaras*, p. 910 and fn. 4 on pp. 910-11.

2 Kielhorn suggested its identification with Vasantagaḍh in Sirohi, see *ante*, pp. 910-11, fn. 4.

3 *HR*, II, p. 403 and fn. 5. It is reported to be in the possession of one Śobhālāl of Udaipur.

4 Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32; for its findspot, see *HR*, II, p. 403.

may have been, as I have previously suggested, the prince who lost his life in a rising of the aboriginal Bhils, who formed the bulk of the population in the Guhila State. His successor was Kālabhoja, who probably bore the *biruda* Bappa or Bāpā.[1] We have already discussed the circumstances which may have helped him to rebuild his ancestral state on a stronger foundation by the assimilation of the Maurya State of Chitor.[2] I have tentatively assigned for his reign the period *c.* 739-753 A.D., and noticed his close association with the influential Śaiva ascetic Hāritarāśi, the chief priest of the shrine of Ekaliṅga at Nāgahrada (Nagda). The ending *-rāśi* seems to indicate that he belonged to the Lakulīśa sect of the Pāśupata ascetics.[3] A Chitor stone-inscription dated in V.S. 1331 tells us that it was through the favour of the sage Hāritarāśi that Bappa became lord of Medapāṭa and its town Nāgahrada.[4] The Mt. Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha dated in V.S. 1342 also states that Bappa obtained 'regal splendour' through the favour of the same sage practising penance in the town of Nāgahrada.[5] These statements may indicate that his association with this ascetic must have materially assisted him in reviving his power. This conclusion is supported by the recent discovery of a gold coin which in the opinion of Ojha belongs to Bappa.[6] On the top of the obverse of the coin is the legend *Srī-Voppa*; below this to the right is a trident; by its side is a *linga* (representing the God Ekaliṅga at Nagda). To the right of this is the bull couchant (Nandin) and below the bull the figure of a monkey lies prostrate on the ground. This represents according to Ojha

1 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 1157-58, and fn. 3 on p. 1158.

2 Ojha however disbelieves in the unanimous tradition about this break and revival of Guhila power, see *HR*, II, 418 ff. He believes that the Guhilas ruled from Nagda uninterruptedly from Guhadatta downwards.

3 For some of these names ending in *-rāśi*, see *JBRAS*, 1905-08, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.; also *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 211 ff.

4 *IA*, Vol. XXII, pp. 80 ff.

5 *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

6 *ASI, WC.*, 1921, pp. 57-58; also *JASB*, 1927, *Numismatic Supplement*, pp. 14-18.

Voppa (*i.e.*, Bappa), the founder of the Mewar line, who is considered to be Nandi-gaṇa of Śiva.[1] He points out that according to the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Nandin has the face of a monkey.[2] On the reverse of the coin there is a folded *Cāmara*, a cross enclosed in a circle; to the right of this symbol is the handle of a *chatra*; below this is the representation of a cow suckling its calf; below the cow are parallel lines ending on the right with a fish. There is also a pot or vase to the right of the cow and four dots below the parallel lines. According to Ojha the cow and the calf represent the cow of the sage Hāritarāśi, which according to the Muhanota Naiṇsī he tended for 12 years before he attained royalty through his favour.[3] If the coin is genuine,[4] and this interpretation of the symbol is correct, it supports the epigraphic and bardic tradition which ascribes his royal power to the favour of the sage. With the exception of this coin there are no records of the reign of Kālabhoja-Bappa. The only incident ascribed to his reign is that mentioned in the late Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S.

[1] Dr. Barnett points out that '*Nandi* is different from the *Gaṇas* or goblins. See *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, by Gopinath Rao, Madras, 1914.

[2] Dr. Barnett is not convinced. He demands better evidence to prove that Nandin had a monkey's face. He rightly points out that a monkey's face is not a monkey's body.

[3] *HR*, II, p. 417. For two more coins, one ascribed to Bappa, the other to Kālabhoja, see *NC*, 1933, pp. 138-42.

[4] This coin is said to be in the possession of the prince of Sirohi, Mahārājā Kesari Siṁha. It should be carefully examined. Is it not rather strange that we should have no gold coins of some of the greatest kings of this period, in comparison with whose power, prestige and extent of dominions, Kālabhoja-Bappa's position seems rather insignificant and shadowy? I am doubtful about Ojha's interpretation of the 'square enclosed in a circle' as the symbol for the sun. He finds in it a sure evidence of the Solar origin of the Guhilas. But it is significant that unlike some other dynasties, the epigraphic records of the Guhilas even as late as the 14th century A.D. never trace the genealogy of the family to the sun, nor do they even hint at a solar origin while earlier inscriptions trace the pedigree back to the Ānandapura Brāhman Guhadatta, later records trace it to Bappa and refer to his connections with the sage Hāritarāśi. It is only in records which are considerably later than A.D. 1302 that the sun or the moon are mentioned. It therefore seems to me that either the symbol has not been properly read or that its interpretation is wrong. But if Ojha has been right in his reading and interpretation of the symbol then it raises serious doubts as to the genuineness of the coin itself.

1342), *viz.*, an invasion of peninsular India by him in the course of which he is said to have punished the ruler of Karṇāṭa and 'put an end to the pleasure of love of Coḍa women.'[1]

Practically nothing is known about Khommāṇa I,[2] Mattaṭa, Bhartṛpaṭṭa I,[3] Siṁha, Khommāṇa II, Mahāyaka, and Khommāṇa III, who according to the Atpur and other inscriptions are said to have ruled in succession after Kālabhoja. Tod quoting from *Khuṁmāna-Rāso*, gives a description of the conflict between the Mewar prince 'Khummāṇa' and the Muslim leader 'Mahmud Khorasan Pat' when the latter invaded the Guhila territories.[4] Tod identified 'Khummāṇa' with the first Guhila of that name, and thought that the name of the Muslim chief is a mistake for that of the Abbasid Caliph Al-Ma'mūn (813-33 A.D). If there is any historical foundation to this story, it is more probable, as Ojha suggests, that the prince who came into conflict with the Arab invaders was Khommāṇa II (*c.* 810-30 A.D.), and not the first of that name (*c.* 753-73 A.D.).[5] The 3rd Guhila bearing the name Khommāṇa has been rightly identified with Khommāṇa, the father of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhartṛpaṭṭa, the feudatory of the Kanauj emperor Mahendrapāla II (946 A.D.). The Partabgarh inscription of

[1] *IA*, Vol. XVI, 345 ff.

[2] But see *ante*, p. 1157, fn. 4.

[3] Ojha (*HR*, II, pp. 420 ff.) has identified this prince with Bhartṛpaṭṭa the founder of the Chatsu branch of the Guhilas. This however seems to be improbable, if not impossible, even if we accept the reading of his date of the Dabok inscription of Dhanika (Harṣa year 207 = V.S. 870 = A.D. 813). For Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatsu inscription, being the 5th prince counting backwards from Dhanika, must be referred approximately to *c.* 713 A.D. But we have seen that the period of Kālabhoja-Bappa, the 4th, counting backwards, from Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Nagda branch, is approximately 739-53 A.D. Thus it is absolutely impossible to identify these two Bhartṛpaṭṭas. It may be added that Ojha himself believes in V.S. 810 (*c.* 753 A.D.) to be the date of Kālabhoja-Bappa's abdication. This is also clear from another calculation. Ojha accepts the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja (*c.* 836-881 A.D.) as being the Bhoja who was a contemporary of Harṣarāja, the 9th prince from Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatsu branch. This fixes the period of the latter roughly about the first half of the 8th century, which was the period of Bappa.

[4] *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 283 ff.

[5] *HR*, II, p. 420.

this last prince records that *M.*-Bhartṛpaṭṭa granted in perpetuity a field named Vavvulika (Babbulika) situated by the side of the river Nandyā in the village of Palāsa-Kūpikā to the (Sun) god Indrarājāditya-deva of Ghoṇṭāvarṣi in V.S. 999 (*c.* 942 A.D.).[1] Ojha would identify Palāsa-Kūpikā with Parāsia, which is about 15 miles south of Mandasor, and Ghaṇṭāvarṣi with Ghotarsi, about 7 miles east of Partabgarh. Another fragmentary stone-inscription which supplies a date for Bhartṛpaṭṭa, the son of Khummāṇa III, was discovered at Ahar near Udaipur.[2] It is dated in V. S. 1000 (*c.* 943 A.D.), in the reign of Bhartṛ (Bhartṛbhaṭa), and registers the construction of a temple of Ādivarāha (Viṣṇu)) at the Gaṅgodbheda-*tīrtha*[3] by a person named Ādivarāha. It may be inferred from the Partabgarh inscription that during the period *c.* 800-950 A.D. the Guhilas of Nāgahrada were the feudatories of the Pratīhāra rulers of Avanti and Kanauj. According to Ojha, it was Bhartṛpaṭṭa II who founded the city of Bhartṛpura, identical with the modern village of Bhatevar, which has given the name *Bhartṛpurīya* to one of the Jaina *gacchas*.[4]

Bhartṛpaṭṭa II was succeeded by Allaṭa,[5] his son by the queen Mahālakṣmī. The *Ahar Sāraṇeśvara temple-inscription* of Allaṭa contains the dates V.S. 1008 (*c.* 951 A.D.) and 1010 (*c.* 953 A.D.) for his reign.[6] It is incised on a slab of white marble attached to two pillars in front of the *Raṅga-maṇḍapa* of the Śaiva temple near the burning ground at Ahar in Mewar. It contains 6 lines opening with an invocation to Hari. It then mentions the *Rājñī* Mahālakṣmī, her son the king (*medinī-pati*) Allaṭa, and his son Naravāhana. It then speaks of the *Amātya* Mammaṭa, the *Sāndhivigrahika* Durlabharāja, the

[1] *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 177 ff. Part III. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 586-87.

[2] Noticed in *RMR*, 1914, p. 2; *HR*, I, p. 425. *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix* (p. 11, No. 60) seems to doubt the reading of the date.

[3] Mod. Gangobhev at Ahar.

[4] *HR*. II, p. 426

[5] Known in local annals as Ālu Rāval, *ibid*.

[6] *BI*, pp. 67-69. Also *Prācīna-lekha-mālā*, Vol. II, p. 24; *IA*, Vol LVIII, p. 162.

Akṣapaṭalakas Mayūra and Samudra, the *Vandipati* Nāga and the *Bhiṣagadhirāja* Rudrāditya. It registers the construction of a temple of the god Murāri (Viṣṇu), which was begun in V.S. 1008 and completed in V.S. 1010 and records various endowments for its maintenance, on the sale of an elephant one *dramma*, on that of a horse two *rūpakas*, a horned animal *drammārdha-viṁśaka* (*i.e.*, $\frac{1}{40}$ *dramma*), etc. Contributions were also levied upon various other traders of the locality, including even the gamblers. It is also laid down that the merchants of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Madhyadeśa and Ṭakka should pay contributions to the temple.

Practically nothing is known about the political incidents of Allaṭa's reign. But Ojha[1] mentions an unpublished damaged and fragmentary inscription in a small Jain temple at Ahar, near Udaipur, which says that Allaṭa killed in fight his powerful enemy Devapāla, and also mentions the *Akṣapaṭalika* Mayūra, whose name occurs in the Sāraṇeśvara inscription referred to above. Though at present there is no evidence it is not impossible that this Devapāla is identical with the Kanauj Pratīhāra of that name.[2]

Allaṭa was succeeded by Naravāhana, his son by the Hūṇa queen Hariyadevī. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra tells us that 'her fame shone forth in the form of Harṣapura.'[3] This probably indicates that she founded a city of that name. Only one inscription, dated in V.S. 1028 (*c.* 971 A.D.) has so far been published for the reign of Naravāhana.[4] This is his *Ekalingaji*

[1] *HR*, II, p. 428.

[2] *HR*, II, p. 428, fn. 2. See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 587ff. According to Barnett this identification is 'possible but not very probable.' Though at present there is no definite evidence that the Pratīhāra emperor Devapāla was killed yet it is certain that he was not a very powerful prince. Dissensions within and invasions hastened the decline and break up of the Pratihāra empire. It is therefore not impossible that like Rājyapāla (*c.* 1010 A.D.), he may have also been killed in trying to put down internal foes who were often the feudatories of the Kanauj empire.

[3] *IA*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186 ff.

[4] *BI*, pp. 69-71; then edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *JBRAS*, 1905-06, Vol. XXII, pp. 166-67. In the account of the contents of the inscription I have followed this later version of the record.

stone-inscription, which was discovered in the temple of Nātha, 14 miles north of Udaipur. It is incised on a slab in the proper right-hand niche in the outside wall facing east of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple. It contains 18 lines, and opens with obeisance to Lakulīśa.[1] The first verse is damaged ; the second praises Sarasvatī, and the next two eulogise the city of Nāgahrada.[2] Verse 5 tells us that in that city flourished the prince Bappaka, who was a moon amongst the kings of Guhila lineage. The following verse probably mentioned the name of Allaṭa, the father of Naravāhana, to whose reign the inscription refers itself (Vs. 7-8). The inscription then supplies an account of the Lakulīśa sect of the Śaivas. We are told that in the country of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), through which flows Narmadā, the daughter of Mekala, the sage Bhṛgu being cursed by Murabhid (Viṣṇu), propitiated the god Śiva. The latter in the presence of that sage incarnated himself in a form characterised with a club (*lakula*) in his hand. The place where Śiva thus descended to the earth was called *Kāyavarohana.*[3] In this place, the inscription tells us, Śiva did not remember his Kailāśa. Then follows an account of Kuśika and other sages who were conversant with the Pāśupata-yoga, and who resorted to the use of ashes, bark, and matted hair. Then follows a statement that there were certain sages whose fame had spread from the Himalayas to Rāma's bridge who worshipped the god Ekaliṅga. It was by them that this temple of Lakulīśa was raised on Mt. Aśvagrāma. The next verse states that the *praśasti* was composed by the poet Āmra, the pupil of the celebrated dialectician the sage Vedāṅga, who had silenced the disputants of the *Syādvāda* (Jaina), *Saugata* (Buddhist), and other sects. V. 19 gives the date V.S. 1028. At the end occur the names of

1 Lakulīśa was believed to be an *Avatāra* of Śiva.

2 Mod. Nagda, about 14 miles north of Udaipur.

3 Mod. Karvan in the Dabhoi Taluka of Baroda prānt, Baroda State.

Supūjitarāśi and Viniścitarāśi and others who erected a temple and dedicated it to Lakulīśa.[1]

Apart from the dates supplied by this inscription, very little is known about Naravāhana's reign. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra only praises him in vague and general terms which mean nothing. It however mentions the fact that he married the daughter of a Cāhamāna named Jejaya. Ojha noticed an unpublished Ahar inscription which mentions the name of Naravāhana's *Akṣapaṭalādhīsa*, Śrīpati, son of Mayūra, who held the same post in the previous reign. Naravāhana was succeeded by his son Śālivāhana,[2] who had a short reign and was in turn succeeded by his son Śaktikumāra some time before V.S. 1034 (*c.* 977 A.D.). Śālivāhana's reign therefore falls between V.S. 1028 (*c.* 971 A.D.), the last known date of his predecessor, and V.S. 1034 (*c.* 977 A.D.), the first known date of his son. This makes him a contemporary of the Mālava Paramāra Muñja-Vākpati II (*c.* 974-95 A.D.), who is said in the Bijapur inscription of the Hastikuṇḍi Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala (V.S. 1053) to have 'destroyed Āghāṭa[3] the pride of Medapāṭa.'[4] I have already suggested elsewhere that one of the princes, who was defeated on this occasion and whom Dhavala claims to have protected was

[1] For an account of the Lakulīśa sect see Bhandarkar's introduction to his edition of this record. See also *Gaṇa-kārikā* of Bhāsarvajña (Bhāsa Sarvajña). Date of the author about the second half of the 10th century A.D., Ed. by C. D. Dalal, *GOS*, No. XV, 1920.

[2] Ojha believes that the *Kathiawar Guhilas* are descended from this prince, see *HR*, II, pp. 431-433 and fn. 2 on p. 431 ; also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, pp. 1199 ff.

[3] Mod. Ahar, near Udaipur.

[4] *EI*, Vol. X, pp. 18 and 20-21, V. 10. The capital of the Guhilas had probably been transferred by this time from Nāgahrada to Āghāṭa. This latter town appears from the Sāraṇeśvara temple inscription of Allaṭa (V. S. 1008 and 1010) to have already become an important trading centre in Medapāṭa. According to Mewar tradition Ālu Rāval (Allaṭa) founded the city of Āḍa (*i.e.*, Āhāḍa, Āghāṭa, Ahar, etc.). The existence of the place as a holy site before the reign of Allaṭa is however proved by the Ahar inscription of his father Bhartṛpaṭṭa II (V. S. 1000). It is likely that the development of the site as a commercial entrepôt began in the reign of Allaṭa, who later may have even transferred his residence to that town. See *HR*, II, pp. 427-28.

possibly the Guhila Śālivāhana, or his son Śaktikumāra.[1] The following inscriptions are known for the reign Śaktikumāra :

(1) *Atpur stone-inscription* (*i*).—Found by Tod at Atpur (Ahar), near Udaipur in Mewar. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1034 (*c.* 977 A.D.), and records the erection of a temple to the god Nānigasvāmi. Next it gives the genealogy of the Guhila family from the Ānandapura Brāhman [2] Guhadatta to Śaktikumāra.[3]

(2) *Ahar stone-inscription* (*ii*).—Discovered in the village of Aṛ (Ahar) near Udaipur. It was incised on a piece of marble built into some steps leading to the terrace of a Jaina temple. It appears from the inscription that during the reign of Śaktikumāra 'the previously existing practice of offering each year 14 *drammas* to the sun-god (*tapana*) was continued.' It mentions the name of *Akṣapaṭalika* Mattaṭa.[4]

(3) *Ahar stone-inscription* (*iii*).—Incised in a Jaina *Devakulikā* at Ahar, near Udaipur. It is damaged and fragmentary. It probably contained a panegyric on Śaktikumāra and some of his officials, and seems to mention Mattaṭa and Gundala, the two sons of *Akṣapaṭalika* Śrīpāti, as the two arms of Śaktikumāra.[5]

Nothing is known about the incidents of Śaktikumāra's reign. He was succeeded by his son Ambāprasāda, also known as Āmraprasāda.[6] The Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1342)[7] and the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1496) [8] omits

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 561; *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 855.

[2] For different interpretation of *Mahideva* (Brāhman) and *Vipra-kula-nandana*, see Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandia in *JASB*, 1912, pp. 63 ff.

[3] First edited by Tod in *AR*, Vol. II, pp. 924-25. Then fully edited by D. R. Bhandarkar from a transcript of the original inscription prepared by Ojha, in *IA*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186-91. See also M. V. Pandia in *JASB*, Vol. VIII, pp. 63ff.

[4] Edited by C. Bendall, *Journey*, p. 82; see also *HR*, II, p. 484.

[5] Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62; also in *HR*, II, pp. 434 and 437.

[6] Also sometimes spelt as Aṁbāprasāda.

[7] *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345ff.

[8] *BI*, pp. 113 ff.; also *ASI*, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff. The record is sometimes called 'Ranpur inscription.'

him and places his brother Śucivarman immediately after Śaktikumāra. But the Chitor inscription of the Guhilas, dated in V. S. 1331,[1] and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1517)[2] mention him as successor of Śaktikumāra and predecessor of Śucivarman. A damaged unpublished inscription found at Ahar mentions his queen as belonging to the Caulukya-vaṁśa. Unfortunately her name is lost.[3] Ambāprasāda seems to have had a tragic end. The *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* claims that the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II sent Ambāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa, with his army to the abode of Yama.[4] The epithet *Āghāṭa-pati* applied to the Guhila prince shows that the royal residence was now definitely transferred from Nāgahrada to this place. In the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra he is described as having 'established himself at Ātapura,' which is generally taken as another form of the name of Āghāṭa or modern Ahar. Probably the Guhila princes had begun to prefer this new city as their place of residence even earlier.[5]

Ambāprasādā was succeeded by his brother Śucivarman, for whose reign only one inscription is known. This is his *Hastamātā temple-inscription* at Ahar.[6] Unfortunately this epigraph which is cut on one of the steps leading to the entrance to the temple, is much mutilated. In the beginning it mentions king Śucivarman as son of Śaktikumāra. Its object was probably to register the foundation of the temple to the god Rāhileśvara. It also mentions one Soḍuka of the Caulukya-*kula* and his daughter Mahimā; but owing to its damaged state their relationship with the other persons mentioned cannot be determined. The history of the Guhilas after Śucivarman is rather obscure. From the inscriptions of the 14th century and

[1] *IA*, Vol. XXII, pp. 80-81.
HR, II, p. 440; see also *ASI*, *WC*., 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2214.
[3] *HR*, II, p. 438, fn. 1.
[4] Vs. 59-60; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, p. 1068.
[5] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1171, fn. 4.
[6] *BI*, pp. 72-74; see also *HR*, II, p. 442, fn. 1.

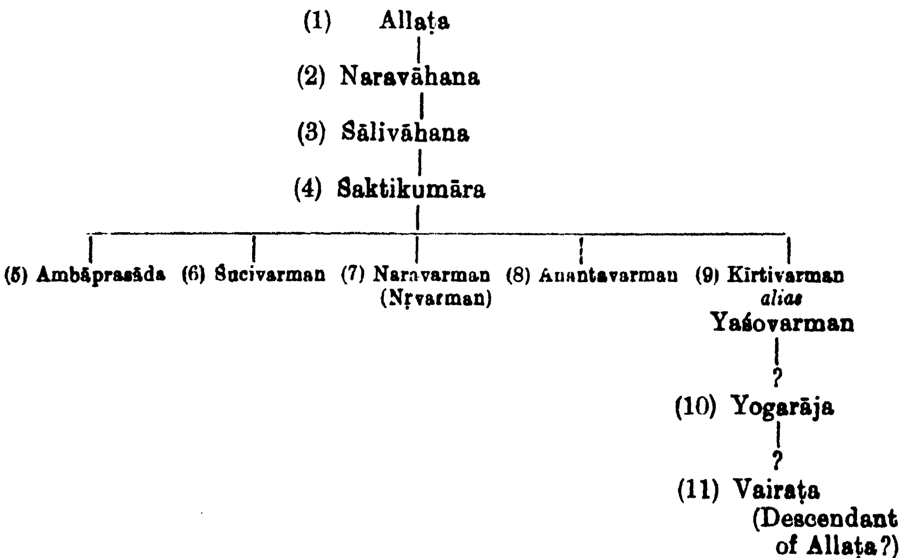
later we may perhaps be allowed to conclude that Naravarman (*alias* Nṛvarman), Anantavarman, Kīrtivarman (*alias* Yaśovarman), Yogarāja and Vairaṭa succeeded Śucivarman, one after the other, on the throne of Medapāṭa. The Chitor inscription dated V.S. 1331,[1] and the Abu inscription dated in V.S. 1342[2] of Samarasiṁha mention Naravarman as the successor of Śucivarman. The unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription has the following verse :[3]

NṛvarmĀnantavarmā ca Yāśovarmā mahīpatis,
trayo'py Aṁbāprasādasya jajñire bhrātaro'sya ca.

This may indicate that these three brothers of Ambāprasāda probably succeeded Śucivarman. The Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1342) however mentions after Naravarman the names of only Kīrtivarman and Vairaṭa.[4] But the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha places Kīrtivarman, Yogarāja and Vairaṭa in succession to Śucivarman[5] while the Kumbhalgarh inscription of the same king dated in V. S. 1517 gives Nṛvarman, Yaśovarman, Yogarāja and Vairaṭa after Ambāprasāda.[6] The above shows that there was considerable confusion in the 14th century and later regarding the order of succession and the names of the rulers who came after Naravarman. No records either epigraphic or numismatic, are known to refer themselves to these princes, and the only important information about them is contained in the unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription which tells us that after Yogarāja Vairaṭa, a descendant of Allaṭa, occupied the throne.[7] This certainly indicates that the princes

IA, Vol. XXII, pp. 80, 81. The names after Naravarman are lost.
IA, XVI, pp. 345 ff.
[3] Quoted in *HR*, II, p. 439, fn. 1.
IA. Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.
[5] *BI*, pp. 113 ff.; see also *ASI*, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff.
HR, II, p. 440.
Tataś ca Yogarājo 'bhūn-Medapāṭe mahīpatiḥ,
api rājye sthite tasmiṁs tacchā-(no divaṁ) gatāḥ.
paścād Allaṭa-saṁtāne Vairaṭo-'bhūn nareśvaraḥ.—*HR*, II, p. 443, fn. 2.
But Muhanota Naiṇsī in his chronicle (17th century) describes Vairaṭa as the son of Yogarāja (*Yogarājarā*), see *Muhṇota Naiṇsī kī Khyāta* (Prathama bhāga). Hindī Trans. by R. Dugaḍa, p. 20.

from Vairaṭa downwards belonged to a separate line, which claimed descent from Allaṭa. Whether this Allaṭa is the Guhila prince of the same name who ruled in V. S. 1008-10 is uncertain. I have already accepted the conjecture of Ojha that the names Kīrtivarman and Yaśovarman being synonymous, probably belonged to the same person. We do not know the exact relationship between this prince and Yogarāja, though there is no reason to doubt that he was closely connected with him. We may tentatively suggest the following order of succession after Allaṭa



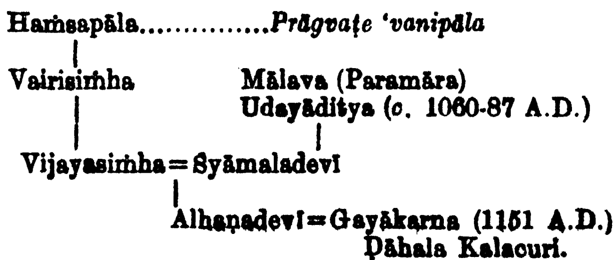
As we have the dates V.S. 1034 for Śaktikumāra and V.S. 1173 for the fourth from Vairaṭa, we may roughly fix the period V.S. 1050-1125, corresponding to *c*. 993-1068, as that during which the seven princes from Nos. 5-11 may have held sway in Medapāṭa, or in portions of it. This gives each of them a reign of little less than 10½ years. There is reason to suspect that during most of this period a large part of Medapāṭa was conquered by the Paramāras of Mālava. The Chirwa stone-inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1330) tells us that Madana, who was appointed his *Talāra* in the fort of Citrakūṭa, composed

hymns of praise in honour of Śiva in the temple of Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa raised by Bhoja-rāja.[1] This Bhoja has rightly been identified with the Paramāra Bhoja who ruled in Malāva from c. 1010 to 1055 A.D. I have shown elsewhere that Bhoja was in possession of Vāgaḍa, the area now occupied by the States of Dungarpur and Banswara, and that his armies maintained contact with the Cāhamānas of Naddula.[2] It may therefore indicate that before they could recover from their defeat at the hands of the Śākambharī Vākpati, Medapāṭa was invaded and practically conquered by the Paramāras. But following their usual practice, the Guhilas perhaps maintained their independence in the more hilly and inaccessible portions of Mewar. Whether the Mewar territories of the Paramāras after the death of Bhoja passed under the control of the Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) is more than we can say at present. But there is sufficient evidence to show that the Caulukyas during the rule of Jayasiṁha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) dominated a large part of Mewar. The Chitor inscriptions of the latter prince show that, like Bhoja, he was in possession of Chitor c. 1150 A.D. It is therefore not surprising that the later *praśastikāras* of the Guhilas found it rather difficult to give a satisfactory account of the Guhila princes who ruled in the 11th and early 12th centuries. It is very significant that the Chitor inscription of the Caulukya Kumārapāla dated in V. S. 1207 refers only to his campaign against the rulers of Śakambharī, and does not even hint at the existence of the Guhila kingdom. It is therefore possible that the Guhilas during this period had either become feudatories of the Caulukyas or otherwise occupied so insignificant a position as to deserve omission in a record of royal victories. It should also be noted that not a single inscription of Śaktikumāra's (V. S. 1034) nine successors survives and even later up to the time of Jaitrasiṁha (V. S. 1270-1309) the epigraphic records of the

1 *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142ff.
2 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 870-71.

Guhilas are extremely rare. This remarkable scarcity of epigraphic documents, when considered with other facts detailed above, tends to support our conclusion as to the comparative insignificance of the Guhilas of Mewar during the 11th, 12th, and even the 13th centuries A.D.

According to the Sadadi (V.S. 1496) [1] and Kumbhalgarh (V.S. 1517) [2] inscriptions of Rāṇā Kumbha, Vairaṭa was succeeded by Haṁsapāla,[3] and the latter by Vairisiṁha. According to the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1342) Vairisiṁha was followed by Vijayasiṁha. [4] The accuracy of this order of succession is fortunately verified by the Bheraghat inscription of the reign of the Ḍāhala Kalacuri Narasiṁhadeva, dated in the Kalacuri year 907 (*c.* 1155 A.D.). [5] It gives us the following genealogy of his mother Alhaṇadevī :



This matrimonial connection between Udayāditya and Vijayasiṁha suggests an alliance between the struggling Paramāra and Guhila dynasties against the imperialism of the Caulukyas, who under Bhīma I (*c.* 1022-64 A.D.) had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the fall

[1] *BI*, pp. 118 f.

[2] *HR*, II, p. 440.

[3] Given as Vaṁśapāla in the Sadadi epigraph. This is clearly a mistake of the scribe.

[4] Given as Vīrasiṁha II, by the two inscriptions of Kumbha mentioned above. See *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 109, No. 784.

[5] *EI*, Vol. II, p. 10, Haṁsapāla is called *Pragvaṭe'vanipāla*. See also the slightly variant genealogical information in *Karanbel stone-inscription*, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 214-18, *See ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Haihayas*, pp. 791 and 796.

of Bhoja I (*c.* 1055 A.D.). Only one inscription was so far known for the reign of Vijayasiṁha. This is his *Paldi stone-inscription* dated in V. S. 1173 (*c.* 1116 A.D.)[1] It was found in the temple of Kārttikasvāmin near Paldi about 4 miles north of Udaipur. But recently Ojha claims to have discovered a grant of this prince in the village of Kadmal. According to him it is incised on two plates and contains the genealogy of the Guhilas from Guhadatta to Vijayasiṁha of Nāgahrada.[2] It is dated in (V.S. 1164 (*c.* 1108 A.D.).[3]

Nothing is known about the next three princes, Arisiṁha, Coḍa (or Coḍasiṁha) and Vikramasiṁha (or Vikramakesarī). Even their relationship to each other is uncertain. Thus while the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1342 mentions) Vikramasiṁna as the son of Coḍa[4] the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1517) refers to Vikramakesarī as the elder brother (*agraja*) of Coḍa.[5] According to the Sadadi and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions of Kumbha Vikramasiṁha was succeeded by his son Raṇasiṁha.[6] Bhandarkar has identified this prince with the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rājakula* Raṇasīdeva reigning at Cāṁḍapallī,[7] whose *Ajahari stone-inscription* is dated in V.S. 1223 (A.D. 1167). It was found at Ajahari, Jodhpur State, Rajputana.[8] The *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya*, composed in the reign of Rāṇā

[1] Noticed in *RMR*, 1915-16, p. 3.

[2] Noticed in *HR*, II, pp. 445-46. The genealogy from Guhadatta to Allaṭa is the same as n the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra (V.S. 1034). See *ibid*, fn. 1. Ojha has not been ble to decipher the inscription fully. See also *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II A (Mewar Resi. ency), 1908, p. 14.

[3] See *EI*, Vol. XIX. *Appendix*, p. 28, No. 176. D. R. Bhandarkar is inclined to refer he Pipad (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription of *Rāṇā Śrī-Rājakula*]Vijayasiṁha reigning t Pippalapāda in V.S. 1224 to this prince, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 49, No. 328.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

[5] *HR*, II, p. 446, fn. 3.

[6] *HR*, II, p. 440; *BI*, pp. 118 ff. This name is omitted in the Abu inscription of amarasiṁha, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

[7] According to D. R. Bhandarkar 'probably the same as Candrāvatī.'

[8] Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1910-11, p. 39. See also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 49, No. 4; also fn. 1, on the same page. This would place him before Vijayasiṁha if we accept andarkar's identification in *ibid*, p. 49, No. 328. See above, fn. 3 on this page.

Kumbha, gives the name of this prince as Karṇa which appears to be another name of Raṇasiṁha.[1] This work tells us that from the reign of 'Karṇa' the Guhilas branc hed off into two sections, one of which was known as *Rāval* (*Rājakula*), and the other as *Rāṇā*. In the Rāval branch flourished Jitasiṁha (Jaitrasiṁha),[2] Samarasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha, while in the Rāṇā branch there were Māhapa, Rāhapa, etc. The *Rāvals* ruled in the fort of Citrakūṭa, while the *Rāṇās* were the chiefs of Sesoda under the former, and became known as the Sesodia clan. It was Hammīra of this line who recovered Chitor from the Muslims after it had been taken from the *Rāval* Ratansiṁha in 1303 A.D. and revived once again the power of the Guhilas in Mewar.

Raṇasiṁha (Karṇa) was succeeded by his son Kṣemasiṁha[3] who is represented in the Kumbhalgarh *Praśasti* as the younger brother of Mahana.[4] This may indicate that Mahana was passed over in favour of the younger son Kṣemasiṁha, a not unusual incident in the history of the Rajput dynasties. Nothing is known about Kṣemasiṁha. He was succeeded by his son Sāmantasiṁha, for whose reign we have the following seven inscriptions :

(1) *Jagat stone-inscription.*—Incised on a pillar in the temple of Aṁbādevī at the village of Jagat, in the Chapan district of Mewar. It is dated in V.S. 1228 (*c*. 1172 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārāja* Sāmantasiṁha, and records the gift of a *Suvarṇa-kalasa* to the local temple.[5]

[1] *HR*, II, p. 447. The *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya* gives the name of Karṇa's father as Śrī-Puñja, which is taken by Ojha as another name of Vikramasiṁha. Ojha points out that the author of the *Māhātmya*, in trying to exaggerate the importance of Karṇa, describes the princes of most of the countries known to him as paying homage to him.

[2] The *Māhātmya* does not mention the name of the 5 princes (Kṣemasiṁha to Padmasiṁha) who ruled between Raṇasiṁha (Karṇa) and Jaitrasiṁha.

[3] Sadadi (V.S. 1496) and Kumbhalgarh (V.S. 1517) inscriptions; see also *HR*, II, p. 440.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 448, fn. 1.

[5] Noticed in *RMR*, 1914-15, p. 3; *HR*, II, p. 449. See also *IA*, Vol. LIII, p. 100, n. 2.

(2) *Solaj stone-inscription.*—Incised on the door of the temple of Boreśvara Mahādeva near the village of Solaj on the bank of the Mahi in the Dungarpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.), in the reign of the same as in No. 1 above.[1]

(3) *Uthman* (Sirohi State, Rajputana) *inscription* of the time of Sāṁvatasiṁha (Sāmantasiṁha, dated in V.S. 1256 A.D. 1200). It is incised on a pilaster of a temple of Mahādeva at Uthman about 11½ miles NE. of Sirohi. Language is Mārvārī.[2]

(4) *Bamnera* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *inscription* (*i*) of *Mahārāja* Sāmantasiṁha, dated in V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). It is incised on a porch pillar of a temple of Sūrya at Bamnera, about 7 miles from Erinpura railway station.[3]

(5) *Bamnera* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *inscription* (*ii*) of the time of *M.*-Sāmantasiṁha dated in V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). Incised and found as No. 4.[4]

(6) *Sanderav* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *inscription* of the time *M.*-Sāmantasīhadeva dated in V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). Incised on a pillar of a Jain temple of Mahāvīra at Sanderav about 10 miles NW. of Bali.[5]

(7) Bamnera (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription (*iii*) of the time of *M.*-Sāmantasiṁha, dated in V.S. 1258 (AD. 1202). Incised and found as No. 4.[6]

1 Noticed in *RMR*, 1914-15, p. 3; *HR*, II, p. 449.

2 Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1916-17, pp. 65-66; also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 64, No. 441.

3 *Ibid*, 1908-09, p. 52; also *EI*, Vol. Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 64, No. 444.

4 *Ibid*; also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 64, No. 445.

5 *Ibid*; also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 64, No. 446.

6 *Ibid*; also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 64, No. 447. Though from the notices of the inscriptions Nos. 3-7 in the *ASI*, *WC*, it appears that the dynastic name of the ruler is not specifically mentioned, Bhandarkar accepts him as a *Guhila* (*EI*, XX, *Appendix*). In the opinion of some, however, the provenance of these records seem to create some difficulties in the acceptance of this Sāmantasiṁha as belonging to the Guhila dynasty. The *Unstra* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *devli inscription* recording that the Guhilaūtra *Rāṇā* Moṭisvarā was followed *Satī* by his wife, a Mohilī in V.S. 1248 (A.D. 1192) must be referred to this reign. See *ASI*, *WC*, 1911-12, p. 53.

The seven inscriptions noticed above give the dates V.S. 1228-1258, corresponding to *c.* 1171-1202 A.D., for Sāmantasiṁha. But they supply no details of the incidents of his reign.[1] He has however been identified with the Sāmantasiṁha who is mentioned in an inscription in the shrine of Neminātha on Mt. Abu dated in V.S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) as contemporary with Prahlādana, the younger brother of the Candrāvatī Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa (*c.* 1163-1219 A.D.).[2] This inscription tells us that Prahlādana, apparently during the administration of his brother, defended the Gurjara king when his power had been broken by Sāmantasiṁha. I have already suggested the identification of the Gurjara king with the Caulukya Ajayapāla (*c.* 1173-76 A.D.), the nephew and successor of Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.).[3] Kumārapāla, as we have seen, was in possession of the fort of Chitor and a large portion of Mewar. It is possible that Sāmantasiṁha, taking advantage of the trouble that followed Kumārapāla's death *c.* 1173 A.D., tried to recover Chitor or otherwise to strengthen his position. The Abu inscription and the provenance of his records show that he at first gained considerable degree of success, but Ajayapāla partially recovered his position with the help of his feudatory's brother. There is reason to believe that Ajayapāla took such drastic steps against Sāmantasiṁha that the latter for some time at least had to take shelter in the hills of Vāgaḍa, which lies to the east of the Mahi, and is now known as the State of Dungarpur. The Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1342)[4] relates that Kumārasiṁha, the successor of Sāmantasiṁha, "made the earth possessed of a good king after having taken it away again from the possession of the enemy." The unpublished

[1] When edited properly they may reveal some important data.

[2] *EI*, Vol. III, pp. 200-04 and 208-19; see also *ante*, pp. 918 and 1014.

[3] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 1001 ff. See also *ibid*, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 918.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha says that after Sāmantasiṁha his brother Kumārasiṁha ousted from the country the enemy prince Kītu, who had seized his kingdom, and after pleasing the Gurjara king became king at Āghāṭapura.[1] This Kītu has been identified with Kīrtipāla,[2] a younger brother of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Kelhaṇa (*c.* 1163-92 A.D.), the reputed founder of the Jāvālipura Cāhamānas. I have shown elsewhere that Kelhaṇa was a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla about 1171 A.D.,[3] and it is not unlikely that he continued to acknowledge the sovereignty of his successor Ajayapāla. The principality of Kīrtipāla assigned to him in his father Ālhaṇa's reign (*c.* 1152-62 A D.) appertained to Naddūlāi,[4] modern Nādlai in Godwar (Jodhpur State), not far from the frontiers of Mewar. It is therefore quite likely that on the instructions and with the assistance of Ajayapāla, Kīrtipāla invaded Mewar and occupied it on behalf of the Caulukya king. This possibly happened sometime after *c.* 1171 A.D., the date of the Jagat inscription of Sāmantasiṁha, and before *c.* 1179 A.D., the date of his Solaj inscription. The former was found in the state of Udaipur and the latter in the State of Dungarpur (Vāgaḍa). According to Muhaṇota Naiṇsī,[5] Sāmantasiṁha voluntarily abdicated his throne of Chitor in favour of his younger brother, in reward of his devoted service to him, and having ousted and killed Caurasīmalaka, the prince of Vāgaḍa, established his line in that region.[6] We can well believe the

[1] *Sāmantasiṁha-nāmā bhūpatir bhūtale jātah. Bhrātā Kumārasiṁho 'bhūt svarājya-grāhiṇāṁ param, deśān niṣkāsayāmāsa Kītu-saṁjñāṁ nṛpam tu yaḥ, svīkṛtam Āghāṭa-puram Gurjara-nṛpatim prasādya.* See *HR*, II, p. 451, fn. 2.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 451.

[3] *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 47-48; also *ante*, *DHNI*, chapters on the *Caulukyas* and *Cāhamānas*, pp. 984-85, 987-88, 1119-20 and 1121.

[4] *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 66-70.

[5] Also called Muhnot Neṇsī or Mūtā Neṇsī, the author of the yet unpublished *Khyāta*, a valuable chronicle of the history of Rajputana. The author lived in the court of the Rathor prince Jaswant Singh (A.D. 1638-78) of Marwar. Recently a Hindi translation of a part of the work has been published. See Bibliography at the end of the chapter.

[6] *HR*, II, pp. 453-54.

chronicler as regards his statement about the retirement of Sāmantasiṁha from Mewar to Dungarpur, for this is supported by the Solaj stone-inscription of the Guhila prince. But what he writes about the voluntary abdication, when read with the statements of the tradition contained in his successor's inscriptions, seems clearly to be wrong. It appears that after the defeat of Sāmantasiṁha, when the country was occupied by the Jalor Cāhamāna Kītu, his brother Kumārasiṁha succeeded in pacifying the wrath of the Caulukya sovereign and with his assistance got himself installed on the throne of Āghāṭa-pura (mod. Ahar), from which his brother had been ousted. Kītu seems to have retired to his Jalor principality after peace had thus been restored between the two powers. Kumārasiṁha, we may assume, must have acknowledged the supremacy of the Caulukyas. As we have inscriptions of Kīrtipāla's son Samarasiṁha dated in 1182 A.D., the restoration of the Guhila power appears to have occurred sometime before this date. The contemporary Caulukya prince may have been Ajayapāla (*c.* 1173-76), or any of his two immediate successors, Mūlarāja II (*c.* 1176-78 A.D.) and Bhīmadeva II (*c.* 1178-1241 A.D.). The inscriptions Nos. 3-7 of Sāmantasiṁha, if they really belong to him, seem to indicate that he took full advantage of the weakness of the Caulukyas during the period *c.* 1176-1202 A D. to recover his power to some extent and even extend his authority across the Aravalli Range into the Sirohi and Jodpur States.

According to the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha[1] (V.S. 1342) and the Sadadi[2] (V.S. 1496) and Kumbhalgarh[3] (V.S. 1517) inscriptions of Kumbha, Kumārasiṁha was succeeded by his son[4] Mathanasiṁha and the latter by his son Padmasiṁha.[5] No inscriptions are known for the reigns of these two princes. The only

1 *IA*, XVI, pp. 345.
2 *BI*, pp. 113 ff.; *ASI*, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff.
3 *HR*, II, p. 440.
4 The Abu inscription does not specify relationship, but see *HR*, II, p. 458.
5 *Ibid.*

light upon the subject comes from the Chirwa inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1330).[1] This states that Mathanasiṁha appointed Uddharaṇa of the Tāṁṭaraḍa family [2] to the post of the *Talārakṣa* [3] of the city of Nāgadraha (Nagda). His duties are probably indicated by the words *duṣṭa-śiṣṭa-śikṣaṇa-rakṣaṇa-*[4] *dakṣatva* used by the *praśastikāra* to praise him. Uddharaṇa, we are told, had 8 sons, of whom the eldest, Yogarāja, was appointed as *Talāra* in the same city by Padmasiṁha.

Padmasiṁha was succeeded by his son [5] Jaitrasiṁha [6] The following dates and records are known for his reign :

(1) *Ekliṅgaji stone-inscription.*—On a stone near the Nandi in the courtyard of the temple of Ekaliṅgaji in Mewar. It is dated in (V.S.) 1270 (*c.* 1213 A.D.), in the reign of *M.* Jaitrasiṁhadeva.[7]

(2) *Nandesama stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Sūrya (the Sun) at the village of Nandesama in Mewar. It is dated in V.S. 1279 (*c.* 1223 A.D.), when *M.* Jayatasiṁha was victoriously reigning at Nāgadraha, and while *Mahaṁ* Duṅgarasiṁha was administering the treasury (*Śrī-karaṇa*).[8]

(3) *MS. of the Daśavaikālika-sūtra.*—Written by Hemacandra in (V.)S. 1284 (*c.* 1227 A.D.) at Āghāṭa-*durga* in the reign (*kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye*) of *Samasta-rājāvalī-samalaṅkṛta-M.* Jaitrasiṁha, while the *Mahāmātya* Jagatsiṁha appointed by him, was carrying on the administration of the seal (*samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripanthayati*).[9]

1 *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.   2 *Ibid*, p. 156, V. 9.

3 For the forms *Talāra* and *Talarakṣaka*, see *ibid*, pp. 146-47.

4 "An example of the figure *Yāthāsaṁkhya* " (Barnett).

5 See *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.

6 Apparently also known as Jayatasiṁha, Jayasiṁha, Jayaṁtasiṁha, Jitasiṁha, Jayatala and Jesala.

7 *BI*, p. 96 fn.; *HR*, II, p. 470, fn. 2; also *Bhāvnagar Prācīna-śodha-saṁgraha*, p. 47, fn.

8 Noticed in *RMR*, 1925, p. 2; see also *HR*, II, p. 470, fn. 3.

9 *Peterson's Third Report* (1884-86), *Appendix*, p. 52. The date is quoted by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 165, No. 86; see also *HR*, II, p. 471, fn. 1.

(4) *Jharole stone-inscription.*—Engraved on a lintel of the temple of Vayajanātha (Vaidyanātha-Śiva) at Jharole. It is dated in (V.)S. 1308 (*c.* 1251 A.D.), in the reign of the illustrious *Mahārājakula* (Mahārāval) Jayasiṁhadeva, while he was ruling over Vāgaḍa. It registers the erection of the temple by one Khetaka and two others.[1]

(5) *MS. of the Pākṣika-vṛtti.*—Writen by *Ṭhakkura* Jayatala in Āghāṭa in (V.)S. 1309 (*c.* 1256 A.D.), in the reign of *M.* Jayatasiṁha and that of his dependent (*āśrita*) Jayasiṁha, while Talhana was transacting the business of the seal.[2]

The above records give dates ranging from V.S. 1270 to 1309, corresponding to *c.* 1213-1256 A.D. As we have the date V.S. 1317 (*c.* 1260 A.D.) for his son and successor, his reign certainly ended some time between *c.* 1256 and 1260 A.D.[3] The titles and epithets of Jaitrasiṁha seem to indicate that he very nearly succeeded where his predecessors had failed. Though the title *Mahārājādhirāja* is no sure indication of sovereign rank, the facts of his reign, as we shall presently see, seem to show that he had won a larger degree of independence than any of his predecessors. His success was no doubt due to a large measure to the fall of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and the decline of the Paramāras of Mālava and the Caulukyas of Anhilvada. In the latter kingdom the intrigues and treason of Vīradhavala and other high officials of the State had paralysed foreign policy. It was at this opportune moment that the reign of Jaitrasiṁha came; and he was not slow to take advantage of his position. In the Guhila inscriptions he is unanimously praised for his military success against his various neighbours and the Muslims. Thus the Ghaghsa inscription of his son Tejasiṁha (V.S. 1322) tells

[1] Noticed in *RMR*, 1925, p. 2.

[2] *HR*, II, p. 471, fn. 2.

[3] But see *ASI, WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2222, which records a Chitorgaḍh inscription dated in (V.)S. 1322, *varṣe Kārtika vadi 12*, which is apparently dated in the reign of the Guhila prince Jaitrasiṁha. Strangely it speaks of Jaitrasiṁha as a brother of Padmasiṁha. It is now in Udaipur. *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 81, does not notice this record.

us that the lords of Mālava, Gurjara, Śākambharī and the Turuṣkas were unable to humble his pride.[1] The Chirwa inscription of his grandson Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1330) asserts that his pride was never brought low by the princes of Mālava, Gurjara, Jāṅgala, and the Mlecchas.[2] The Abu inscription of the same prince (V.S. 1342) declares that his arm "completely eradicated Naḍūla, and he proved a very Agastya to the Turuṣka army. Even now the mistresses of the goblins were tottering about intoxicated with the blood of the Sindhuka (?) army."[3] The conflict with the Gurjaras must refer to his struggles with the Caulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), or with his feudatory the Dholka *Rāṇā* Vīradhavala. Geiger however would identify the *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana mentioned in the Chirwa inscription with the Caulukya Tribhuvanapāla, who appears to have succeeded Bhīma II, at Aṇahillapāṭaka before V.S. 1299 (c. 1242 A.D.).[4] The inscription relates that Bāla, the grandson of Yogarāja, the Talāra of Nagda in the reign of Padmasiṁha, went to heaven fighting in front (*purataḥ*) of Jaitrasiṁha to capture Koṭṭadaka[5] from the *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana. The mention of a struggle with the rulers of Śākambharī and Jāṅgala seems to point to a conflict between Jaitrasiṁha and the Cāhamānas, who were the traditional rulers of these places. But as both

[1] *RMR*, 1927, p. 3.

[2] *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.:

Na Malavīyena na Gaurjareṇa
na Maraveśena na Jāṅgalena
Mlecchādhināthena kadāpi māno
mlāniṁ na ninye' vanipasya yasya. (V. 6.)

[3] *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

[4] *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 208-10; *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, p. 151, fn. 3; *HR*, II, p. 461; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 1035-36 and fn. 5 on pp. 1035-36.

[5] *Bālākaḥ Koṭṭahaka-*
grahaṇe Śrī-Jaitrasiṁha-nṛpa-purataḥ,
Tribhuvana-rāṇaka-yuddhe
jagāma yuddhvā param lokam (V. 19).

Ojha identified Koṭṭahaka with Kotada; *HR*, II, p. 461. Geiger identified it with Kotah in the Kotah State of Rajputana; *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, p. 151, fn. 2.

Pṛthvīrāja III (*c.* 1179-92 A.D.) and his brother Harirāja (1194 A.D.) were ousted from those regions sometime before his accession, I am led to conclude that these wars must refer to Jaitrasiṁha's hostilities with the successors of the Cāhamānas in those territories, *viz.* the Muslims. This guess is supported by the references to his conflict with the Turuṣkas, which probably first took place when he attacked Nadol. The Naddula Cāhamānas had once lost that fort to Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī in 1178 A.D. [1] It again fell into the hands of Quṭb ud-Dīn in A.D. 1197 ; and it probably remained in the possession of the Muslims during part of Jaitrasiṁha's reign. The Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, by associating Jaitrasiṁha's destruction of Naḍūla with his victory over the Turuṣkas, seems to lend support to Bhandarkar's conjecture that his attack took place when Quṭb ud-Dīn was in possession of Eastern Marwar including Nadol. [2] But Ojha has recently expressed the opinion that the conflict at Nadol was not with the Turuṣkas but with the Jāvālipura Cāhamāna Udayasiṁha (*c.* 1206-49 A.D.), who is credited in the Sundha hill-inscription with having ruled over Naddula, and who was also a contemporary of Jaitrasiṁha (*c.* 1213-56 A.D.). [3] The Chirwa inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1330) seems to indicate that Jaitrasiṁha also fought with the Paramāras of Mālava. It tells us that Madana, the grandson of Yogarāja, an officer of Padmasiṁha, fought in the battlefield of Uttuṇaka [4] on behalf of Jesala against the *Pañcaguṇḍika* [5] Jaitramalla. Ojha would identify Jesala with the Guhila Jaitrasiṁha, and Jaitramalla with the Mālava Paramāra Jaitugideva [6] (*c.* 1239-43 A.D.), who were both contemporaries of each other. The Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha (V.S. 1342), which mentions Jaitrasiṁha's victory over the Sindhuka army, probably

1 See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, pp. 1121-22.

2 *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 73.

3 *HR*, II, pp. 461-62.

4 Mod. Arthuna, in Banswara State, Rajputana.

5 According to Ojha a title; but what does it signify?

6 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, pp. 902ff.

refers to a possible conflict with the rulers of Sind on the West.[1]

But the most important trial of Jaitrasiṁha's strength took place when the Muslims invaded his territory and devastated Nāgadraha (mod. Nagda) and perpetrated terrible brutalities on the population of Medapāṭa. This is revealed by the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasiṁha,[2] which gives the details of the invasion of the territories of Jayatala, the lord of Medapāṭa, by the *Turuṣka-vīras* under the *Mleccha-cakravartin* 'Mīlacchīkāra.' We are told that even the children were butchered and people threw themselves in the wells rather than fall into the hands of the invader. The author tells us that the enemy was only compelled to retreat northwards to his territories by the advance of the victorious legions of the Dholka chief Vīradhavala and the intrigues of the spies of his minister Vastupāla. The reality of this Muslim invasion is proved by the Chirwa inscription referred to above, which tells us that Pamparāja, a son of Yogarāja, the *Talāra* appointed by Padmasiṁha at Nāgadraha, was killed when that city was destroyed by the soldiers of the 'Suratrāṇa.'[3] It seems probable that both Jayasiṁha and the composer of this record refer to the same invasion. Rai Bahadur Ojha thinks that 'Mīlacchīkāra' of Jayasiṁha is but a Sanskritization of the word *Amīr Shikār* which was conferred by Quṭb ud-Dīn on his slave Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.).[4] Whatever may be the value of this identification on phonetic grounds, I have shown elsewhere that Sulṭān Iltutmish really undertook a number of expeditions to Rajputana. He captured Jalor sometime between 1211 and 1216 A.D., and Mandor about 1226 A.D. In one of these he may have overrun Mewar. The raid on Nagda may possibly have been undertaken for plundering the treasures of

[1] This ruler of Sind was possibly a Sumra chief, see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, *Dynastic History of Sind*, pp. 31ff. See also Ojha, *HR*, II, pp. 468-69.

[2] Ed. by C. D. Dalal in *GOS*, No. X, 1920. For details and references see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 1021, and fn. 1 on the same page.

[3] *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, p. 157, V. 16.

[4] See *ante*, p. 1021, fn. 8; also *HR*, II, p. 467.

the temple of Ekaliṅga. But it is strange that the Muslim historians should not refer to any conflict with Jaitrasiṁha. This does not indicate that the Mewar prince was considered a very important ruler of the time. Ojha however concludes from the silence of the Muslim chroniclers that Iltutmish was defeated by Jaitrasiṁha,[1] thus justifying the poet's description of the latter as a veritable Agastya to the Turuṣka army. The same scholar throws out the suggestion that it was after the capture of Nāgadraha by the Muslims that the Guhilas definitely transferred their capital to Chitor.[2] Another invasion of Mewar by the Muslims appears to have taken place in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir ud-Dīn (1242-46 A.D.). Firishta narrates that the king's brother, Jālāl ud-Dīn, when summoned from his government of Kanauj, became 'apprehensive of a design against his life' and so fled to the hills of Chitor with all his adherents. The king pursued him; but finding, after eight months, that he could not secure him returned to Dehly.''[3] It is again curious that the Muslim historian does not mention the name of the Mewar prince.

Jaitrasiṁha was succeeded by his son Tejasiṁha. The following dates and records are known for his reign :—

(1) MS. of *Śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa-sūtra-cūrṇi*.—Written by Kamalacandra, disciple of Rāmacandra, a resident of Āghāṭa, in (V.)S. 1317 (*c*. 1260 A.D.), when the *M.-P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labdha-prauḍha-pratāpa-samalaṁkṛta-Śrī-Tejasiṁhadeva* was reigning victoriously at Āghāṭa-*durga*, and while his *Mahāmātya* Samudvara was carrying on the administration of the Seal (*Mudrā vyāpārān paripanthayati*);[4]

[1] *HR*, II, pp. 467-68. See *CHI*, Vol. III, map facing p. 64, in which Mewar is included within the kingdom of Delhi in 1236 A.D.

[2] *HR*, p. 468.

[3] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 238.

[4] Peterson's *Report*, p. 23; *HR*, II, p. 473, fn. 4. Dr. Barnett also drew my attention to this MS.

(2) *Ghaghsa stone-inscription.*—Found in the village of Ghaghsa near Chitor. It contains 28 lines of mutilated writing. The first two verses praise Mahādeva Somanātha, while verses 3-8 trace the genealogy of Tejasiṁha from Padmasiṁha. The *praśasti* then describes the family of the *Mahājana* Ratna, belonging to the Ḍiṇḍu family, who built the well where the inscription was originally found It is dated in (V.)S. 1322 (*c.* 1265 A.D.), and was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri of the Chaitra-gaccha.[1]

(3) *Chitor stone-inscription.*—Incised on a stone fixed on an arch of the bridge on the Gambhiri river near Chitor. The stone is reported to have originally belonged to the temple of Mahāvīra, at the Talahaṭṭikā[2] of Citrakūṭa-*mahādurga.* The record is dated in (V.)S. 1324 (*c.* 1267 A.D.), in the reign of the *Mahārāja,* the illustrious Tejasiṁhadeva. It mentions Hemacandra Sūri and others of the Caitra-gaccha.[3]

The above records give us dates from V.S. 1317 to 1324 (*c.* 1260-67 A.D.) for Tejasiṁha. The assumption of imperial titles, as well as the epithets which were formerly found on the records of the Caulukyas of Anhilvada, seems to indicate that Tejasiṁha completed the process which began in his father's reign of asserting his complete independence. It seems significant that the epithet *Umāpativara-labdha-prauḍha-pratāpa* should appear on his records so soon after the end of the reign of Bhīma II (*c.* 1178-1241) and his successor Tribhuvanapāla (*c.* 1241-44 A.D.) It is to be noted in this connection that the Vāghela Vīsaladeva (*c.* 1244-62 A.D.), who apparently succeeded Tribhuvanapāla at Anhilvada about 1244 A.D., claims to be

1 Noticed in *RMR,* 1927, p. 3. The epigraph is now deposited in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.

2 Talahati, a town at the foot of the hill of Chitor, of which there is at present no trace.

3 First noticed by Syamaldas in *JASB,* Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 46-47; then in *RMR,* 1929, p. 3. The record is sometimes called 'Citorgadh inscription,' *EI,* Vol. XX, *Appendix,* p. 81, No. 570.

Medapāṭa-deśa-kaluṣa in his Kadi grant, dated in V.S. 1317 [1] o Tejasiṁha. It is therefore probable that Tejasiṁha came into conflict with the newly founded Vāghela principality of Gujarat.

That the two princes were contemporaries is further proved by the claim of Ratnaprabha, composer of the Chirwa inscription (V.S. 1330), that he was honoured by Viśvaladeva and Tejasiṁhadeva.[2] One of the queens of Tejasiṁha was Jayatalladevī, the mother of his successor Samarasiṁha. Ojha is of opinion that he had another queen named Rūpādevī, who was a daughter of the Jalor Cāhamāna Cācigadeva (*c.* 1262-68 A.D.).[3] I see however no ground to agree with him that this marriage must have taken place in the reign of Tejasiṁha's father Jaitrasiṁha.

Tejasiṁha was succeeded by his son Samarasiṁha. The following dates and records are known for his reign :—

(1) *Chirwa stone-inscription.*—Incised on the outside of the door of the temple of Viṣṇu at the village of Chirwā, about 10 miles north of Udaipur and 2 miles east of Nagda. It contains 51 Sanskrit verses, opening with *Oṁ namaḥ Śrī-Mahādevāya* and verses in praise of Yogarājeśvara (Śiva), and then tracing the genealogy of Samarasiṁha from Padmasiṁha. The latter was born many years after Bappa of the *Guhilāṅgaja-vaṁśa.* The inscription then gives the genealogy and history of the various members of a family who claimed to belong to the Tāṁtaraḍa family (*jātas-Tāṁtaraḍa-jñātau*) who served in various capacities in the Guhila administration from the time of Mathanasiṁha onwards. The object of the inscription is to record that in the village of Cīrakūpa,[4] near Nāgahrada,[5] Yogarāja, the *talāra* of Padmasiṁha in the city of Nāgadraha,[6] raised a temple to (Śiva) Yogarājeśvara and his consort Yogarājeśvarī. Before this Uddharaṇa

[1] *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 210 ff. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp. 1084 and 1087.

[2] *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.

[3] *HR*, II, p. 462. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, p. 1133.

[4] Mod. Chirwa.

[5] Mod. Nagda.

[6] Same as Nāgahrada. See *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 156ff., Vs. 10, 12, 16, and 14.

had also erected a temple in the same place to (Viṣṇu) Uddharaṇasvāmin. Madana, grandson of Yogarāja, and his mother Hirū granted two fields situated at the back of the Kālebāya lake and to the north of Citrakūṭa-*nagara-durga*, to the temples after having divided them into two equal parts. The *praśasti* was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri. It is dated in (V.)S. 1330 (*c*. 1273 A.D.).[1]

(2) *Chitor stone-inscription* (*i*).—54 lines, incised on a large stone near the burning-ground in the neighbourhood of the *Kīrti-stambha* of Kumbha. It contains only the first portion of the inscription ; the second is lost. The opening verses invoke (Śiva) Candracūḍa and Gaṇeśa. It then eulogises the *Guhila-vaṁśa* of Medapāṭa and its capital Nāgahrada. Next it traces the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who won Medapāṭa through the favour of Haritarāśi to Naravāhana. It was composed by Veda Śarman. Its date (V.)S. 1331 (*c*. 1274 A.D.), shows that it must belong to the reign of Samarasiṁha.[2]

(3) *Chitor stone-inscription* (*ii*) —Engraved on a lintel belonging to a Jaina temple in the fort of Chitor. It records the construction of a temple of Śyāma-Pārśvanātha by Jayatalladevī, queen of Tejasiṁha. It is dated in (V.) S. 1335 (*c*. 1278 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasiṁhadeva, the ornament of the Guhila family, and records a grant of land by him for the construction of a monastery for Pradyumma Sūri.[3]

(4) *Abu stone-inscription*.—In a monastery adjoining a temple of Acaleśvara (Śiva) near Achalgarh on Mt. Abu. It contains 48 lines. The inscription was composed by the same as in No. 2 above. It is dated in the reign of Samarasiṁha or Samara of Medapāṭa in (V.) S. 1342 (*c*. 1285 A. D.), and records that he repaired a *maṭha* on Mt. Arbuda (Abu) at the

[1] Edited by Bernhard Geiger, *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-62.

[2] *BI*, pp. 74 ff. Cunningham published a photozincograph in *ASR*, Vol. XXIII, plate XXV. Then edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, XXII, pp. 80-81; see also *HR*, II, p. 479.

[3] Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, p. 3; previously noticed by Syamaldas in *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 18 and 48.

request of the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvaśaṅkara. Its main value is that it supplies the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who first gained royalty through the favour of Hāritarāśi, practising penance at the town of Nāgahrada.[1]

(5) *Chitor stone-inscription (iii)*.—Engraved on a pillar about a mile or so from Chitor. It is dated in (V.) S. 1344 (*c*. 1287 A.D.) in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasiṁha, and records some grants to the temple of Vaidyanātha built on a tank called Citrāṅga (mod. Chitrang Moris tank) at Citrakūṭa.[2]

(6) *Dariba stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a pillar of the temple of *Mātāji* at Dariba, about 10 miles from Sunwar station of the Udaipur-Chitor Railway. It is dated in (V.) S. 1356 (*c*. 1299 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasiṁhadeva, when his chief minister was Nimbā. It records the gift of 16 *drammas* to the temple by two persons named Karaṇā and Sohaḍā.[3]

(7) *Chitor stone-inscription (iv)*.—Incised on a loose stone slab on a platform built round a tree in front of the Rampol gate at Chitor. It is dated in (V.) S. 1358(*c*. 1301), in the reign of *M*.-Samarasiṁhadeva. It is damaged, but seems to register the erection of a *praśasti* in the neighbourhood of the 'terrace' of Bhojasvāmi (*Bhojasvāmideva-jagati*) by *Rāja* Dhārasiṁha, the son of *Mahārāvat Rājā* Pātā of the Pratīhāra family.[4]

(8) *Chitor stone-inscription (v)*.—Found incised on the 9th arch of the bridge over the Gambhiri near the fort of

[1] First noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, pp. 284 ff.; see Wilson's translations, *ibid*, pp. 292-98. Syamaldas edited the record in 1886 in *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 32ff., 48ff., and 57ff. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345-58.

[2] First noticed by Syamaldas in *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 1891; also in *RMR*, 1923, p. 3; see also *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62, No. 2232.

[3] Noticed in *RMR*, 1927, p. 3.

[4] Noticed in *RMR*, 1921, p. 1. The report identified 'Bhoja' in the compound *Bhojasvāmin* as the Paramāra ruler of that name. Dr. Barnett suggests that *jagati* is an architectural term, something like 'terrace.' Bhandarkar however translates the word *jagati* by 'grounds,' see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 92.

Chitor. It seems to record the grant of some land by Samarasiṁha for the good of his mother Jayatalladevī. The portion containing the date is hidden and the record is much damaged.[1]

The above inscriptions give dates for Samarasiṁha from V. S. 1330 to 1358, corresponding to *c.* 1273-1301 A. D. Not much is known about this long reign of about 30 years. The Abu inscription dated in V. S. 1342 (*c.* 1285 A.D.) seems however to contain some information of his conflict with the Muslims. We are told that "like unto the primeval boar, having the sword for his flashing tusk, he in a moment lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land out of the Turuṣka sea." As Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Balban (1266-87 A.D.) was at the time of the record the Sulṭān of Delhi, this may refer to a conflict with him. Jinaprabha in his *Tīrtha-kalpa* tells us that when Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alā ud-Dīn, proceeded on his expedition against Gujarat in V. S. 1386 (*c.* 1299 A.D.), Samarasiṁha, the ruler of Citrakūṭa saved his country from devastation by doing homage to him.[2] Though this is not mentioned in the Muslim chronicles, Ojha rightly points out that as the Jain author was a contemporary, his statement is reliable.[3] It was shortly after this incident that we find 'Alā ul-Mulk, the *Kotwāl* of Delhi, urging the conquest of Chitor amongst other places upon 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A. D.).[4] The contemporary writer Amīr Khusrau in his *Ta'rīkh-i 'Alāi*[5] gives the following short description of the Sulṭān's campaign against Chitor.

"On Monday, the 8th Jumāda-s Sānī, A.H. 702 (1303 A.D.) the loud drums proclaimed the royal march from Delhi, under-

1 Noticed by Syamaldas, *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 18 and 47.

2 *Satyapura-kalpa* in *Tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 95, quoted in *HR*, II, p. 477, fn. 2.

3 *Ibid.*

4 See *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 171.

5 Also known as *Khazāinul Futūh*. *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 67 ff.; for a better translation see *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 369-73. Text edited by S. M. Haq, Aligarh, 1927.

taken with a view to the capture of Chitor." The author accompanied the expedition. The fort was taken on Monday, the 11th of Muharram A. H. 703 (August 1303 A.D.) Amīr Khusrau says:—" The Rāī struck with the lightning of the emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword. The Hindus say that lightning falls where ever there is a brazen vessel, and the face of the Rāī had become yellow as one, through the effects of fear....Though the Rāī was a rebel royal mercy was conferred upon him."[1] Ratnasiṁha apparently surrendered when he found the position to be untenable. After his departure Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (also called the Lakṣmasiṁha) of the collateral Sesodiā branch and after his death his son Arisiṁha were raised to the throne of Mewar and the Guhilas under their leadership continued to resist the Muslims with the courage of despair. This must have made the emperor crimson with rage and when the citadel was at last stormed he ordered a massacre of thirty thousand Hindus in a single day. 'Alā ud-Dīn then bestowed the government of Chitor upon his son, Khiẓr Khān, and named the place Khiẓrābād.[2] Barani[3] and Fīrishta[4] also refer to the capture of Chitor by 'Alā ud-Dīn after a siege lasting for some time. Abu'l-Faẓl in his *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* gives the name of the prince of Chitor as Rāwal Rattan, and narrates the well-known story of the causes of the war between Chitor and Delhi.[5] It is doubtful how far the beauty of Padminī was really responsible for the Muslim attack on Chitor. If there is any truth in the story, which is

[1] For a tradition of the capture of the *Rāṇā*, his imprisonment in Delhi for two years and his rescue from Delhi by his followers, see *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 108 and 111.

[2] Text, pp. 67-68; *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 76-77. S. Dutta pointed out (*IHQ*, 1931, p. 292, fn. 2) that Elliot's translation of the relevant parts is wrong. I have compared the text with the translation and have found that Dutta is right. For a better English rendering of the text see *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 369-73.

[3] *Elliot*, pp. 189-89.

[4] *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 486.

[5] *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 269-70.

not directly mentioned by any contemporary writers,[1] it may have been used only as a pretext to crush the rising power of the Guhilas.

Only one inscription of Ratnasiṁha, the son of Samarasiṁha has as yet been found. This is his *Dariba temple-inscription* dated in (V.) S. 1359 (*c.* 1302 A.D.). It is engraved on a pillar in the temple of *Mātāji* at Dariba and records the gift of 16 *drammas* to the temple when the *Mahārājakula* Ratnasiṁha was ruling over Medapāṭa and while his chief minister was Mahaṇasīha.[2] The possession of Chitor by 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī is proved by two inscriptions in that city dated in A. H. 705 (1306 A. D.) and 709 (*c.* 1310 A.D.) in his reign.[3]

(2) *Guhila-putras of Chatsu.*

The existence of this branch of the Guhilas is mainly known from the Chatsu stone-inscription of Bālāditya,[4] which was discovered about 26 miles south of the City of Jaipur in Rajputana. Another record of one of the earlier members of the family, was found at Dabok, in the Jahazpur district of Udaipur. It has therefore been concluded that the principality of this line probably extended from Dabok in Udaipur in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north. Bhandarkar suggested that their capital was probably at Dhavagarta, modern Dhod in Jahazpur district. But he himself quotes a tradition which may indicate that it was further north, at Chatsu.[5] The tank where the

[1] Ojha (*Udayapur Rājya kā Itihāsa*) and, following him Haldar (*IA*, 1929 and 1930) and Qanungo (*Prabāsī*, Phālgun, 1337 B. S.) hold the view that the Padminī episode is not directly or indirectly mentioned by any contemporary or reliable piece of evidence. But see *IHQ*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 287ff., where Dutta tries to demonstrate that Amīr Khusrau indirectly refers to the Padminī episode in his *Ta'rīkh-i-'Alāī* and that the Kumbhalgadh inscription (V. S. 1517 = Saka S. 1382 = A.D. 1460) also hints at it.

[2] Noticed in *RMR*, 1927, p. 3.

[3] Noticed in *ibid*, 1922, p. 2. For the subsequent history of the Guhilas see *HR*, pp. 496 ff.

[4] *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

[5] *Rāṇā choḍe Cāṭsū, jo cāy so le* ('The *Rāṇā* has forsaken Cāṭsū; whoever wants it may take it').

inscription was found is even now known as *Gholerāv-talāv*, or the tank of the Guhila-rāja.

The founder of this line was Bhartṛpaṭṭa, who is stated in the Chatsu inscription to have flourished in the Guhila family. He is also said to have been like Rāma (*i. e.*, Paraśu-Rāma) endowed with priestly and martial qualities. I have already commented upon the true meaning of this statement. The *praśastikāra* apparently wanted to say that though Bhartṛpatta[1] was a Brāhman, he adopted the life and profession of a Kṣatriya. I have approximately calculated his date as *c*. 625 A. D., and have ventured to guess that he was an earlier immigrant from the principality established by the Brāhman Guhila of Ānandapura. Nothing is definitely known about his next three successors,[1] his son Īśāṇabhaṭa, his grandson Upendrabhaṭa, and his great-grandson Guhila I. Guhila's son was Dhaṇika, who, as I have elsewhere said, is probably identical with Dhaṇika of the *Dabok stone-inscription* dated in Gupta *Saṁvat* 407[2] (*c*. 725 A.D.). The inscription is dated in the victorious reign of the *Pb.-M.-P.*-Dhavalappadeva, who has with some probability been identified with the Maurya prince Dhavala of the Kansuvam inscription dated in V. S. 795 (A.D. 738). Ojha however demurs to this identification, and regards the question of the family of Dhavalappa as still open.[3] Nothing is known about the next two successors of Dhaṇika, *viz.*, his son Āuka and grandson Kṛṣṇarāja. Kṛṣṇa's son Śaṅkaragaṇa is stated to have conquered *Bhaṭa*, the *Gauḍa-kṣitipati*, and made a present of the latter's kingdom

[1] Ojha would identify him with the 11th prince of the same name in the Medapāṭa line; see *HR*, II, pp. 420 ff. I have tried to show that this is improbable; see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1167, fn. 3.

[2] *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 61. The date was read by Bhandarkar as 807. He changed it to 407 in *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 11-12. But Ojha has proposed to read the date as 207, which he refers to the Harṣa era (V. S. 870 = A.D. 813); see *HR*, II, pp. 421, fn. 1; see also *DHNI*, Vol. II, *ante*, p. 1155, fn. 3.

[3] *HR*, II, p. 421, fn. 1.

to his overlord (*prabhu*). Śaṅkaragaṇa's son by his queen Yajjā, Harṣarāja, succeeded him. This prince is called a *dvija*, which, as Bhandarkar points out, usually denotes a Brāhman in the inscriptions of the period. He is also stated to have conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. This Bhoja has been identified with the Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj of that name who ruled about 836-90 A.D. ; if so, the *prabhu* of Harṣa-rāja's father was possibly Nāgabhaṭa II (*c.* 815-33 A.D.), the grandfather of Bhoja, or his son Rāmabhadra. But who could be the Gauḍa king who was defeated by Śaṅkaragaṇa? Bhandarkar's suggestion that *Bhaṭa* may be the Pāla ruler Śūrapāla seems to be wrong. I am inclined to regard *Bhaṭa* rather as a *biruda* or an epithet of Dharmapāla (*c.* 769-815 A.D.), who was a contemporary and rival of Nāgabhaṭa II,[1] the predecessor of Bhojā I.

Harṣarāja was succeeded by Guhila II, his son by the queen Sillā. Guhila married Rajjhā, a daughter of the Paramāra Vallabharāja (V. 24). I am unable to identify this prince. The Chatsu inscription tells us that Guhila II created the impression that he was Guhila I come to life again to destroy his foes (V. 22). We are further told (V. 23) that with excellent horses he vanquished the *Gauḍādhināthа* and levied tribute upon the princes of the east (*prācya*). I am inclined to identify this lord of Gauḍa with Devapāla (*c.* 815-54). If this is accepted, we must conclude that the expedition of Guhila II was undertaken in the interest of his overlord, who was still probably Bhoja I (*c.* 836-90 A.D.). It seems likely that the small silver coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Guhila* or *Guhila-Śrī* which were dug up in Agra in 1869[2] really belonged to this prince.

Guhila II's son was Bhaṭṭa. He is stated to have led an expedition of conquest against the kings of the south (V. 26).

1 See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 287.

2 *ASR*, Vol. IV, p. 95; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1163.

He married Purāśā, the daughter of one Vīruka, and had by her a son named Bālāditya, also known as a Bālārka and Bālabhānu, who succeeded him. The *Chatsu stone-inscription* emanates from this prince. It is incised on a slab of black stone built into the side wall of the steps leading down into a great tank, at the bottom of which it was originally found. The tank is situated at Chatsu, the principal town of a *tahsīl* of the same name in the Jaipur State, about 26 miles south of Jaipur. The record contains 27 lines of writing in the northern type of alphabet of about the 10th century A.D. It opens with *Oṁ namaḥ* and two verses addressed to the goddess Sarasvatī and Murāri (Viṣṇu). Next follows the genealogy of the *Guhila-vaṁsa*, from Bhartṛ-paṭṭa to Bālāditya. This latter married Raṭṭavā, the daughter of the Cāhamāna king Śivarāja, and had by her three sons, Vallabharāja, Vigraharāja and Devarāja. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu), by Bālāditya, in memory of Raṭṭavā, who had died. The *praśasti* was composed by the *Karaṇika* Bhānu, a Vaiṣṇava, and engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Bhāila.[1]

Nothing more is known about Bālāditya or any of his descendants. It may be that their principality was gradually swallowed up by the growing power of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.

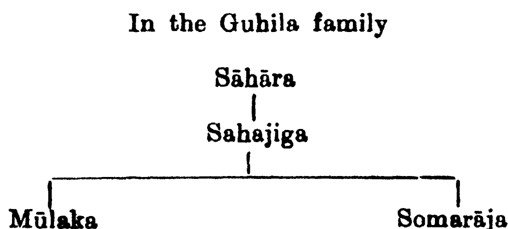
(3) *Guhila-putras of Saurāṣṭra.*

The princes of the modern States of Bhavnagar, Palitana, Vala, and Lathi[2] in Kathiawad claim to be Rajputs of the Guhila tribe. The rulers of Bhavnagar trace their descent from Śālivāhana of Paithan. A descendant of this ruler, we are told, settled in Khera-gaḍh on the banks of the Luni in the Jodhpur State.

1 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

2 *IGI*, Vol. VIII, p. 93; Vol. XVI, p. 154; Vol. XIX, p. 360. The ruling family of Rajpipla, in Gujarat (Rewa Kantha) also claims Guhila descent, and is apparently connected with the princes of Bhavnagar, see *ibid*, Vol XXI, p. 80.

The last prince of Khera, Mohadāsa, was killed by Siājī, grandson of the Rathoda 'Jayacandra' of Kanauj. Sejakjī,[1] Mohadāsa's grandson, then migrated to Saurāṣṭra about 1250 V. S. with his followers, and entered the services of the Soraṭh king Mahīpāla, whose capital was at Junagarh. He obtained 12 villages around Śāpur, and from his progeny were descended the Guhilas of Kathiawar and the neighbourhood.[2] Recently Ojha has advanced the theory that Śālivāhana, the ancestor of Sejakjī, was really the prince of that name in the Medapāṭa branch of the Guhilas, who was the predecessor of Śaktikumāra (977 A. D.).[3] He is of opinion that the person who really migrated from Khera in Jodhpur was Sahajiga who is mentioned in the *Mangrol stone-inscription* of the Guhila *Ṭhakkura* Mūlaka. This record was found incised on a slab of black stone attached to the wall of a well in the town of Mangrol in Junagarh, in South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, opening with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and invocation of Hara (Śiva). It then praises the Caulukya Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A. D.), the successor of Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144 A. D.). Next follows the following genealogy of a family of Guhilas :—



We are next told that Somarāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara and named it, after his father, Sahajigeśvara. Mūlaka granted one *Kā(rṣāpaṇa ?)* from the custom-house

[1] Sometimes called Sejaki. He is reported to have founded Sejakpur, while his son 'Rān Gohel' founded Rānpur in (V.) S. 1201 (*c.* 1144 A. D.). *Somnath and other Mediaeval Temples in Kāthiāwād*, by H. Cousens, 1931, p. 5.

[2] *Bālabodha Itihāsa of Bhavanagar*, by Devaśaṅkar Vaikuṇṭhaji Bhaṭṭa, quoted in *HR*, Vol. II, p. 481, fn. 2.

[3] *HR*, Vol. II, pp. 480ff.

(*Śulka-maṇḍapikā*) of Maṅgalapura (mod. Mangrol) and other gifts for the service of the god. The record is dated in (V.) S. 1202 (*c.* 1145 A. D.) and Siṁha *Saṁvat* 32. The inscription was composed by the Pāśupata teacher Prasarvajña.[1]

This record shows that Mūlaka was a feudatory chief under the administration of Kumārapāla. Ojha has suggested that Sahajiga first migrated from the Luni valley and took service under Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, and having distinguished himself in his war against the chief of Soraṭh was appointed to a principality in that region.[2] Though there is at present nothing to support this guess, it is not beyond the range of probability. Sahajiga is described in the inscription as a commander of the Caulukya forces : and it is possible that he was a contemporary of Jayasiṁha. His sons are described as capable of protecting Saurāṣṭra (*Saurāṣṭrarakṣā-kṣama*) and one of them, Mūlaka, is called *Surāṣṭra-nāyaka.*

No other record is at present known that throws any light upon the history of this branch.

(4) *Guhila-putras of Āsikā.*

The existence of a Guhila chief at Āsikā or Hansi, in the Hisar district of the Punjab, is known from the *Hansi stone-inscription* of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja II (*c.* 1167-69 A. D.).[3] This was found on the wall of a building at Hansi. It contains 22 lines of writing. The opening verse invokes Murāri (Viṣṇu). It then mentions Kilhaṇa, the maternal uncle of the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja, who belonged to the Gūhilaüta clan. We are next told that as Hammīra had become a cause of anxiety to the world, the king put Kilhaṇa in charge of the fort of Āsikā. The object of the inscription is to record that Kilhaṇa

[1] *BI*, pp. 158-60; *ARB*, pp. 179-80 ; see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 977, inscription No. 1 of Kumārapāla.

[2] *HR*, II, p. 489 fn.

[3] *IA*, 1912, pp. 17-19.

erected a *pratoli* (gateway) and near it two *Koṣṭhakas* (granaries). The flag which Kilhaṇa set up on the *pratoli*, we are told, 'set Hammīra as it were at defiance.' The Guhila chief is stated to have burnt Pañcapura, which has been identified with 'Pachapattana' on the Sutlej. The inscription is dated (V.) S. 1224 (*c*. 1167 A. D.).[1]

It is clear from this inscription that the Guhila principality of Āsikā was established by the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, specially to check the advance of the later Yamīnīs,[2] and must have been practically swept out of existence when the Turks under Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī captured Hansi after the second battle of Tarā'in in 588 A. H. (A. D. 1192).[3]

(5) *Guhila-putras of Naḍūlaḍāgikā.*

The existence of this small principality of the Guhilas is known from the *Nadlai stone-inscription*[4] of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rājyapāla (*c*. 1132-45 A. D.). The inscription was found incised on a pillar in the temple of Nemināṭha at Nadlai. It contains 26 lines, and opens with salutation to Neminātha. It then gives the date, (V.) S. 1195 (*c*. 1138 A. D.), and refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāyapāla over Naḍūladāgikā (Nadlai in Godwar, Jodhpur State). We are then told that for the worship of Neminātha, the *Ṭhakkura* Rājadeva, son of *Rauta* (*i. e.*, *Rājaputra*) Uddharaṇa, of the Guhila family granted $\frac{1}{20}$th part of the income derived from the loads going on their way or coming to Naḍūlaḍāgikā. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor—*Svahasto'yam Rāu Rājadeva*.

Two other Nadlai stone-inscriptions[5] dated in V. S. 1200 and 1202, under the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rāyapāla, also record

[1] *IA*, 1912, p. 18. See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, pp. 1078-79.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 1080.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 1089 ff.

[4] *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 36-37; also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, p. 1112.

[5] *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 41-43. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, pp. 1113-14.

gifts by one *Rāuta* Rājadeva. In one of these he is described as the *Ṭhakkura* of Naḍūlaḍāgikā. There is therefore little doubt that this Rāyapāla is the same person who is described in the inscription dated in V. S. 1195 as the son of the Guhila Uddharaṇa.

Nothing is at present known about the subsequent history of this principality.

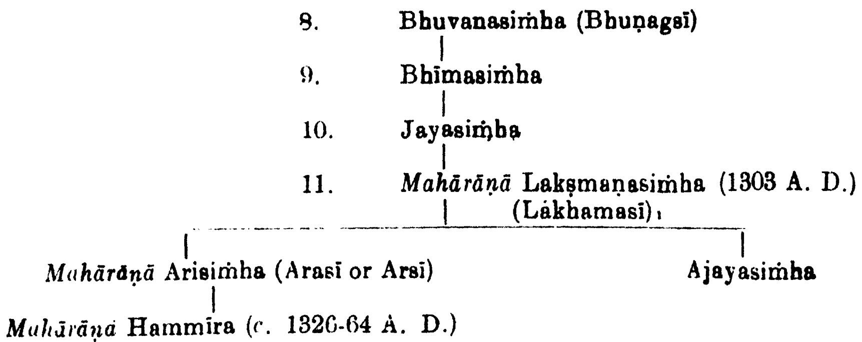
(6) *Guhila-putras of Sesodā.*

I have already recorded the statement of the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya* that in the reign of the Medapāṭa Guhila Karṇa (*alias* Raṇasiṁha) the Guhilas became divided into two branches, the *Rāvals*, and the *Rāṇās*.[1] The former or the elder branch continued to enjoy sovereign power in Mewar. In the latter branch flourished Māhapa, Rāhapa, etc. Māhapa and Rāhapa were the two sons of Karṇa and held in succession the fief of Sesoda, which was assigned to them by their father. The descendants of Rāhapa came to be known as Sesodias from the name of their *jaigīr*, and ultimately revived the Guhila power in Chitor after it was crushed by the armies of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A. D.). Ojha[2] gives the following list of Rāhapa's descendants mainly from the bardic chronicles :

1. *Rāṇā* Rāhapa
|
2. Narapati
|
3. Dinakarṇa
| (Dinakara)
4. Jasakarṇa
| (Jasakara)
5. Nāgapāla
|
6. Pūrṇapāla (Purapāla)
|
7. Pṛthvīpāla (*Rāṇā* Prathama)
|

[1] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1179.

[2] *HR*, II, p. 522; also *Muhaṇota Naiṇsī kī khyāta*, Part I, Hindī Trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dūgaḍa, Nāgarīpracāriṇī Sabhā, Kāśī, Saṁvat 1982, pp. 18-19, fn.



As mentioned above this line of chiefs seems to have always remained feudatory to the main line of Chitor. Lakṣmaṇasiṁha Lakṣmasiṁha and his son Arisiṁha took their share in the defence of Chitor against 'Alā ud-Dīn and were killed in 1303 A.D. The Kumbhalgadh inscription (V.S. 1517-A.D. 1460) of Kumbhakarṇa seems to indicate that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha after the surrender[2] of Ratnasiṁha to 'Alā ud-Dīn was raised to the throne of Mewar and so he and his son Arisiṁha both reigned for very brief periods before their deaths. Tradition records that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died along with seven of his sons in trying to maintain the defence of Chitor (*EI*, Vol. XXI, p. 281, V. 180). It was his grandson (?) Hammīra who restored Guhila power in Mewar by capturing the fort of Chitor from Jesā or Jayasiṁha. Jesā was the son of the Jalor Cāhamāna Māladeva who was placed in charge of the fort by 'Alā ud-Dīn after the administration of Khiẓr Khān. According to Muhanoṭa Naiṇsī the Cāhamāna Māladeva ruled at Chitor for 7 years.[3] The capture of Chitor by Hammīra seems to have happened some time after the reign of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tughluq (*c*. 1320-25), for whose reign we have a Persian inscription in Chitor.[4]

1 Sometimes called 'Lakṣmasiṁha.'

2 *Tasmin gate* has been rightly taken by S. Dutta to mean 'departure.' For this interpretation he depends on the contemporary authority of *Ta'rīkh-i-'Alāi* of Amir Khusrau. See *IHQ*, 1931, p. 293, fn. 1. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 1196.

3 *HR*, II, pp. 502-03.

4 *Ibid*, p. 501 and fn. 2. See also *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 526; *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 269-70. From the line of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (Lakṣmasiṁha) the appellations *Sesodia* and *Mahārāṇā* came to be applied to the rulers of Mewar.

(7) *Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgaḍa).*

The ruling princes of the State of Dungarpur claim to be descended from the elder branch of the Guhila family now ruling in Mewar.[1] I have already quoted the story of Muhaṇota Naiṇsī which tells us that the Medapāṭa Guhila Sāmantasiṁha voluntarily abdicated his crown in favour of his younger brother Kumārasiṁha, and established his line in Vāgaḍa.[2] I have also mentioned elsewhere the circumstances that led to the expulsion of Sāmantasiṁha, by the Caulukyas of Anhilvada and recovery of the principality by his brother Kumārasiṁha through the assistance of the kings of Gujarat. Apparently Sāmantasiṁha, when driven out of Mewar, took refuge in Vāgaḍa, and his line continued to rule in that region ever afterwards. His *Solaj inscription* shows that in V. S. 1236 (*c.* 1179 A.D.) he was already established in his new kingdom. The present rulers of Dungarpur appear to be descended from him. It is likely that this branch of the Guhilas finally ousted the successors of the Banswara (Vāgaḍa) Paramāra Vijayarāja (1108-09 A.D.)[3]

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(*Dates approximate.*)

(1) *Guhila-putras of Medapāta*—

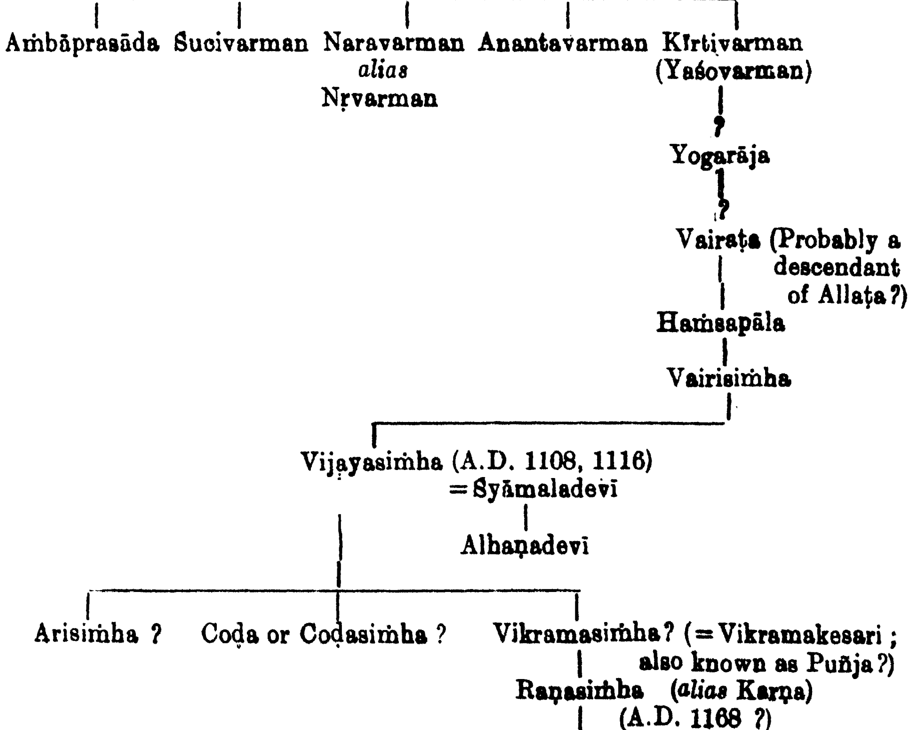
Guhadatta or Guhila (*c.* 550 A.D.)
Bhoja
Mahendra I
Nāga or Nāgāditya
Sīla or Sīlāditya (646 A. D.)
Aparājita (661 A. D.)
Mahendra II

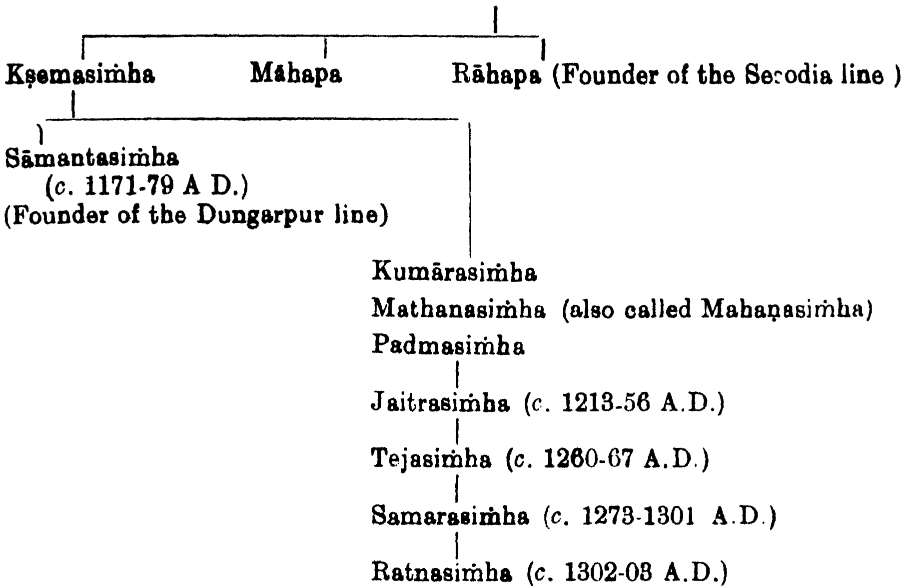
[1] *IGI*, Vol. XI, p. 380. The story that the family is descended from Mahup, son of Karṇa, appears to be wrong in view of the statement of the chronicle of Muhaṇota Naiṇsī which is generally reliable.

[2] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1182 ff.

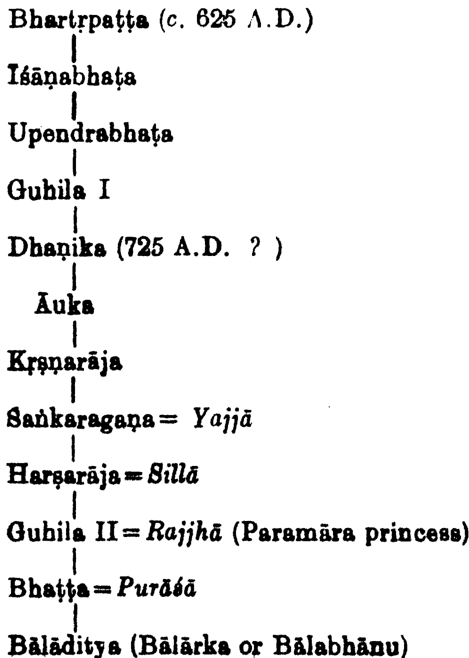
[3] See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 924.

Kālabhoja *alias* Bappa? (739-53 A. D.)
Khoṁmāṇa I (also called Khummāṇa)
Mattaṭa
Bhartṛpaṭṭa I
Siṁha
Khoṁmāṇa II (also called Khummāṇa)
Mahāyaka
Khoṁmāṇa III (also called Summāṇa and Khummāṇa)
Bhartṛpaṭṭa II
(942-43 A. D.)
| = *Mahālakṣmī* (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)
|
Allaṭa = *Hariyadevī* (Hūṇa princess)
(Ālu) | (951-53 A. D.)
|
Naravāhana (971 A. D.)
| = *Cāhamāna princess* (Daughter of Jejaya)
|
Śālivāhan (Probably the ancestor of the Junagarh branch)
|
Saktikumāra (A. D. 977)

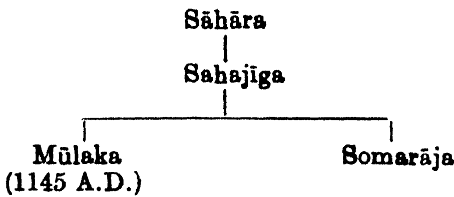




(2) *Guhila-putras of Chatsu*—



(3) *Guhila-putras of Saurāṣṭra*—



(4) *Guhila-putras of Āsikā Hansi*—

Kilhaṇa (and his successors ?)
(1167 A.D.)

(5) *Guhila-putras of Naḍūlaḍāgikā*—

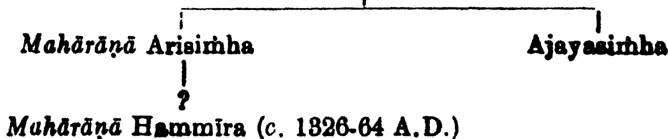
Uddharaṇa
|
Rājadeva (1138 A.D.)

(6) *Guhila-putras of Sesodā*—

Rāṇā Rāhapa (son of Raṇasiṁha *alias* Karṇa of the Medapāṭa line)

Narapati
Dinakarṇa
Jasakarṇa
Pūrṇapāla
Pṛthvīpāla
Bhuvanasiṁha
Bhīmasiṁha
Jayasiṁha

Mahārāṇā (also called Lakṣmasiṁha) Lakṣmaṇasiṁha (1308 A.D.)



(7) *Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgaḍa)*—

Line of Sāmantasiṁha (1171-79 A.D.) and his descendants.

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CHAPTER XIX

Conclusion

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to give an account of the more important dynasties which ruled in Northern India during the period of transition that intervened between the decline of the Hindu power and the gradual conquest and consolidation of the country by the Muslims. The conquering zeal of the Arabs was checked by the impenetrable bulwark of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire, and languished in the sands of Sind. The Muslim conquest did not really begin till the decline of the Pratīhāra empire and the arrival of the Turk on the Indian frontier in the 10th century A. D. Before the Turks' conquest of Northern India was completed, new tribes began to pour through the gates of the Hindukush and challenged their authority. It was only an accident that the religion of some of the new comers happened to be Islam.

Analytical study of all the Hindu dynasties that ruled during the period under survey reveals no central theme in their political history. Kanauj was on the decline and its hegemony challenged on every side. I am rather sceptical about the stories of the later writers that they ever showed any genuine appreciation of the danger threatening their independence and religion sufficient to unite them in a common effort to check the advance of the enemy. They failed to produce a ruler like Candragupta Maurya, who could merge the various conflicting interests under one flag by the prowess of his sword and oppose the invader with the resources of an empire. Nor like the Greeks could they devise any machinery for acting in concert under a common leader against the invaders. For the greater part of this period we have to deal with separate units whose only political contact with

their neighbour was when they fought with each other or combined to destroy a hated and powerful rival. For practical purposes we may divide the period under survey into the following five heads :

(1) *The period c. 915 to 998 A.D.*

From the decline of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire to the accession of Maḥmūd of Ghazni.

(2) *The period c. 998 to 1030 A.D.*

Age of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

(3) *The period c. 1030 to 1179 A.D.*

From the death of Maḥmūd to the accession of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III.

(4) *The period c. 1179 to 1200 A.D.*

Age of Pṛthvīrāja and the passing away of Hindu ascendency in the *Madhyadeśa*.

(5) *The period after 1200 A.D.*

Gradual penetration of Islamic power into the outlying parts of India.

During the first period (*c.* 915-98 A.D.) the power of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj steadily declined. The outlying provinces slowly broke away from the imperial structure and set up independent governments. The period of transition and political readjustment which had always intervened between the fall of one imperial power and the rise of another in India had already begun. Among the many tribes and princes struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratīhāra princes we notice the two outstanding figures of the Paramāra Vākpati Muñja (*c.* 974-95 A.D.) and the Candella Dhaṅga (*c.* 954-1008 A.D.).

Both literary and epigraphic records are unanimous in testifying to the military ability of Muñja. Before his death he had unquestionably made himself the most important prince in Western India. But the promise of a brilliant and unifying force in the troubled history of India was destroyed when he met his tragic fate in one of his campaigns beyond the Godavari. There was however still some hope in the growing power of the Candellas, who were slowly building up a strong kingdom in the South-Central portion of Northern India. During his reign of nearly half a century Dhaṅga had gradually extended his authority over the whole tract lying to the south of Jumna and bounded roughly on the east and west by the Son and the Chambal. But before this power had time to spread itself in the North-West the Turks had established themselves on the Indian frontier. Alp-tigīn (*c.* 933-63 A.D.) founded his principality in Ghaznī in *c.* 993 A.D. ; and during his lifetime his general Sabuk-tigīn had already commenced his predatory incursions in the provinces of Lamghan and Multan. When the latter ascended to the throne in 977 A.D. the Turkish attack was developed on a more ambitious scale. The Śāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab were brave and plucky fighters ; but they proved no match for the new enemy. In spite of the bold resistance of their kings and their allies they were gradually pushed out of Afghanistan, and by the year 997 A.D. when Sabuk-tigīn died, the Turks were masters of Lamghan and Peshawar.

With the accession of Mahmūd, the son of Sabuk-tigīn, in A.D. 998, the second period begins. The two outstanding personalities among the Indian princes are again supplied by the Paramāras and the Candellas. In the former dynasty flourished Bhoja (*c.* 1010-55 A. D.), who gradually won back the position which had been lost after the defeat and death of Muñja, while in the latter Vidyādhara ruled. Vidyādhara's grandfather Dhaṅga seems to have outlived Sabuk-tigīn and probably witnessed the practical downfall of the Śāhis in

1008 A.D. Vidyādhara ascended the Candella throne some time before 1019 A.D. At that date he had become so prominent as to be described by Muslim historians as the most powerful Indian prince of the time. There seems to be sufficient evidence to indicate that the Candellas made a bold bid to grasp the crown of Imperialism which had fallen from the heads of the unworthy successors of Mahendrapāla I. If fortune had been favourable, they might perhaps have once again combined a substantial portion of Northern India under their rule, and thus created some unity in the confused currents of its history during this period. But this was not to be. Unfortunately for them, they were confronted by one of the greatest military leaders that the Turks had ever produced. Under the able generalship of Maḥmūd the Turkish bands with their insatiable lust for plunder and destruction were organised into one of the most efficient engines of war. For more than thirty years they pillaged, burned and devastated the rich plains, cities and temples of the Indus and the Ganges valleys. Even the distant temple of Somnath had to yield up to them its hoarded treasures. The Paramāra Bhoja seems not to have come into serious conflict with the Muslims and the brunt of the attack fell upon the Śāhis and Candellas. The former were exterminated as a power in the Punjab, while the latter, though saved from complete destruction, found themselves unequal to the task of offering effective resistance to the vandalism of the Turk. Vidyādhara, in spite of his undoubted military ability, seems to have failed to achieve any practical results in the open field. Though Maḥmūd could not capture Kalinjar and failed to penetrate into the plains of Kashmir, and though most of his expeditions were for plunder and not for conquest, yet the Turkish power during his reign had gradually advanced into a permanent position in the Western Punjab and Northern Sind. Multan and Lahore became the two outposts of the Muslims in the valley of the Punjab rivers.

The period (*c.* 1030-79 A.D.) which followed the death

of Mahmūd in 1030 A.D. was marked by a gradual weakening of Turkish pressure on the plains of India. Though the Yamīnīs certainly continued to raid the territories of the neighbouring princes and once—about 1033 A.D., in the reign of Mas'ūd I (1030-40 A.D.)—are reported to have advanced as far east as Benares, they failed to produce during the period a single king or general who could even approach Maḥmūd in military skill and leadership. In the east the same thing happened in the kingdom of the Candellas. The successors of Vidyādhara lacked the ability of their illustrious predecessor and the vision of an empire-builder, and failed to profit by the weakness of their neighbours. The position that they occupied in the South-Central portion of Northern India gradually slipped into the hands of the Ḍāhala Kalacuris, who in Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c.1030-41 A.D.) and Lakṣmī-Karṇa (c. 1041-70 A.D.) produced two men of outstanding personality. The latter formed an alliance with the Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) and the Karṇāṭas and defeated and probably killed the Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of Dhārā. By unceasing military activity Lakṣmī-Karṇa extended his dominions from Western Bengal to the borders of Gujarat. In the North he suppressed the independence of the Candellas, and became the unquestioned arbiter of a large portion of the Ganges-Jumna valley. Indian history seemed at last to find a personality who could emulate the achievements of the Puṣyabhūti Harṣa or the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja I, but again this hope was unrealised. The edifice of the Kalacuri empire, it seems, was built on unstable foundations ; and when Lakṣmi-Karṇa was overwhelmed by a series of defeats, his empire like that of Napoleon, collapsed with him. The position left vacant in the Ganges-Jumna valley by the fall of the Kalacuris was then occupied by the Gāhaḍavālas. Govindacandra of this dynasty ascended the throne in the first decade of the 12th century, and for nearly fifty years ruled over a strong kingdom which seems to have included almost the whole of the modern U. P.

and Behar. He was sufficiently powerful to offer effective resistance to the feeble attempts of the Yamīnīs to penetrate into the Ganges-Jumna valley but neither he nor his dynasty showed any outstanding vigour or ability. In the South-East the dynasties of Orissa and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency were welded into a single administration by the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga-Anantavarman (*c.* 1076-1147 A. D.). His dominions seem to have sometimes extended from the lower courses of the Godavari to the Ganges; but here also there is no sign that either he or his successor wished or had ability to plan a North Indian Empire. In the Western portion of North India the fall of the Paramāras synchronised with the rise into importance of the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. In the first half of the 12th century the former in the reign of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1144) united under their sway, in addition to Gujarat and Kathiawar, large portions of Central India and Rajputana. The success of Jayasiṁha was fully maintained by his successor Kumārapāla (*c.* 1144-73 A.D.) During the first half of the 12th century the Cāhamānas had also established a strong kingdom in Rajputana with Śākambharī as their capital. They were undoubtedly the most considerable power in Rajputana during this period, and maintained contact with the growing kingdom of the Caulukyas on their south-western frontier. Sometime before 1164 A.D. they advanced into the Punjab and appear to have included under their sway most of the territories which now lie to the east of the Sutlej. This brought them into conflict with the declining Yamīnī Sultanate of Lahore and Ghazni and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and Benares. In the first half of the 12th century the position of the former was growing precarious owing to the pressure both of the Cāhamānas on the east and of the rising of the Shansabānīs of Ghūr. Before this period was over, fresh bands of Turks under the leadership of the princes of Ghūr had begun their depredations in India. In 1175 A.D. Mu'izzud-

Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām had captured Multan and Uch, and though repulsed in 1178 A.D. in his attempt upon Anahilvada, had recovered sufficiently to capture Peshawar in the following year (1179 A.D.) from the Yamīnī Khusrau Malik (*c.* 1160-86 A.D.).

The accession of Pṛthvīrāja III (*c.* 1179-92 A.D.) to the throne of Śākambharī in about 1179 A.D. brings us to the next period (*c.* 1179-1200 A.D.). The records of this period seem to indicate that Pṛthvīrāja was the most important figure in the last quarter of the 12th century. His dominions included most of modern Rajputana and extended roughly from the Sutlej to the Betwa and possibly to the Ken, skirting the river Jumna on the north. The activities of the Caulukyas were paralysed by intrigue and dissensions, while the Senas and the Gaṅgas were far distant from the North-Western frontier of India. By his victories over the Cāndellas and the Gāhaḍavālas and his command over the cis-Sutlej districts, he had constituted himself the main barrier against the advance of the Turks from the Indus Valley. If the Yamīnīs could have held the new body of Turks in check for some time, there was just a possibility that Pṛthvīrāja with his undoubted military ability, might have so consolidated his dominions, as to be able to offer an effective check to the advance of the new invaders. But the descendants of Maḥmūd were too enfeebled to be able to save themselves from destruction. In A. D. 1186, Mu'izz ud-Dīn captured Lahore from the last representative of the Yamīnīs, and the Shansabānīs and Cāhamānas stood face to face. The victory in the second battle of Tarā'īn in 1192 A.D., which appears to have been won by superior generalship as well as by perfidy, practically put an end to the domination of the *Madhyadeśa* by the Hindus. The defeat of the Gāhaḍavālas was only a matter of detail.

In the period that followed, the Turks issued from their bases in the Madhyadeśa under intrepid and able adventurers to bring about the downfall of the dynasties that ruled in more distant parts of Northern and Peninsular India. As I have

already noticed, this proccss took a long time to complete, and was not attended with uniform success. Before it was finished, fresh bands from Central Asia had burst through the North-Western gates and were challenging the authority of the Muslim conquerors of India. The latter at last fell before these new-comers, and it was a mere accident, as I have said, that their conquerors were again Muslims. So history once more repeated itself.

As to the causes that lead to the success of the Muslims and the downfall of the Hindus, various reasons have been advanced by various scholars. Indian climate, deadening effect of the caste system, the demoralising influence of the cult of *ahiṁsā* preached by Buddhism and Jainism, a false sense of chivalry and other factors have been held to contribute to the overthrow of the Hindu dynasties. I am unable to discuss this question without a thorough analysis of the administrative, economic, religious and social systems of the period, which I hope to undertake in the third volume of this work. I would therefore reserve the discussion of the question for the present. But whatever factors are found by later investigations to have contributed to the downfall of the Hindus and the victory of Islam, it appears to me that the vigour and the insatiable thirst for plunder and destruction of the roving and hungry bands of Central Asia, which was strengthened by their own interpretation of Islam, and the superior generalship of their leaders, must have played a large part in the success of the Turks. The Indians were not less brave; but they failed to produce a Maḥmūd or a Mu'izz-ud-Dīn.[1]

[1] Prof. Dodwell very kindly suggested that I should expand these concluding remarks into the size of one of my bigger chapters say of about hundred pages or more. This would make my conclusions on the period accessible to the students of some of the British Universities who have not got enough time to go through all these details. Unfortunately the size of the two volumes has already become rather inconveniently large. So I am preparing a small volume entirely devoted to a synthetic survey of the period to suit the requirements of these students.

APPENDIX

Dynasties and the Territories controlled by them chronologically arranged.

A. D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*[1]
c. 500—600 :—	1. *Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	Idar State in the North Division of the Bombay Presidency (?).
	2. *Cāhamānas* (Cauhans).	Sambhar (*Śākambharī*) region in Rajputana (?).
c. 600—700 :—	1. *Guhila-putras* (Guhilots) : Two branches.	(*i*) Mewar (*Medapāṭa*), Rajputana : Centre of power *Nāgadraha* or *Nāgahrada* (mod. Nagda).
		(*ii*) From Dabok in Udaipur (Mewar) State in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north, in Rajputana : Capital probably *Dhavagarta* (mod. Dhod) in Jahazpur District, Udaipur or at Chatsu, Jaipur, Rajputana.
	2. *Cāhamānas*	No change.
c. 700—800 :—	1. *Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	No change.
	2. *Cāhamānas* (Cauhans)	No change.
	3. *Haihayas* (Kalacuris).	Round about Kahla in Gorakhpur, U. P.
	4. *Tomaras* (Tuars)	Delhi (*Yoginī-pura*, *Ḍhillikā*) and neighbouring regions (?).

[1] The territories must in every case be taken as only a rough indication. Exact delimitation of boundaries is not possible at this stage of our knowledge.

A.D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 800—900 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	No change.
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans).	Portions of Marwar and Jaipur States, Rajputana : Capital *Śākambharī* (mod. Sambhar).
	3.	*Haihayas* (Kalacuris) : Two branches.	(*i*) Round about Kahla in Gorakhpur, U. P. (*ii*) Jubbulpore Division and the neighbouring regions (*Ḍāhala*) in C. P.: Capital *Tripurī* (mod. Tewar).
	4.	*Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Bundelkhand (*Jejā-bhukti*) in C. I.: Capital *Kharjjuravāhaka* (mod. Khajraho).
	5.	*Paramāras* (Pāvars).	South and Central Gujarat, Bombay.
	6.	*Tomaras* (Tuars).	No change.
c. 900—1000 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	Mewar, region round Partabgarh (in Rajputana), and Mandasor (in C.I.) : Centres of power *Nāgadraha* and *Āghāṭa* (mod. Ahar).
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans) : Three branches.	(*i*) Almost the whole of Marwar and Jaipur States and neighbouring regions, in Rajputana (*Sapādalakṣa*) : Capital *Śākambharī*. (*ii* *Naddūla* (mod. Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Godwar, Marwar in Rajputana. (*iii*) Partabgarh and the neighbouring regions in South Rajputana States Agency and C. I.

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 900—1000:—	3. *Haihayas* (Kalacuris): Two branches.	(*i*) Round about Kahla, in Gorakhpur, U. P.
		(*ii*) Jubbulpore and Chhattisgarh Divisions of C. P., portions of Baghelkhand and neighbouring regions in C. I.: Capital *Tripurī*.
	4. *Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Bundelkhand, Gwalior and portions of Bhopal Residencies in C. I.; Allahabad, Jhansi and Benares Divisions in U. P.: Centres of power *Kharjjuravāhaka* and *Kālañjara* (mod. Kalinjar).
	5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas).	Portions of both Gwalior Residency (C. I.) and Bharatpur State, Rajputana.
	6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars).	Western portions of the Northern Division and Khandesh of Bombay; Indore Residency, Bhopawar and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I.; and portions of Aurangabad Division of Hyderabad: Centre of power *Ujjayinī* (mod. Ujjain).
	7. *Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	North Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar in Bombay; and Sanchor District (*Satyapura-maṇḍala*) in Marwar, Rajputana: Capital *Aṇahilapāṭaka* (mod. Anavada, 3 miles from Patan in N. Gujarat).
	8. *Tomaras* (Tuars).	No change.

A. D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1000—1100 :—	1.	*Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	Some hilly and inaccessible portions of *Medapāṭa* (Mewar), Rajputana.
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans): Two branches.	(*i*) Nearly whole of Marwar (or Jodhpur) and Jaipur States and portions of Mewar in Rajputana. Capital *Śākambharī*. (*ii*) *Naddūla* (mod. Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Marwar, Rajputana.
	3.	*Haihayas* (Kalacuris): Four branches.	(*i*) Kahla and (*ii*) Kasia branches in Gorakhpur, U. P. (*iii*) The *Ḍāhala* branch: (In the last quarter of the century) practically the whole of C. P. and C. I.; the Ganges-Jumna valley (U. P.), Tirhut Division and Shahabad District of Bihar, portions of Chhota Nagpur and Western Bengal: Capital *Tripurī*. (*iv*) *Tuṁmāṇa* branch in Chhattisgarh Division of C. P.: Centres of power *Tuṁmāṇa* (mod. Tumana in Lapha Zemindari) and *Ratnapura* (mod. Ratanpur): both in Bilaspur District, C. P.
	4.	*Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	[During the 1st quarter of the century:—] Bundelkhand and portions of Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior and Bhopal Residencies in C.I.; Allahabad, Jhansi, Benares and possibly Meerut and Fyzabad Divisions in U. P.; portoins of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Kotah, etc.) and Saugor and Damoh Districts in C. P.

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1000–1100:—		[Partial eclipse in the 2nd quarter and complete eclipse in the 3rd. Revival of power in the 4th quarter in] Bundelkhand Agency in C. I., and portions of Jhansi Division, U. P.: Centres of power *Kharjuravāhaka* and *Kālañjara*.
	5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas): Three Branches.	Gwalior Residency, C. I., and portions of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Bharatpur, etc.): Centres of power of the three branches—(*i*) Gwalior, (*ii*) Dubkund and (*iii*) Narwar.
	6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars): Five branches.	(*i*) Portions of Rajputana (Sirohi, Mewar, Banswara, Kotah, Bundi, etc.); Central and portions of Northern Divisions of Bombay (Khandesh to Konkan); Hyderabad (north of Godavari), Nerbudda Division, C. P.; and Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies of C. I.: Centres of power *Ujjayinī* and *Dhārā*. [Almost complete eclipse during c. 1055-60 A.D. Partial revival in the 2nd half of the century.] Other branches in (*ii*) Sirohi State (centre of power *Candrāvātī*), (*iii*) Banswara State (Vāgaḍa). (*iv*) Round about Jalor (*Jāvālipura*) and (*v*) Kiradu (*Kirāṭakupa*): all four in Rajputana.

A. D.		Dynasties.	Territories.
c. 1000—1100 :—	7.	*Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Northern Division (north of Narbada), Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch of Bombay; Sirohi and the neighbouring regions in S. Marwar in Rajputana: Capital *Aṇahila-pāṭaka*.
	8.	*Tomaras* (Tuars).	No change.
c. 1100—1200 :—	1.	*Guhila-pûtras* (Guhilots): One main and four minor branches.	[Power still under partial eclipse.] (A) comparatively inaccessible portions of Mewar, Marwar and Dungarpur: Centre of power *Āghāṭa* (mod. Ahar). (B) Minor branches: (*i*) in *Saurāṣṭra* (Kathiawar), (*ii*) *Naḍulaḍāgikā* (mod. Nadlai in Jodhpur State), (*iii*) in Dungarpur (*Vāgaḍa*), and (*iv*) at Sesoda (in Mewar).
	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans): One main and four minor branches.	(A) Ambala Division, Patiala, Nabha and portions of Simla Hill States in the Punjab; Jaipur, Alwar, Bikaner, most of Marwar, portions of Mewar, Bundi, Kotah, Tonk, Jhalawar, Karauli, Dholpur, and Bharatpur States in Rajputana; portions of Gwalior Residency and Bundelkhand Agency in C. I.; and Jhansi Division in U. P.: Centres of power *Śākambharī* (mod. Sambhar) and *Ajayameru* (mod. Ajmer). (B) Minor branches at (*i*) *Raṇastambhapur* (mod. Ranthambhor) in Jaipur State, (*ii*)

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1100—1200:—		*Naddūla* (mod. Nadol), (*iii*) *Jāvālipura* (mod. Jolor) and (*iv*) *Satyapura* (mod. Sanchor); all in Rajputana.
	3. *Haihayas* (Kalacuris): One main and two minor branches.	(A) *Ḍāhala* branch in Jubbulpur Division (south of Bhanrer Range), C.P. and Baghelkhand Agency in C. I.: Centre of power *Tripurī* (mod. Tewar). (B) Minor branches: (*i*) Gorakhpur, U. P. (Kasia branch); (*ii*) *Tuṁmāṇa* branch independently held the Chhattishgarh Division and the neighbouring regions (*Mahā-Kosala*, *Dakṣiṇa-Kosala* or *Kosala*): Centres of power *Tuṁmāṇa* (mod. Tumana in Lapha Zamindari of Bilaspur District) and *Ratnapura* (mod. Ratanpur in Bilaspur District).
	4. *Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Portions of Jhansi Division of U.P., Bhopal, Bundelkhand and portions of Baghelkhand Agencies (north of Kaimur Range) of C. I.; and Saugor and Damoh Districts, in C. P.: Centres of power Kalinjar (*Kālañjara*), Mahoba (*Mahotsavanagara*), Ajaigarh (*Ajayadurga*) and Khajraho (*Kharjjuravāhaka*).
		[Power partially eclipsed in the last quarter of the 12th century.]

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1100—1200 :—	5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas) : Two branches.	Portions of Gwalior Residency in C. I. : (*i*) Narwar and (*ii*) Gwalior (?) branches. The latter possibly shifted to Eastern Rajputana in the 2nd quarter of the century with Daosa and then Amber as the centres of its power.
	6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars) : One main and three minor branches.	(A) (*i*) [During c. 1100-1142 and *c.* 1192-1200 A.D.] Indore Residency, Bhopawar, Malwa and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I. and portions of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar in Rajputana : Centres of power *Ujjayinī* and *Dhārā*.
		(*ii*) [During *c.* 1142-92 A.D.] Power of the main line broken into fragments : (*a*) one fragment probably ruled in portions of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar, in Rajputana and the other (*b*) probably in portions of Bhopal Agency, C.I.
		(B) Minor branches in (*i*) Sirohi (capital *Candrāvatī*), (*ii*) Jalor (*Jāvālipura*) and (*iii*) Kiradu (*Kirāṭakūpa*) in Rajputana.
	7. *Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Portions of Sind, Cutch, Kathiawar, Gujarat, and portions of Konkana in Bombay ; almost the whole of Rajputana ; and portions of Agra Division in U. P. ; portions of Gwalior and and Indore Residencies, Malwa, Bhopawar and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I. : Centre of power *Aṇahila-pāṭaka*.

A.D.	Dynasties.	Territories.
c. 1100—1200 :—		[During the 4th quarter of the century the area became much reduced by the loss of control in Konkana in Bombay, portions of Rajputana, and C. I.]
c. 1200—1300 :—	1. *Guhila-putras* (Guhilots) : Two branches.	(i) Mewar and the neighbouring regions, portions of Sirohi and Marwar: Centres of power *Nāgadraha* (Nagda), *Āghāṭa* (Ahar) and *Citrakūṭa* (Chitor).
		(ii) Feudatory branch at Sesoda in Mewar.
	2. *Cāhamānas* (Cauhans) : Four branches	(i) Region round Ranthambhor (*Raṇastambhapura*) in Jaipur State, Rajputana ; (ii) Region round Narwar in Gwalior Residency, C. I. (?) ; (iii) Region round (iii) *Jāvālipura* (Jalor) ; and (iv) *Satyapura* (Sanchor) in Marwar, Rajputana.
	3. *Haihayas* (Kalacuris).	Round *Tuṁmāṇa* (mod. Tumana), Bilaspur District, Chhattisgarh Division (*Mahākosala*), C. P. (?) Also in portion of Jubbulpore Division (*Ḍāhala*) [as a minor power].
	4. *Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	[Eclipse of power during the first few years of the century : Then revival in] Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior

A.D.	*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1200—1300:—		Residency in C. I. Also portions of U. P. (Jhansi Division): Centres of power Ajaigarh (*Jaya-durga*) and Kalinjar (*Kālañjara*).
	5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas).	Region round Amber in Jaipur State, Rajputana: Centre of power Amber.
	6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars): Two branches.	(*i*) Indore and portions of Gwalior Residencies, Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies in C. I.; Saugor, Narsingpur, Hoshangabad and Nimar Districts of C. P.; and portions of Gujarat along the lower courses of the Narbada up to the Sae (including Broach): Centre of power *Dhārā* and *Māṇḍu* [During the 2nd half of the century Paramāra power rapidly declined]; (*ii*) Minor branch in and round Sirohi: Centre of power at *Candrāvatī*.
	7. *Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Portions of Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch in Bombay; portions of Marwar and Sirohi in Rajputana: Centre of power *Aṇahila-pāṭaka*. [About the 2nd half of the century Caulukyas lose control in Rajputana.]
c. 1300—1400:—	1. *Guhila-putras* (Guhilots).	Mewar and the neighbouring regions: Capital *Citrakūṭa* (Chitor). [Power eclipsed c. 1303 A.D.]

A.D.		*Dynasties.*	*Territories.*
c. 1300—1400 :—	2.	*Cāhamānas* (Cauhans) : Four branches.	(*i*) At Jalor (*Jāvālipura*), (*ii*) in Sirohi (capital *Candrāvatī*, (*iii*) at *Satyapura* (Sanchor) and (*iv*) in Bundi : [All in Rajputana].
		Haihayas (Kalacuris).	Portions of Jubbulpore, and Chattishgarh Divisions of C. P. [in a decadent condition].
	4.	*Candrātreyas* (Candellas).	Portions of Jhansi Division of U. P. ; Bundelkhand Agency in C. I. ; and Damoh and Jubbulpore Districts in C. P. (?) : Centre of power Kalinjar (*Kālañjara*).
	5.	*Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas).	Round about Amber in Jaipur State, Rajputana.
	6.	*Paramāras* (Pāvars).	Indore and portions of Gwalior Residency ; Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies (?).
	7.	*Caulukyas* (Solaṅkis).	Portions of Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch : Capital *Aṇahila-pāṭaka*.

INDEX

A

C

E

F

G

H

K

L

Q

R

T

Y

INDEX TO MAPS

IN

Vols. I & II.

(Ancient and Mediaeval Names.)

[The Latitudes and Longitudes are in most cases only approximate, but it is hoped, they will help in locating the places on the maps. After the name, the volume of the work is indicated in Roman and then the number of map in Arabic integers; last of all come Lat & Long.]

T

U

V

W

Y

Z